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CANADA

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY

HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE THIRD,
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

First Sovereign of British North America.

CANADA

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY

THE CANADIAN DOMINION CONSIDERED IN ITS HISTORIC RELATIONS, ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, ITS MATERIAL PROGRESS, AND ITS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BY A CORPS OF

EMINENT WRITERS AND SPECIALISTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS

Author of Life and Work of Sir John Thompson, Life and Reign of Queen Victoria, Life and Work of Mr. Gladstone, The Sword of Islam: or Annals of Turkish Power.

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME II

THE LINSCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY
TORONTO, CANADA.

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada.

PREFACE

BY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G., P.C., Q.C., M.P., LL.D., D.C.L., PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

THE Second Volume of Mr. Castell Hopkins' Encyclopedia is devoted to three subjects which must ever occupy a large and prominent place in any work on Canada—The Hudson's Bay Company, the Railways and the Churches.

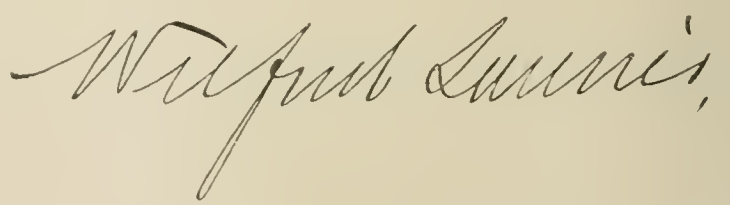
Among the peasantry and gentry who left France in the seventeenth century to take up their abode in Canada, few were those who settled down as tillers of the soil. By far the greater number became hunters and trappers. All accounts of the early occupation of the continent by Europeans agree that the French were exceptionally endowed for that avocation. They, more than any other race from the Old World, readily adapted themselves to the manners and customs of the aboriginal tribes; they easily fell in with their mode of life and obtained their confidence and friendship where others only met with distrust and rebuke. It would also seem that the very wildness of the forest exercised a strange fascination over the men of the Gallic race, which made them cling to the adventurous life for the very love of it, when it had been first embraced for profit and lucre. They sprang into existence a class of men who became and have remained famous all over the continent under the names of *Coureurs des bois*; rovers of the forest, impatient of the restraints of civilization, delighting in the freedom of the Indian whose hut they shared and whose garb they adopted—a garb under which there often coursed the best and proudest blood of old France.

But while men of the Gallic race were roaming over the whole continent, whilst they were exploring lakes and rivers, forests and prairies, just for the love of sport and adventure; making but occasional and spasmodic efforts to plant settlements and to take permanent possession of the soil; men of Anglo-Saxon blood were quietly, silently, persistently and doggedly organizing a powerful association which by a vast, systematic, carefully prepared and carefully carried out arrangement gradually drew to itself the whole fur trade of North America. The history of the Hudson's Bay Company is little known. Some day its annals will be unfolded to the inquisitive gaze of the world; then it will reveal itself as one of the most astonishingly perfect organizations ever devised by man. It gradually planted its posts in all that Northern part of the continent where the fur-bearing animals were to be found—on the bleak shores of Labrador, on all the icy streams that flow into the Arctic Ocean, on the vast prairies of the interior, in the Rocky Mountains and beyond even to the waters of the Pacific. All these posts were working in unison. In every one of them was an agent, who had come as a lad from the Northern coasts or Islands of Scotland, toiling steadily, growing old, and ever faithful to the interests of the great corporation whose servant he was. Connecting all these posts was a vast, complete, sure system of communication. Furs were collected from post to post, provisions and merchandise distributed, and mails conveyed and distributed, with less celerity, no doubt, but with as much security as in the most advanced times of our country in our own day. Dog trains were in constant motion during winter, flotillas of birch canoes during summer. For two hundred years or more a ship especially constructed for that hardy service and as regularly as the course of the planets, crossed and re-crossed between England and Hudson's Bay, bringing with it provisions and articles of exchange, taking to England the furs collected from all over the continent. What a fascination there is in that history!

Of what development it is susceptible! What a strange alliance it exhibits of cold, calculating, systematic organization and of adventurous, romantic experience!

Lord Strathcona has written for this volume the article on the Hudson's Bay Company. No one could write of the famous Company more fully and more accurately. By a curious coincidence, if indeed it be coincidence, Lord Strathcona, whose name has been so closely connected with everything that the very name of Hudson's Bay recalls, has also been intimately identified with the Railway development which has opened the realms of the once powerful Lords of the Forest to the feverish ambition of modern civilization. He has himself had a large share in the commercial revolution which has transformed the mode of transportation through the continent from the birch canoe which was paddled and *portaged* from Ste. Anne to Fort Garry, to the heavy locomotive which devours the way between Montreal and Winnipeg.

The articles concerning the Churches cannot be of less absorbing interest. In fact, intrepid, brave and courageous as were the hunters and traders of the early period of French Canada, still more intrepid, brave and courageous were the missionaries. Wherever the hunters went they had been preceded by missionaries who more than once had traced them the way with their blood. No more heroic pages can be found than those which relate the labours and sufferings of these men, who sacrificed everything that makes life dear "for the greater glory of God." Those days of heroic devotion are now in the very remote past, and we live in more prosaic but happier times. All the Denominations of the Christian Faith are now represented among us; all live in peace by the side of one another; and forever within the circle of their influence there is ample room for activity and usefulness.



From an Old Painting.

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

Discoverer of the Mackenzie River.

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SECTION I.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND EARLY NORTH-WEST ANNALS

HISTORY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

BY

THE RT. HON. LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, G.C.M.G., LL.D.

IN this article it is not proposed to give anything more than a sketch of the inception, early history and progress of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indeed, considerations of space require that even such an imperfect paper should be brief. A complete history of the Company has yet to be written, and it is to be hoped that it may be undertaken before very long. There is ample material available, and such a volume would be as interesting as any of the historical romances which have been popular in recent years. It will be remembered that the Hudson's Bay Company was the means of maintaining for over a century and a half British influence in a territory more than half as large as Europe, which in other circumstances might not have remained under the Union Jack; and that its work paved the way for the consolidation of the Dominion of Canada, enabling the United Federation to extend its limits from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the international boundary to the far North. The history of the Company would thus include an account of its early struggles, the competition with rival organizations, the lives and adventures of the officers at the out-lying posts, and the relations of the Company with the Indians, and could hardly fail to be fascinating to the general reader.

The Hudson's Bay Company owed its inception to the explorations and activity of the French. In the days of the French régime, before Canada was transferred to England, the fur-traders and missionaries penetrated far into the interior, and their reckless courage, intrepidity and resource in the face of dangers and difficulties that can hardly be properly appreciated at the present time, must command admiration. The laudable object the missionaries had in view was the extension of the Gospel among the Indians, but it was accompanied by a keen appreciation of the profits of commercial enterprise, which was shared in by the gentlemen adventurers and by the *coureurs de bois*. There was also the passion for exploration, and the discovery of new routes and new lands, which existed so strongly in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The French seem to have heard of Lake Superior in 1615 through Champlain's visit to Lake Huron, but it was not until twenty-six years later, in 1641, that two Jesuit missionaries reached the great fresh-water sea. A further period of twenty-five years passed before two French explorers named Radison and De Groseillier, went still further west, and passed out to Hudson's Bay through Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson River, proving the existence of a water route from the great lakes to Hudson's Bay. Years before that time no doubt the southern waters of the Bay had been reached by way of the Ottawa River. The route to the West through Lake Winnipeg seems also to have been known to the Indians, who indeed served as guides to Radison and De Groseillier. Their expedition resulted indirectly in the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company. On their return to Quebec they offered to take ships through Hudson's Straits, to the heart of the fur country, avoiding the long and tedious canoe route across Lake Superior. As their propositions did not find favour either in Canada or in France, they went to London, at the suggestion of the British Ambassador in Paris, after a visit to that city. The scheme was favourably received by certain gentlemen connected with the Newfoundland trade, who fitted out an expedition. Its successful accomplishment led to the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company on May 2nd, 1670.

The Charter was granted to the following noblemen and gentlemen: Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, Lord Arlington,

Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, Sir Richard Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir E. Hungerford, Sir P. Neele, Sir J. Griffith, Sir P. Carteret, Sir James Hayes, John Kirk, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Lane, and John Portman. The "body corporate and politic" created was styled "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading in Hudson's Bay", but it soon became generally known as the Hudson's Bay Company. Prince Rupert was succeeded as Governor by the great Duke of Marlborough, and the Committee has from time to time included many

Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland.

men whose names have been prominent in history. It is recited in the Charter that the gentlemen named "have at their own great cost and charges undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay, in the North West part of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities, and by such, their undertaking, have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our Kingdom. And whereas the said undertakers for their further encouragement in the said design, have humbly besought us to incorporate them and grant unto them and their successors the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in wheresoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State," etc.

The Charter and succeeding ones are too long to quote in full; they occupy greater space in themselves than would be permitted to this article. The rights and privileges granted to the Company were extensive and far reaching. They included the grant of exclusive trade, and of the lands, mines, minerals, fisheries, etc. The territory was described as one of His Majesty's plantations or colonies in America, and called Rupert's Land, the Governor and Company to be the Lords Proprietor of the same forever. Power was given to the Company to make laws and ordinances for the good government of its territories and the advancement of its trade, and it was enabled to impose penalties and punishments provided the same were reasonable and not repugnant to the laws of England. No subjects of His Majesty were permitted to trade within the Company's territories without leave in writing under its common seal, under penalty of forfeiting all goods brought from thence into England, one half to go to the King, and the other half to the Company, and the King bound himself not to give liberty to trade to any persons without the consent of the Company. All the lands, etc., included in the Charter were placed under the government of the Company, which was empowered to appoint governors and other officers to preside within its territories and judge in all cases, civil and criminal, according to the laws of England. The Company was also authorized to raise and employ armed forces for the protection of its trade and property, and it could seize any of Her Majesty's subjects who, without leave of the Company, were trading in its territory,

and might send them to England. The consideration given by the Company for the Charter was "Yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers whensoever and so often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, territories and regions hereby granted."

Many years passed before the Hudson's Bay Company was fairly established. For sixty or seventy years little or no effort was made by its officers to penetrate into the interior, and even on the shores of Hudson's Bay it suffered much from the attacks of the French. Between 1670 and 1690 the loss sustained by the capture of the Company's establishments by the French amounted to £118,014, no inconsiderable sum in those days. In the years 1692, 1694, 1696, 1697, further similar losses to the extent of £97,500 were incurred. Heavy losses were also sustained in 1782. In the meantime, the French were actively engaged in exploring the country now known as Manitoba, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The trade of the Company was carried on with the Indians, who brought fur to the forts, receiving in return merchandise and stores. No doubt some of the fur trade was intercepted by the French, and never reached the post on Hudson's Bay. The profits, however, appear to have been large, as the proprietors in 1684 received a return of fifty per cent. on their capital, another fifty per cent. in 1688, and a further twenty-five per cent. in 1689. In 1690 the stock was trebled without any call being made, besides according a payment to the proprietors of twenty-five per cent. on the increase of newly-created stock.

The losses before referred to, consequent upon the attacks of the French, rendered it necessary for the Company to borrow money, on which it paid six per cent. interest. It was enabled, nevertheless, in 1720, to again treble the capital stock with only a call of ten per cent., and it appears to have paid dividends showing not inconsiderable profits on the originally supplied capital stock actually paid up. Up to the time of the retirement of France from British North America, the Hudson's Bay Company admits that it had no great cause for complaint of interference with the inland trade, but after that time its rights of territory and trade were interrupted by rival traders. This led to animosities, feuds and breaches of the peace, extending to loss of life and considerable destruction of property, and was also injurious to the native Indians by reason of the unrestricted use of spirituous liquors and other demoralizing influences which resulted. So prejudicial to the interests of the Company was the struggle that between 1800 and 1821, a period of twenty-two years, its dividends for the first eight years were reduced to four per cent. During the next six years it could not pay any dividends at all, and for the remaining eight years it could pay only four per cent. Its greatest competitor was the North-West Company, formed in Montreal in 1773-74. A third company, the X. Y. Company, was founded in 1798. They coalesced in 1805, the result being a very strong combination against the original Company. The North-West Company had pushed its way far inland before the Hudson's Bay Company was induced to follow its example. Indeed, it was not until 1793 that the Company established itself in the Red River country. The commercial war was for years carried into the heart of the Territories, each company placing forts alongside those of the other.

The keen competition continued until, and indeed after, the organization of the Selkirk settlement, the first attempt at colonization in Western Canada. The friction between the two companies became notorious enough to attract the attention of the Imperial and Colonial Governments. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed that it had the right to the whole of the territories included in the Charter, and to exclusive trading therein. This was, however, disputed, and it was not until 1821, when the violence of the contest had nearly exhausted the means of both parties, that an arrangement was entered into between them, by which their interests became united under the management of the Hudson's Bay Company. The prejudicial effect of the struggle between the rival organizations is shown very clearly in a letter in 1837, from Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Simpson, to the Governor of the Company, which was subsequently published in a Parliamentary paper. He stated that the Indian country, previous to the passing and granting of

the Act and License under which the dispute was finally disposed of, was a scene of violence and outrage productive of injury to the native population, and of the worst consequences, amounting in very many instances to the loss of lives among the whites engaged therein, and a vast sacrifice of property to the parties interested, all arising from the competition that existed among the traders; but that since that period it had been in a state of the most perfect tranquility, beneficial as well to the Indian population as to the parties interested and engaged in the trade. The Indians did not, however, take kindly to the new order of things, because it meant the prohibition of the liquor traffic, and indeed the new arrangements were so unpopular among them at first as to endanger the safety of the trading establishments, rendering it necessary to maintain large forces for their protection at a heavy expense; and it was only by compensating the Indians for the loss of this baneful indulgence by large gratuities, consisting of presents of British manufacture, that they became reconciled to the privation.

After the amalgamation of 1821 things went more smoothly for a time. The Company obtained the right to exclusive trading in a wide district known as the Indian Territory, extending west of the Rocky Mountains; and it held sway over a country more than half as large as Europe. Until 1833 it was the sole source from which supplies could be purchased by the inhabitants, and the only market open for the disposal of their furs. Its posts and forts, which gave employment to about 3,000 men, were found in Labrador, around Hudson's Bay, in the west and northwest, and west of the Rocky Mountains. Troubles, however, arose in the Red River settlement among the settlers taken out by Lord Selkirk to colonise the land granted to him in 1811. They declined to recognize the exclusive rights of the Company, and demanded the privilege of free trade. It is difficult to satisfactorily explain so involved a matter in a few words, and I shall not attempt the task. Later on, in 1834, the Selkirk estate was again acquired by the Company at a cost of £84,000. It is said that the expenditure of Lord Selkirk upon the experiment amounted in all to over £200,000. The march of events soon began to interfere with the virtual monopoly the Company had enjoyed for many years.

In 1857, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was ordered to consider "the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which they possess a license to trade." It reported in effect that if Canada would not be willing at a very early period to undertake the government of the Red River district, it might be appropriate to consider whether some temporary provision for its administration might not be advisable. The termination was recommended of the connection of the Hudson's Bay Company with Vancouver Island, as well as the ultimate extension of that colony over any portion of the adjoining continent to the west of the Rocky Mountains, on which permanent settlement might be found practicable. On the other hand, the Committee reported that whatever might be the validity or otherwise of the rights claimed by the Company under its Charter, it was desirable that the Company should be allowed to continue its exclusive trading except in so far as that privilege might be limited by the other resolutions. Steps were suggested for the purpose of preserving law and order in the parts of the territory it was proposed the Company should retain. The feeling of the Committee was decidedly against open competition in the fur trade, on the ground that it might tend to demoralize the Indians, and bring about the total destruction of the more valuable fur-bearing animals. In fact, the report of the Committee may be described as a most satisfactory answer to the representations from Canada that led to the investigation. It is interesting to observe that during the proceedings of this Committee, Chief Justice Draper, who represented the interests of the then Colony of Canada, said: "I hope you will not laugh at me as very visionary, but I hope to see the time, or that my children may see the time, when there is a railway going all across that country and ending at the Pacific, and as far as individual opinion goes I entertain no doubt that the time will arrive when it will be accomplished." Twenty-eight years afterwards the line was completed from ocean to ocean.

In 1858 the grant to the Company of Van-

couver Island, which dated from 1849, came to an end, and was not renewed, the country being formed into a Crown Colony. On the expiration of its license in the Indian Territory in 1859, the mainland of British Columbia was made into a separate Colony also. The two were united under one government subsequently in 1866. The withdrawal of the license of the Company over what is now British Columbia seemed to be the beginning of the end of its exclusive administration in the country to the east of the mountains included in its Charter. Its control tended to weaken from various causes, into which I need not enter, and during the next few years negotiations were in progress for the transfer of its rights to the Imperial Government. Finally, in 1869, an agreement was arrived at, by which the Company consented to accept £300,000 for the surrender of the territory to Canada, through the Imperial Government, retaining certain lands in the vicinity of its forts and trading posts, and one-twentieth part of the land in the Fertile Belt —that is in the country between the north branch of the Saskatchewan River and the international boundary, and extending from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Its proportion of the district in question will reach several millions of acres. At the present time the land grant is over 3,000,000 acres, which may be increased to 7,000,000 acres, or even more, as surveys progress. The Imperial Government undertook to guarantee for Canada a loan of £300,000 to pay the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Dominion Government agreed to respect the rights of the Indians and Half-breeds, and of persons holding land then in the country. A portion of the Red River settlers, however, refused to recognise the transfer of the country, or to be handed over to Canada, and much trouble resulted, culminating in the Riel Rebellion of 1869-70. A military expedition was despatched in 1870, consisting of regulars and volunteers, under the command of Colonel (now Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief Lord) Wolseley, but the insurrection was practically at an end before the arrival of the force, as the result of negotiations that had previously taken place, in which I had the honour to represent the Government of the Dominion. As showing the isolated position of the country at the time, it may be stated that it took Lord Wolseley from May 25th to August 23rd to convey his small force from Port Arthur to Fort Garry—a journey which can now be made by train in twenty hours.

The principal business of the Hudson's Bay Company was the purchasing of furs from the Indians in exchange for arms and ammunition, clothes, and other commodities imported from the United Kingdom. For a long period prior to the surrender of the Company's Charter, the most valuable trade of the Hudson's Bay Company

Sir George Simpson.

was in the remote districts where, nobody having the power to interfere with them, they took measures by which the fur trade was preserved. They encouraged the Indians only to kill a certain number of animals when in good season for their furs, and not to kill so many as to interfere with the continued supply. The price given for furs varied with the state of the market, but it was also arranged so as to enable the Company's policy for the preservation of the fur trade to be properly carried out. There is not much

large game now in the regions traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, except, perhaps, in the more inaccessible districts between the Lakes and Hudson's Bay, and in the territory north and north-west of the River Saskatchewan. The buffalo, which used to furnish the Indian with food, shelter and raiment, is almost extinct, and it is possible to travel over the prairie for hundreds of miles without seeing any wild animal larger than coyotes and gophers. Deer of various kinds are found occasionally, and bears still less frequently, and it may be said with truth, that hunting in Canada, whether for pleasure or for trade, now entails a good deal of hard work.

The prosperity of the Company depended upon good relations being maintained with the aborigines. Its officers were able to travel everywhere with freedom and safety, and could rely upon the friendliness of the red man. Advances made to the Indians for their hunting outfits or in times of scarcity were nearly always repaid. It must not be overlooked, however, that it was often absolutely necessary for the Company to supply ammunition, fishing gear and many other articles in cases where payment could not be made, in order that hunting might go on. On the other hand, the Indians knew that any notes they might receive upon the trading posts, from peripatetic officers a thousand miles away from headquarters, would be honoured on presentation. In former times for trading purposes the unit of value was the beaver skin. The price of everything was calculated at so many skins, and they were the sole medium of exchange. In return for the skins the Indians received pieces of stick, prepared in a special manner, each representing a beaver skin, and with these they were able to purchase anything they wanted at the Company's stores. Later on tokens were substituted, and about 1825 the Company established a paper currency. The highest note was for £1, the next for 5s., and the lowest for 1s. They were known as "Hudson's Bay Blankets," and no fears were ever entertained as to the soundness of the bank. Subsequently also in the Red River settlement, gold, silver and copper coin was in use as a circulating medium.

While intent upon trading with the Indians, the Company kept also in view the spread of civilizing influences amongst them. In 1857 there were in the Company's territory nineteen missionary stations of the Church of England, twelve Roman Catholic, four Wesleyan, and one Presbyterian, making a total of thirty-six. In Oregon there was a Roman Catholic mission; on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, one; at Albany and Temiscaming, one; at the Pic there was a Wesleyan missionary; at Fort William there was a Roman Catholic missionary; and at Vancouver's Island there was a Church of England missionary; making in all forty-two missionary stations. The foundation of the friendly relations which existed was confidence, and the knowledge the Indians acquired of the white man and his ways during the long administration of the Company made the transfer of the territory to Canada comparatively easy when the time for the surrender arrived. The policy of the Company, which has been followed by successive Governments of Canada, has enabled the country to avoid those Indian wars which were of frequent occurrence in the early days of settlement in the western parts of the United States. Even in the Half-breed disturbance of 1869 and 1870, already referred to, and in that of 1885, none of the Indians, with a few exceptions, could be induced to take arms against the forces of law and order.

The chief posts of the Company, in the early days, were York Factory, the depot for the northern department, on the west shore of the Hudson's Bay, and Moose Factory on James Bay, the headquarters of the southern department. Subsidiary stations to the number of nearly 160 were established later on all over Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, and indeed in many other parts of the country. Thousands of miles separated the more distant posts from those which may be termed the shipping ports. The life of many of the officers of the Company can be readily imagined. They saw few people of their own kith and kin, or of their own race, except at long intervals. There were occasional councils and gatherings at central places, but their visits to civilization were few and far between. In fact, they were more or less out of the world. Letters reached them in many places only once a year, and in some places not so often. Newspapers and magazines were many months old when received, and the most important events

happened without their knowing anything of them for long afterwards. In the plains where the buffalo were numerous, and in some other districts, they lived well, but in British Columbia and in the more northern part of the territories, including the Yukon district, the struggle for existence was hard and the living precarious. The officers had plenty of time for reading and for meditation, and the life must have had its attraction, for the officers were devoted to their posts and to their work. The great event of the year was the arrival of the stores and the mails. The canoes, boats or dog trains which took in the supplies carried away the proceeds of the year's trading. Most of the Company's exports to Europe were then carried in its own vessels by way of Hudson's Bay.

Since the opening up of the country methods have somewhat changed, although the more distant posts even now remain in a state of isolation. There is very little difference in the bulk of the fur trade, although its distribution has naturally varied a good deal. Moose Factory is still the depot of what is called the southern department, and is a place of much importance, a sailing vessel going there from London every year in June, and returning in October or November. York Factory is not so prominent as formerly, when it was the depot and port of entry for the whole northern department. It remains, however, the headquarters of the fur trade districts round that part of the Bay, and a steamer proceeds there yearly from London, calling at the Labrador ports on the way out and home. Winnipeg is the great collecting and distributing centre for the north and north-west. The furs from that region are despatched thence to Montreal. Supplies for the same district are also arranged through Winnipeg. Victoria and Vancouver are the depots for the British Columbia trade. Furs from the interior are collected there for despatch to London by way of Montreal. Goods are also sent to Victoria and Vancouver by rail or by ship for distribution in the interior. The Company's posts in Eastern Canada are supplied by way of Montreal. Canoe journeys and dog trains are not much in vogue now, unless in the more inaccessible districts. The railway plays an important part in the carriage of the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company, and there are also steamers on the lakes and rivers in the far north, where they can be utilized.

As already mentioned, the Hudson's Bay Company was established principally for the purpose of trading furs with the Indians, which were exchanged for commodities of European produce and manufacture. The rivalry with other companies led to a struggle to maintain the concessions granted under the Charter, which resulted in the exploration of the territories under its control and compelled its officers to go out to look for furs instead of waiting for the furs to be brought to them, and in organizing posts in different parts of the territory. This competition resulted in good to the Empire. The fur-traders both of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company penetrated to the Rocky Mountains, and beyond into what is now known as British Columbia, and even to the far north and north-west; and the names of many of the early explorers are perpetuated in the rivers and lakes that are found in this vast territory. What is now British Columbia, first commenced to attract the attention of the fur-traders in 1805. The Thompson River was explored in 1808, and the first posts were established in the country in that year. Traders traversed the Columbia River from its source to its mouth in 1811. The American and Russian Companies which were seeking trade on the Pacific coasts, were not able to withstand the activity and enterprise of their British rivals. It is not too much to say that the fur-traders were the pioneers of civilization in the North-West. They undertook the most fatiguing journeys with the greatest pluck and fortitude; they explored the country, and kept it for the British.

For many years the only civilized occupants of both banks of the Columbia River were the fur-traders, and it is not their fault that the region between it and the international boundary does not now belong to Canada. They held their ground in what is now Oregon and Washington Territory, under the British flag, until compelled to relinquish their occupation by the treaty of 1846. But for the discoveries and work of the fur-traders, British Columbia would probably not have remained British territory, and Canada

would have been shut out from access to the Pacific coast. For many years, also, Alaska was leased by the Hudson's Bay Company from Russia, and it will always be regarded as a matter for regret that the country was not acquired by Great Britain. In this way the Hudson's Bay Company obtained a footing over an extent of territory which the original concessionaires never dreamt of. While its operations were naturally chiefly for the benefit of its shareholders, its work did much to start and expand the trade relations between the Mother Country and its North American possessions. It cannot be said that the Company drove a hard bargain with the Imperial Government when the transfer took place, having regard to the wealth of the territories, both in minerals and in agricultural land, which experience has since shown them to contain, and over which for so many years it possessed exclusive rights.

It has been said that the Company did not encourage settlement or colonisation. That statement may have an element of truth in it, although as a matter of fact it inaugurated the Selkirk Settlement which was organised and carried out largely under its auspices. Of course, the fur trade and settlement could not go on side by side. On the other hand, until the country was made accessible, colonisation on any large scale was not possible or practicable. Settlers could not get there without much difficulty even for many years after the transfer of the territory took place, or get their produce away. Before that time, the difficulties were even greater. Until the different Provinces of Canada became united and were themselves in a position to administer the country and to provide it with the necessary means of communication, the opening up of its resources was almost an impossibility; but the Hudson's Bay Company, as already mentioned, did not stand in the way of the interests of the Empire when the proper time arrived.

In 1870 Manitoba became a Province, and in the same year the North-West Territories were added to the Dominion. Soon after these events the country commenced to attract attention both in Canada and in Europe, and numbers of emigrants began to make their way there. It was, however, isolated, and difficult to reach, being entirely without railway communication, either with Canada or with the United States. The nearest railway station for some time was St. Paul, in Minnesota. Travellers had to proceed thence by waggons to Fort Abercrombie on the Red River, and on by shallow stern-wheeled steamers to Fort Garry. For some years previous, the Hudson's Bay Company and others had been utilizing this route for bringing in merchandise, and during the season of the year the river was navigable it presented a busy scene. In September, 1871, the first stage from Pembina arrived at Fort

Thomas, Earl of Selkirk.

Garry, and ran three times a week with mails and passengers. It soon became a daily line and continued until 1878, when the railway from Pembina to Winnipeg, connecting with the United States system, was opened, and largely took the place of both steamer and stage. Manitoba, therefore, remained for nine years after its transfer without receiving the benefit of railway communication. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, it progressed with great rapidity. Winnipeg soon assumed the position of a thriving town of sev-

eral thousands of inhabitants, and the prairies to the west were dotted with farms and settlements. Telegraphic communication was established in 1871, and the following messages, exchanged between the Lieut.-Governor and the Governor-General, explain eloquently the isolation the inhabitants had previously suffered, and their thankfulness at that condition of things having come to an end.

Telegram from Lieut.-Governor Adams G. Archibald, Fort Garry, to Governor-General Lord Lisgar, at Ottawa, November 20, 1871:

"The first telegraphic message from the heart of the continent may appropriately convey, on the part of our people, an expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God for the close of our isolation from the rest of the world. This message announces that close, as its receipt by Your Excellency will attest it. The voice of Manitoba collected this morning on the banks of the Assiniboine will be heard in a few hours on the banks of the Ottawa, and we hope before the day closes that the words of Your Excellency's reply, spoken at the capital of the Dominion, will be listened to at Fort Garry. We may now count in hours the work that used to occupy weeks. I congratulate Your Excellency on the facility so afforded in the discharge of your high duties, so far as they concern this Province. I know I can better discharge my own when at any moment I may appeal to Your Lordship for advice and assistance."

The following was the reply:

"I received your message with great satisfaction. The completion of the telegraph line to Fort Garry is an auspicious event. It forms a fresh and most important link between the Eastern Provinces and the North-West, and is a happy augury for the future, inasmuch as it gives proof of the energy with which the union, wisely effected, of Her Majesty's North American possessions enables progress and civilization to be advanced in different and far-distant portions of the Dominion. I congratulate the inhabitants of Manitoba on the event, and join heartily in your thanksgiving."

Before the country could progress as rapidly as its great advantages seemed to warrant, it had to be brought into communication with Eastern Canada by railway entirely through British territory. The entry of British Columbia into the Dominion in 1871 brought prominently to the front the question of a railway between the Atlantic and Pacific sea-boards. One of the conditions under which the Pacific Province joined the Union was that it should be connected by railway with the other parts of the Dominion within ten years. Surveys were commenced, and made some progress. The work was, however, of too onerous a character to be undertaken at the time, and nothing of a very definite nature was done—although pieces of line were in course of construction along the route—until the contract was made between the Government and a Syndicate including Lord Mount Stephen, then Mr. George Stephen, and his friends in 1881, for the building of the road. Although access to Manitoba had been gained by the completion of the Pembina branch in 1878, it was not regarded as satisfactory for many reasons. All emigrants to Manitoba and the North-West had still to travel by way of the United States. Fairy tales were told to them on the way by the agents of American land and railway companies, and thousands of emigrants who had started with the idea of settling in Canada were induced to stop short on their journey.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was naturally intended to provide a direct British route to the North-West. The section from Port Arthur to Winnipeg was finished by the Government in 1883. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was the outcome of the syndicate before referred to, undertook to complete the line from ocean to ocean by 1891. It was, however, carried out with so much energy that I was able to drive the last spike at Craigellachie, in the Rocky Mountains, in November, 1885, six years before the stipulated time. The first train left Montreal for the Pacific in June, 1886, since which time there has been daily communication right across Canada. The Company was assisted by a subsidy of £5,000,000 sterling, a large land grant, and the Government completion of the portions of the line under construction at the time the contract was made. Although there was some opposition to the proposal in the first instance as involving too great a responsibility

upon the country, it is quite safe to say that hardly a man could be found in the Dominion to-day who does not recognize the enormous benefits Canada has received from the railway. Without it, Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia could never have been satisfactorily opened up; and but for the confederation of the different provinces of the Dominion it is doubtful whether the construction of the railway would have been possible for many years. Although personally connected with the work, it may not be out of place for me to say that in my judgment it has consolidated the unity of the Dominion, it has stimulated trade in the east, it has opened up the west, it has brought the rich agricultural lands of the prairies and the mineral wealth of the Pacific slope within the reach of all, it has given Canada outlets both on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and has provided a new Imperial highway from the United Kingdom to Australasia and China and Japan.

The thirty years that have elapsed since Confederation have brought wondrous changes in Manitoba and the North-West. The vast plains, with their waving prairie grass, and patches of brilliant colouring, formed by the many varieties of wild flowers and fruits indigenous to the soil, are no longer the solitudes they were. Instead of being uninhabited they now provide homes for nearly half a million people. The prairies are dotted here and there with farmhouses, and in the summer-time fields of golden corn stretch as far as the eye can reach. In place of the buffalo that formerly roamed the plains there are now thousands of sleek domestic cattle, bands of horses, and numbers of pigs and poultry. In the early days there were hardly any settlements except round the Hudson's Bay posts at Fort Garry and Portage La Prairie. Thriving towns and villages are now scattered all over the country, and there are over 3,000 miles of railway in operation.

The only industries in pre-confederation times were those in connection with the export of furs, and the import of articles needed by the Indians and the few settlers. Now wheat and flour are exported in large quantities, and bring the highest prices in the markets of the Dominion, the United States, and the United Kingdom; and they have gained the highest awards at the leading Exhibitions in the two last named countries. Instead of importing dairy products, butter and cheese are exported in no inconsiderable quantities, and in view of the proposed establishment of creameries under Government supervision, and the provision of cold storage accommodation, the dairy products of Manitoba and the North-West Territories will soon be seen prominently in the British markets. This part of Canada sent to England about 50,000 head of cattle in 1896, and the shipments during the coming season promise to be even larger. Horses are raised in considerable numbers for home use and for export, and there is a prospect in the near future of the Canadian prairies becoming a source of supply for the remounts required for the British army.

Only a fringe of this fertile land, is, however, yet occupied. There are millions and millions of acres yet available, only waiting to be cultivated by willing hands to produce most of the products of the temperate zone. In 1895 the 25,000 farmers in Manitoba alone raised over 60,000,000 bushels of cereals in addition to the other products of the farm. Coal is found in abundance, while the gold-fields of the Yukon district are attracting the attention of almost the entire world. The rapid settlement of new countries requires the emigrants to be in possession of a small capital and some knowledge of agriculture. The larger portion of emigrants can hardly be described even as small capitalists. They leave the country of their birth, generally speaking, because they have not succeeded, and look forward to making money in their new homes rather than to taking much with them. But considering all the circumstances, and the isolation of the country till within recent times, the progress has been on the whole not unsatisfactory.

In British Columbia, which, as already mentioned, entered the Confederation in 1871, the expansion has been marked, especially since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Her Majesty, in a prophetic Speech from the Throne when the mainland of British Columbia was declared a colony, said, "I hope that this new Colony in the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress by which my do-

minions in North America may be ultimately peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific by a loyal and industrious population." It is a mistake to suppose that the available area of land suitable for agriculture is small. It certainly is not as large as that on the prairies, but in the valleys and along the great rivers there are stretches of valuable fertile land. Generally speaking, the climate is a favourable one, and in addition to the ordinary crops of the farm, fruits of wonderful size and of surprising flavour can be raised. Neither its apples nor pears have yet been sent to the English markets, but when they do come they will be a welcome addition to the present supplies. The local Agricultural shows, with their exhibits of grain, fruits of all kinds, hops and canned provisions, require to be seen to be appreciated.

It is, perhaps, not so much by its agriculture as by its mineral wealth that the Province is likely to be known. In the early days, during the gold discoveries of 1858, considerable quantities of the precious metal were obtained, under circumstances of great difficulty in view of the inaccessibility of the country and of the primitive methods employed. Within the last few years, however, since the advent of the Canadian Pacific and other railways, further discoveries have been made in various districts; and mining experts who have visited South Africa and Australia state that British Columbia, as a gold-producing country, will be in the near future equal to either of them. In the last two or three years many towns have sprung up in the mining districts, some of them now containing from 2,000 to 6,000 people. Not only is gold found, but there are large deposits of silver that can be mined to pay at even present prices; while lead, copper and iron are abundant. Coal is found on both Vancouver Island and the mainland, and Esquimault is the headquarters of the Pacific Squadron. Even now but a small portion of the Province has been exploited. The range of mountains passing through it has been a prolific source of wealth to the United States, and there is every reason to believe that it will prove as profitable to British Columbia. In addition, the fisheries are most valuable. It has forests of the largest and finest timber, which is being shipped to all parts of the globe. Indeed, the Province possesses all the elements of a great manufacturing country, and will be able to supply the markets of China and Japan and Australasia, with which it has been brought into close connection by the steamers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and by those of Mr. Huddart, both subsidized by the Government of the Dominion. The Line to China and Japan is employed to its full capacity, and there is every probability in the near future of more frequent steamers being necessary. A new vessel has also been sent out for the Australian service, the present accommodation being insufficient for the steadily growing commerce.

Such then is a brief description of the huge territory which was formerly under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. The corporation still carries on a considerable fur trade as already mentioned. It owns a large quantity of land which will become more valuable as years pass by. It does a large trading business in the leading towns of Manitoba, the North-West and British Columbia, in addition to that transacted at the fur-trading posts. The stores at Winnipeg, and, indeed in other places, will compare favourably with similar establishments in the largest cities of the United Kingdom. There are few things Canadians require that are not to be found at these stores. It has been urged against the Hudson's Bay Company that it obstructed the development of the great North-West. On the contrary, it was engaged for two centuries in important pioneer work. Any corporation of the kind with exclusive privileges and rights was bound to make enemies; but no single Province of Canada could have undertaken the administration or development of the western country before Confederation, and neither men nor women were available locally to permit of its blossoming out separately as a Colony or as a series of provinces. Whatever may have been the faults of the Company, history will record that it explored a vast territory, prepared the way for its settlement and colonisation, fulfilled an important part in the history of Canada, had not a little to do with the consolidation of the Dominion and with the development of the western country, and that its work was for the advantage of the Empire as a whole.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—EDITOR'S NOTES

The Company and the North-West Passage. One of the objects aimed at in granting a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company was to further the discovery of the "North-west Passage." Beginning in 1719, and ending, probably in despair, in 1737, the Hudson's Bay Company fitted and sent out six separate expeditions, which the Parliamentary Committee of 1749 record in their Appendix. The instructions to the Commanders usually ended, "So God send the good ship a successful discovery, and to return in safety. Amen." The list was as follows:

1719. *Albany*, frigate, Captain George Berley, sailed from England on or about the 5th of June. Never returned.

1719. *Prosperous*, Captain Henry Kelsey, sailed from York Fort, June 19th. Returned 10th August following.

Success, John Hancock, master, sailed from Prince of Wales' Fort, July 2nd. Returned 10th August.

1721. *Prosperous*, Captain Henry Kelsey, sailed from York Fort, June 6th. Returned 2nd September.

Success, John Napper, master, sailed from York Fort, June 26th. Lost 30th of same month.

1721. *Whalebone*, John Scroggs, master, sailed from Gravesend, 31st May, wintered at Prince of Wales' Fort.

1723. *Whalebone* sailed from thence 21st June. Returned July 25th following.

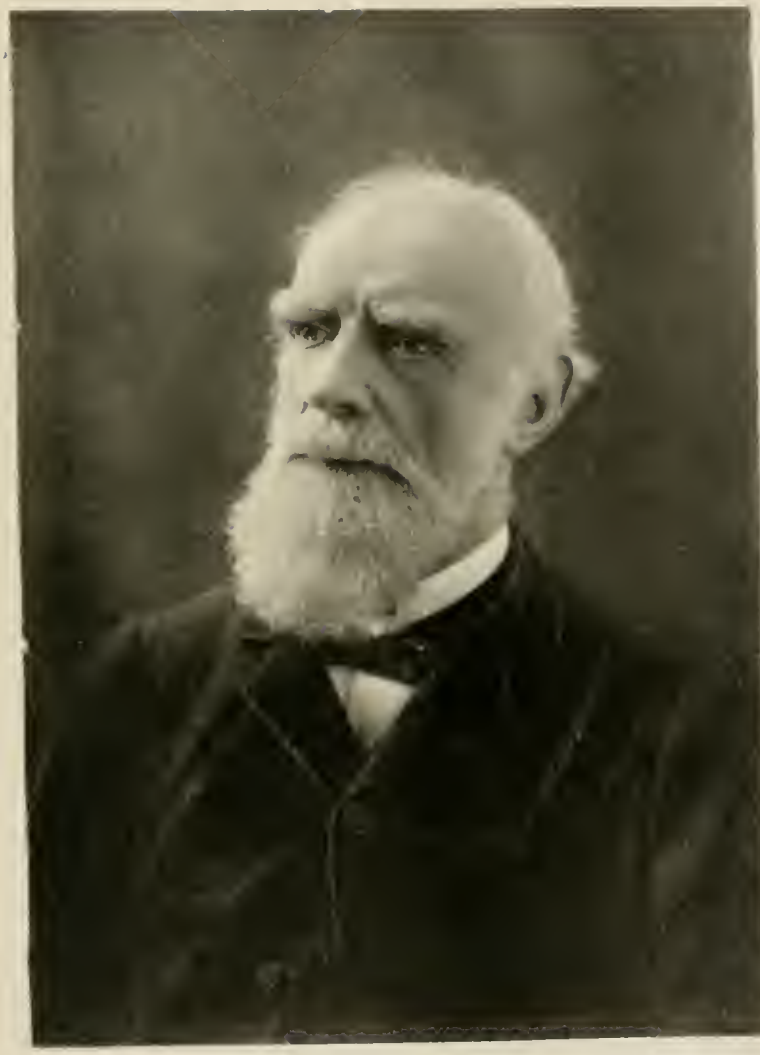
1737. *The Churchill*, James Napper, master, sailed from Prince of Wales' Fort, July 7th. The Captain died on 8th August, and the vessel returned on the 18th.

The Musquash, Robert Crow, master, sailed from Prince of Wales' Fort, July 7th. Returned 22nd August.

Pioneer Fur Trading. The position of the Hudson's Bay Company in its earlier days was well brought out by the Parliamentary Committee of 1749. Its capital, increased by doublings and treblings of its nominal amount, was, in 1748, £103,950, held by eighty-six proprietors. The trade between London and Hudson's Bay was carried on then and for some previous years by four ships. The cost of the exports was in 1748 £5,102 12s. 3d., and the value of the sales of furs and other exports in that year amounted to £30,160 5s. 11d. The "charge attending the carrying on of the Hudson's Bay trade and maintaining their factories," in 1748, is stated to have been £17,352 4s. 10d. The original cash capital was £10,500. That capital was trebled in 1690, making the nominal capital £31,500, and in August, 1720, it was proposed to augment the cash capital and to make the nominal total £378,000. But at a General Court, held on the 23rd December, 1720, it was resolved to "vacate the subscription" by reason of the present scarcity of moneys, and the deadness of credit. A trade which, by sending out about £5,000 a year, brought back a return of £30,000, was no doubt worth preserving; and even taking the outlay for working and maintenance of forts and establishments, there was over eight per cent on the nominal capital left, or probably 40 per cent. on all the cash actually paid in.

Sir Edward Watkin gives in his Memoirs some particulars of the exchange of commodities which are historically interesting. The system of trade was a simple barter. The equivalent of value was beaver skins, while skins of less value were again calculated as so much of each for one beaver. A pound and a half of gunpowder, one beaver; one blanket, six beavers; two bayonets, one beaver; four fire-steels, one beaver; one pistol, four beavers; twelve needles, one beaver; one four-foot gun, twelve beavers; three knives, one beaver; and so on over a long list of various articles. Some of the things exchanged nearly 150 years ago, show that the Indians had a good knowledge of trade, and of objects used by civilized people. For example: brandy (English) one gallon, four beavers; vermillion, one and a half ounces, one beaver; and so with combs, egg boxes, files, glasses, goggles, handkerchiefs, hats (laced), hawk bells, rings, scissors, spoons, shirts, shoes, stockings, and thimbles, which had a considerable place in the traffic.

The Legal Position of the Company. The validity of the Hudson's Bay Charter and the



DONALD A. SMITH, 1ST LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL.

extent of its rights under that charter has always been an important question, and was a crucial point in the discussions of 1868-9 between the Canadian, Imperial and Hudson's Bay authorities. The Hudson's Bay Company as far back as the 10th of June, 1814, sought an opinion respecting the Red River territory from the learned counsel, Samuel Romilly, G. S. Holroyd, William Cruse, James Scarlett and John Bell, who replied as follows: "We are of opinion that the grant of the soil contained in the Charter is good, and that it will include all countries the waters of which flow into Hudson's Bay; that an individual, holding from the Hudson's Bay Company a lease or grant, in fee simple, or any portion of their territory, will be entitled to all the ordinary rights of landed property in England; that the grant of civil and criminal jurisdiction is valid, and to be exercised by the Governor and Council as Judges, who are to proceed according to the laws of England; that the Company may appoint a Sheriff to execute judgments and do his duty, as in England; that all persons will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, who reside or are to be found within the territories over which it extends; and we do not think that the Act 43, Geo. 3, c. 138 (commonly called the Canada Jurisdiction Act), gives jurisdiction within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company—the same being within the jurisdiction of their own Governors and Council."

Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, in a letter to Sir John Pelly, Governor of the Company, dated June 6th, 1850, concluded as follows: "Lord Grey, therefore, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, adopting the most effectual means open to him for answering the requirements of the Address, has been obliged, in the absence of any parties prepared to contest the rights claimed by the Company, to assume the opinion of the law officers of the Crown in its favour to be well founded." Daniel Webster is quoted by Mr. Alexander Begg in his History of the North-West as having stated that, "I entertain no doubt that these companies have a vested proprietary interest in these lands. Their title to its full extent is protected by treaty, and, although it is called a possessory title, it has been regarded as being, if not an absolute fee in the land, yet such a fixed right of possession, use and occupation, as to prevent the soil from being alienated to others." M. Begg also quotes Edwin M. Stanton's declaration that "Not only was the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company recognized by its Government, but also its absolute right to grant and convey vast and unlimited portions of territory to others."

The grounds of complaint and opposition from local agitators like Mr. A. K. Isbister, rival companies such as the North-West Company, and ambitious Provinces like Canada, have been briefly summarized as follows:

1. That the Charter was granted by Royal prerogative without Parliamentary ratification.

2. That it was illegal for the Crown to grant a monopoly of trade to a favoured company of subjects.

3. That the obligations imposed by the professed objects of the Company, to search for a passage to the South Sea, and also to explore for mineral wealth, had been wholly neglected by the Company, which sternly discountenanced and withstood all such enterprises when prompted by others.

4. That a part at least of the territories claimed by the Company was really exempted from the grant made to it, which recognized a possible possession by the subjects of some other "Christian Prince."

Charges Against the Company Examined. The legality, force, and application of the Royal Charter to the Hudson's Bay Company was considered and further dealt with on the 10th of August, 1748, by the British Attorney General, Sir Dudley Ryder, and the Solicitor-General, Sir William Murray—afterwards Lord Mansfield. The Report, of which the following extracts are the most vital, was presented to the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council, and dealt with a petition from a certain Committee of merchants and traders who sought a Charter similar to that of the Hudson's Bay Company. The conclusion of the two eminent legal advisers of the Crown was as follows:

"We have taken the same into consideration, and have been attended by counsel both in behalf of the petitioners and the Hudson's Bay Company, who opposes the petition as it interferes

with its Charter. The petitioners insisted on two general things: That the Company's Charter was either void in its original creation, or became forfeited by the Company's conduct under it; and that the petitioners have by their late attempts to discover the North-West Passage and navigation in those parts merited the favour petitioned for. As to the first, the petitioners endeavoured to show that the grant of the country and territories included in the Company's Charter was void for the uncertainty of its extent, being bounded by no limits of mountains, rivers, seas, latitude or longitude, and that the grant of the exclusive trade within such limits as there were, was a monopoly, and void on that account.

With respect to both these, considering how long the Company has enjoyed and acted under this Charter without interruption or encroachment, we cannot think it advisable for His Majesty to make an express or implied declaration against the validity of it, till there has been some judgment of a Court of Justice to warrant it; and the rather because if the Charter is void in either respect, there is nothing to hinder the petitioners from exercising the same trade which the Company now carries on, and the petitioner's own grant, if obtained, will itself be liable in a great degree to the same objection. As to the supposed forfeiture of the Company's Charter by non-user or abuser, the charge upon that head is of several sorts, viz.: That it has not discovered nor sufficiently attempted to discover the North-West Passage into the South Seas or Western Ocean; that it has not extended its settlements through the limits of its Charter; that it has designedly confined its trade to a very narrow compass, and has for that purpose abused the Indians, neglected its own Forts, ill-treated its own servants, and encouraged the French.

But on consideration of all the evidence laid before us, by many affidavits on both sides (herewith enclosed) we think these charges are either not sufficiently supported in point of fact, or in a great measure accounted for from the nature or circumstances of the case. As to the petitioners' merit, it consists in the late attempts made to discover the same passage, which, however as yet unsuccessful in the main point, may probably be of use hereafter in that discovery if it should ever be made, or in opening some trade or other if any should hereafter be found practicable; and have certainly lost the petitioners considerable sums of money. But as the grant proposed is not necessary in order to prosecute any future attempt of the like kind, and the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company does not prohibit the petitioners from the use of any of the ports, rivers or seas included in their Charter, or deprive them of the protection of the present settlements there, we humbly submit to Your Lordship's consideration whether it will be proper at present to grant a charter to the petitioners, which must necessarily break in upon that of the Hudson's Bay Company, and may occasion great confusion by the interfering interest of two Companies setting up the same trade against each other in the same parts and under like exclusive charters."

Disputes with Russia. An important incident in general Canadian history, as well as in the annals of the Hudson's Bay Company, was the trouble with Russia in 1833-39. The Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825 had provided for the free navigation of streams crossing Russian territory in their course from the British possessions to the ocean. Taking advantage of this proviso, the Hudson's Bay Company pushed forward its trading posts to the Stikine River. In 1833 it fitted out the brig, *Dryad*, for the purpose of establishing a permanent station on that river. Information of these proceedings was at once conveyed to Governor Wrangel, at Sitka, and he notified the managers of the Russian Fur Company at St. Petersburg, asking them to induce the Imperial Government to rescind the clause in the Treaty under which the British Company had thus encroached on Russian territory. As a further motive for this request, the Governor reported that the British Company had violated the agreement to abstain from selling firearms and spirituous liquors to the natives. The Emperor granted the petition, and the British and United States Governments were notified of the fact. Both protested through their ministers at St. Petersburg, but in vain; the reply of the Russian Foreign Office being that the objectionable clause would terminate in the following year.

Without waiting, however, to be informed of the success or failure of his application, Baron Wrangel despatched two armed vessels to the mouth of the Stikine River. There, according to Mr. Begg's History of British Columbia, a fortified station was established. The fort was built on the site of an Indian village, near the town of Wrangel. These warlike preparations were unknown to the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, and when the *Dryad* approached the mouth of the Stikine, the men on deck were surprised by a puff of white smoke and a loud report from the densely wooded shore, followed by several shots from vessels in the offing. The brig was at once put about and anchored just out of range ; whereupon a boat was sent from shore, carrying an officer who in the name of the Governor of the Russian Colonies and the Emperor of Russia, protested against the entrance of a British vessel into a river belonging to Russian territory. All appeals on the part of the Company's agents were ineffectual. They were informed that if they desired to save themselves, their property and their vessel, they must weigh anchor at once. After a brief delay, the *Dryad* returned to Fort Vancouver.

The authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company lost no time in sending reports of this affair to London, accompanied with a statement that the loss incurred through Russian interference with its projects amounted to £20,000 sterling. The British Government immediately demanded satisfaction from Russia, but the matter was not finally settled until 1839, when a Convention met in London to settle the points of dispute between the two corporations, and in a few weeks solved difficulties which experienced diplomatists had failed to unravel in years. The claim of the Hudson's Bay Company was waived on the condition that the Russian Company should grant a lease to the former of all their continental territory lying between Cape Spencer and latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes. The annual rental was fixed at two thousand land-otter skins, and at the same time the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to supply the Russian Colony with a large quantity of provisions at moderate rates. The agreement gave satisfaction to both parties. At the end of the term first agreed upon, the lease was renewed for a period of ten years, and twice afterwards for periods of four years.

The Rivals of the Hudson's Bay Company. The rivalry of the great trading companies throughout Northern Canada fills one of the most stirring pages in the history of the world. Out of their struggle for furs and territorial rights came discoveries, explorations and countless adventures, succeeded by colonization and the eventual triumph of civilization and the flag of Britain. Mr. Alexander Begg, in his "History of the North-West," devotes many chapters to this period, and of these the following summary is instructive.

The agents and officers of the Fur Companies early penetrated the country beyond the Rocky Mountains in all directions, and established posts in New Caledonia (now British Columbia) on McLeod Lake, in 1805; on Stuart Lake, in 1806; on the Jackanut (now the Fraser) at Fort George, in 1807; and in 1808 an expedition started to trace the Jackanut to the sea. This expedition discovered the Thompson River in 1808, and in 1811 traversed the Columbia from its extreme northern bend to its mouth.

The North-West Company at this time far outstripped its chartered rival of Hudson's Bay in the establishment of trading posts throughout the interior, and its officers, being stimulated by the hope of becoming partners, showed more zeal and activity than their opponents in extending the fur trade to all parts of the North-West. The Hudson's Bay Company presented no such inducements to extra exertion on the part of its officers, as each individual had then a fixed salary without any prospect of becoming a proprietor, and so long as he did his duty did not feel himself called upon to do more. This was one advantage the North-West Company had over its rival, and another was the employment by it of French-Canadians as canoe men, trappers and traders. Although wild and reckless at times, these men were remarkable for obedience to their superiors, and for their skill in managing canoes, capability of enduring hardships, and facility in adapting themselves to the habits and peculiarities of the various tribes. These qualities rendered them more popular in the eyes of the Indians than the

men from Orkney employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The men from the north of Scotland, although hardy, were stubborn, unbending and matter-of-fact in their intercourse with the natives, and, added to this, no idea of supererogation ever entered their minds. They were, therefore, not so popular with the Indians, or so successful in trade as the rollicking, reckless French Canadians; so that the latter penetrated regions in the prosecution of trade far ahead of the former.

The North-West Company, indefatigable in its efforts to extend its trade, after establishing posts adjoining the different factories of the Hudson's Bay Company wherever they were built, continued its progress to the northward and westward, and formed numerous trading stations at Athabaska, Peace River, Great and Lesser Slave Lakes, New Caledonia, the Columbia, etc., etc. No officer was more active or more successful in this work than Mr. John Stuart—one of the partners of the North-West Company—who discovered and named the lake which bears his name. He and his associates were so active that their influence with the natives became all powerful, and they in fact enjoyed a monopoly of trade in the far west, which for a long time was left undisturbed by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

While this was going on in the north, Fur companies were being established south of the American boundary line, and carried on an active trade in peltries in that region. First, the Mackinaw Company was formed and held a monopoly until the American Fur Company was established by Mr. Astor in 1809, when the two became amalgamated under the name of the South-West, in contradistinction to the North-West, Company. Mr. John Jacob Astor, of New York, a German by birth, but a citizen of the United States, had raised himself by his adventurous and enterprising spirit from small beginnings to be one of the most eminent merchants in America. Soon after his arrival in the United States in 1784, he commenced his commercial career in the traffic of furs; at first on a narrow scale, but gradually expanding as his means increased. In this way he made visits to Canada, purchasing furs and shipping them direct to the London market, and it is supposed that at this period his buoyant and aspiring mind conceived the vast project of grasping in his own hands at some future day the whole fur trade of North America.

Mr. Astor, when he saw himself at the head of the great South-West Company, formed the idea of penetrating through the barriers of the Northern Company, so as to come eventually into possession of all the fur trade east of the Rocky Mountains. As a stepping stone to the accomplishment of this grand scheme, he turned his attention to the trade on the coast of the Pacific, which at the time was chiefly in the hands of the Russians. A few American coasting vessels also carried on a lucrative trade, and Mr. Astor perceived that if such limited and desultory traffic produced large profits, a well regulated trade supported by capital and prosecuted with system, would result in immense gains.

The first step taken by him was the formation of a branch of the fur trading business which he styled the "Pacific Fur Company," the grand central depot of which was to be at the mouth of the Columbia River. He thus contemplated carrying off the furs of all the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, and by forming a chain of trading posts across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he hoped by means of his South-West Company in the east, and the Pacific Company in the west, to capture the entire trade of the country. It was a grand commercial scheme, and attracted much attention at the time, especially in the United States, but Mr. Astor did not sufficiently take into consideration the power, influence and activity of the North-West Company, when laying his plans. He did not calculate upon the untiring energy of such men as John Stuart, McGillivray, McTavish and others to upset his schemes. Here is where he did not show his characteristic foresight, for when he made a proposition to the North-West Company to join him, and it was rejected, he should have arranged for a better protection against the wiles of the Nor'-Westers than was the case.

Then followed four years of desperate struggle between the two Companies, the disastrous attempt to found Astoria, and the final collapse of the American schemes. No doubt the North-West Company made the best bargain it could, but it would appear as if both principals in the final arrangements were dissatisfied. Mr. Astor,

on the one hand, thought that he received too little, and Mr. John Stuart, on behalf of the Nor'-Westers, declared that McTavish, who had the negotiations in hand, had paid too much. The transaction was mutually accepted, however, on the 16th of October, 1813, and the whole sales (including furs and merchandize) amounted, it is said, to $80,500, for which bills on the agents of the North-West Company in Canada were to be given.

The latter Company, however, continued to meet with many difficulties, and instead of trying to conciliate the Indians, adopted a high-handed course which made matters worse. Added to this, the Hudson's Bay Company commenced to use more energetic measures to extend its trade, and, taking a leaf out of the Nor'-Wester's book, began to employ Canadians in place of its Orkney men, the result being that it soon pushed its trade into districts hitherto monopolized by the North-West Company. Forts were taken by assault, the Indians were bribed to take part in the war, and bloodshed and cruelty to prisoners ensued. Such a state of affairs could not, of course, last long, and in 1821 the long and violent conflict and rivalry between the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies ceased through their coalition. By this arrangement, the results of the Nor'-Wester's efforts on the Pacific coast passed under the management, and was carried on in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1839 the Hudson's Bay Company entered into an arrangement with Russia for the lease of Alaska, and its trading posts were thus established at all eligible points from Behring Sea on the north to San Francisco to the south.

Forts Founded by the Company.—The dates of the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company forts, past and present, in the territory which was formerly included in Oregon and New Caledonia (British Columbia) are given in the following list. They were compiled with much difficulty for the Year Book of British Columbia and will illustrate in some measure the success of the Fur Companies in holding the vast extent of country over which they traded and ruled:

1784. Kodiak.
1798-1801. Sitka.
1805. Rocky Mountain Portage.
Fort McLeod.
Clatsop.
1806. St. James.
Fraser.
1807. George.
1808. Henry.
Kootenai.
1811. Astoria.
Thompson.
Flathead House.
Fort Sheppard.
Okanagan.
Rocky Mountain House.
Spokane House.
1813. Kamloops.
1815. Walla Walla.
1821. Alexandria.
Chilcotin.
1822. Babine.
1824-5. Vancouver.
1825-6. Colville.
1826. Connolly.
1827. Langley.
1829. Williammette Settlement.
1831. (Old) Fort Simpson.
1832. Umqua.
Redoubt St. Dionysius.
1833. McLaughlin.
Nisqually.
Champoeg.
Hall.
Simpson.
1834. Fort Yukon.
1835. Essington.
Boise.
Rupert.
1837. Cowlitz.
1838. Dease.
1834-40. Stickine.
1840. Taku.
Frances.
1842. Pelly Banks.
1843. Victoria.
1847. Hope.
1848. Fort Selkirk (Mouth of the Yukon).
Yale.
1852. Nanaimo.
1868. Fort Tongass (Alaska).
1882. Juneau (Alaska).

Sir Alexander Mackenzie is believed to have been born at Inverness about 1755. In 1779 he entered the counting-house in Toronto of one of the partners in the North-West Fur Company. In 1787 he was sent to Detroit with a small venture of goods on condition that he penetrated into the Indian Territory beyond during the ensuing spring. This he did, but was bitterly opposed by the Indians, and only after a severe struggle was able to obtain a share in their trade. In 1789, after two years' experience amongst the Indians at Fort Chippewayan, at the head of Lake Athabasca in the Hudson's Bay Territory, Mackenzie was sent out to explore the then unknown region of the North-West, supposed to be bound by the Frozen Sea. His voyage in birch-bark canoes, and attended with infinite danger, occupied 102 days. Having reached Great Slave Lake he discovered the immense river which bears his name—descended it to the

Arctic Ocean and then retraced his steps. After a period of home trading he started again in 1792 to cross the British part of the continent. After eleven months of perilous travel he passed over the Rocky Mountains and reached the Pacific. He again retraced his steps and settled down to the profitable pursuit of the fur trade. He published in 1801 a narrative of his explorations in the North-West and dedicated it to George III. In 1802 Mr. Mackenzie was knighted. Although retaining a partnership in the North-West Company he set up a rival fur company under the style of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Co., which in 1805 was amalgamated with the older North-West Company. At a later period he represented Huntingdon County in the Provincial Parliament and was involved in much litigation with Lord Selkirk concerning the Red River Settlement. In 1812 he went to Scotland and bought an estate at Avoch, Ross-shire. When journeying to Edinburgh eight years afterwards, he was taken suddenly ill and died near Dunkeld in 1820.

The Rivalry with other Companies. The early struggles of the Hudson's Bay Company with rival concerns are well described in the following letter from Sir J. H. Pelly, Governor of the Company in London, to Lord Glenelg, then Colonial Secretary, dated 10th February, 1837:

"Before the union of the rival Companies in 1821, the trade on the north-west coast of America from the Mexican frontiers to Behring's Straits, was nearly or wholly enjoyed by American and Russian subjects. Some efforts had been made, at enormous costs and sacrifices by the North-West Company, to compete with the Americans—the history of which is recorded in a popular work lately published by Mr. Washington Irving, under the title of 'Astoria'—but these efforts were both costly and unsuccessful, and the North-West Company were on the point of being compelled to abandon the trade. The Russian establishments at Norfolk Sound, and at other places on the coast, even so far south as the coast of California, and the American expeditions subsequent to the peace from Boston, New York, and other parts of the United States, had obtained a monopoly of the coast trade.

In the face of these disadvantages the Hudson's Bay Company felt it their duty to attempt to regain the trade, and to re-establish British influence in the countries adjoining the coast, and to the mouth of the river of Columbia, within the limits of the last convention entered into with the court of Russia; and they have succeeded after a severe and expensive competition, in establishing their settlements, and obtaining a decided superiority, if not an exclusive enjoyment of the trade, the Americans having almost withdrawn from the coast. In the course of the last year they had occasion to appeal to His Majesty's Government for protection and indemnity for a serious act of aggression and violence on the part of an armed Russian force on the coast, which impeded their operations and occasioned them a loss to the extent of upwards of £20,000. The Russian Government has hitherto only consented to disavow the act of its officer, and to give instructions prohibiting further obstruction to the expeditions of the Company within the trading limits agreed upon in the Convention; and the Company now wait with the firmest reliance on the further efforts of the Government for an indemnity for their great loss.

Beyond the difficulties arising from an active competition with the Americans, and the violent and oppressive proceedings on the part of the Russians, the Company has had to contend with other serious obstacles, both on the coast and in the interior, from a savage and formidable native population whose habits of intoxication and other vices, encouraged by the competition, have been to a great degree restrained by the temperate and vigourous conduct of its traders. Great loss of property, and in some cases loss of life, have been incurred by savage and murderous attacks on its hunting parties and establishments, and order has only been restored and peace maintained by the employment, at a great expense, of considerable force, and by the exercise, on the part of its servants, of the utmost temper, patience and perseverance.

The Company now occupies the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific by six permanent establishments on the coasts, sixteen in the interior country, besides several migratory and hunting parties, and it maintains a marine

of six armed vessels, one of them a steam vessel, on the coast. Its principal establishment and depot for the trade of the coast and the interior is situated ninety miles from the Pacific, on the northern banks of the Columbia River, and is called Vancouver in honour of that celebrated navigator. In the neighbourhood it has large pasture and grain farms, affording most abundantly every species of agricultural produce, and maintaining large herds of stock of every description; these have been gradually established; and it is the intention of the Company still further, not only to augment and increase them, to establish an export trade in wool, tallow, hides and other agricultural produce, but to encourage the settlement of its retired servants and other emigrants under its protection.

The soil, climate and other circumstances of the country are as much if not more adapted to agricultural pursuits than any other spot in America, and with care and protection the British dominion may not only be preserved in this country, which it has been so much the wish of Russia and America to occupy to the exclusion of British subjects, but British interest and British influence may be maintained as paramount in this interesting part of the coast of the Pacific."

Management of the North-West Company. The constitution and working system of the North-West Company was a most interesting one. Mr. Alexander Begg in his History of British Columbia (He should not be confused with the author of the "History of the North-West", who bears the same name) has given us an elaborate description from which the following facts are gathered. The Company was formed in the winter of 1783-4, by the larger part of the wealthiest and most influential of the merchants of Montreal. The number of shares originally was sixteen. Among the partners were Simon McTavish, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, McGillivray, Recheblave, Fraser and others. Messrs. Pond, Pangman, Gregory, McLeod, and the afterwards famous Sir Alexander Mackenzie were admitted to the partnership in 1787, and the number of shares was increased to twenty. The Company then included the best mercantile men in the country—the choicest of purely Canadian fur traders. The partners were not required to pay any money into the concern, but every one of them had to be a strong man in some particular branch of the business.

At this time the two wealthiest commercial establishments in Montreal were those of the Messrs. Frobisher and Simon McTavish. These two distinct houses, while continuing their regular business, acted conjointly as agents of the North-West Company in Montreal. They supplied the necessary capital for conducting the business, and received interest on the money actually used in the Company's transactions. They obtained supplies from England, kept the goods on hand in Montreal according to the requirements of the trade, and packed and shipped to the Grand Portage on the north of Lake Superior—the headquarters of the Company. Here the French-Canadian hunters brought their furs every spring and took fresh supplies away with them to the far interior. To this *rendezvous* two of the Montreal agents proceeded every year to attend to the transfer business, for which service the Montreal partners received an additional commission on their shares.

A certain number of the shareholders spent their time in the Indian and fur-trading country, managing the business with the assistance of clerks, and were termed "wintering partners." They were not obliged to furnish capital, but ability and energy were imperative. Such was the skill and influence of some of them that they held two shares, with one of which they might at any time retire from active service, naming a clerk as successor, who was entitled to the other share. It was a system which produced an admirable combination of skill and capital, and seemed to be founded not on speculative theory but on actual experience and practical necessity.

It was not an easy matter to obtain admission into this partnership. It could only be accomplished by long and arduous service; money was no object, ability was everything. It was what the candidate could perform, not his relationship which secured him the position. Clerks succeeded to partnership after a five or seven years' apprenticeship, receiving one hundred pounds sterling for the term, according to priority

and merit. If, at the expiration of their apprenticeship, there was no immediate vacancy in the partnership, a salary of from one to three hundred pounds per annum was allowed according to merit, until they could take their place as partners.

Apprentices during their initiation term sometimes added to their duties the office of interpreter, receiving extra pay therefor. Shares could only be sold to servants of the Company, whose admission as partners was secured by vote; the seller of a share received only its value based upon actual earning and irrespective of probable dividends. This held out to meritorious young men, who had served a five or seven years' apprenticeship, the prospect of some day obtaining shares without the payment of a premium; and if worthy, they were seldom disappointed. Each share was entitled to a vote, and a two-thirds vote was necessary to the carrying of a measure. Thus, by a liberal and intelligent policy interest was aroused and emulation sustained, and the affairs of the Company were no less wisely ordered than efficiently executed.

From such a complete organization signal success was at first obtained. In 1788, the gross return of the trade was £40,000. It reached three times that amount in eleven years. The partnership having in 1790 expired through lapse of time, was renewed. Some of the former partners retired; others were admitted, and the shares were increased to the number of forty-six. A new firm was formed by the retired partners and others, who built a new fort, and styled themselves the X.Y. Company. So, for a time, there was an additional powerful Company in the field; but in 1805, yielding to the dictates of interest, the two Companies united. The new fort was named Fort William, after William McGillivray who had originated the measure which, first in the North-West Company, and later in the Hudson's Bay Company, made every efficient clerk in due time partner or shareholder.

Customs of the Hudson's Bay Company. The forts of the Hudson's Bay Company, the early methods and character of the fur trade and the customs and life of those employed in its pursuit, are subjects of much interest. In the British Columbia Year Book for 1897 may be found the following particulars:

"The trading posts on the coast of British Columbia were mostly quadrangular forts, surrounded by tall palisades, flanked by bastions, armed with medium six-pounders and twelve-pounder carronades, with cartridges, round shot, grape and cannister, being always ready for action, not for mere empty show, but for use when required, which fortunately seldom happened. All around the inside of the palisades was a gallery, the platform of which was about four and a half feet below the top of the palisades, and at intervals were sockets for mounting blunderbusses on swivels. These were also kept in readiness for action.

There was a front gate and a back gate in the palisades, each gateway ten feet wide and twelve feet in height. The gates were in pairs, and were about ten inches in thickness, made of stout plank doubled and strongly bolted together. The tops of the palisades were eighteen feet above the ground and consisted of stout cedar logs fitted closely together. The bastions were usually octagonal, of three stories, with ports and loop-holes, and contained stands of muskets, bayonets, and ammunition ready for use. In each gate was a wicket for ordinary ingress and egress, which was closed to all parties after 9 p.m., when the watch for the night was set. The watchmen had to walk around the buildings within the stockade once every half hour, then mount the gallery and continue to walk thereon round the Fort. 'All's well' was called by them every half hour during the night. The different ordinary movements for the day were regulated by ringing the Fort bell at 5.30 a.m. for all hands to turn out; at 6 a.m. the work for the day of the different employés was given to them by the officer in charge; at 8 a.m. for breakfast; at 9 to "turn to"; at 12 m. for dinner; at 1 p.m. to resume work; at 6 p.m. for supper.

The labours of the day then ceased for the operatives, but the clerks were kept at work until 9 and frequently until 10 p.m. Strict discipline was enforced. No irregularities were allowed, and all hands, without reference to their special tenets of religion, had to attend service on Sunday morning in the officer's mess room at 10 a.m.

The service was read by the officer in charge, who, though often a Presbyterian, and sometimes a Roman Catholic, had to use the Church of England Book of Common Prayer. In regard to this regulation the force of habit and of good discipline were well exemplified when, through the influx of population it happened that churches were built and regular congregations organized, the sturdy Presbyterians who had become accustomed to the use of the Prayer Book with its simple though strongly devotional language, followed it to the Anglican Churches, and worshipped there in the hearing of the prayers to which from custom they had become attached.

Besides carrying on the fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Company raised horses, horned cattle, sheep, and other farm stock. It had large farms in different parts of the country, grist mills, saw mills, tanneries, fisheries, etc., and exported flour, grain, beef, pork and butter to the Russian settlements in Alaska—lumber and fish to the Sandwich Islands—and hides and wool to England, from what is now the Province of British Columbia. The coal mines at Nanaimo were opened by the Hudson's Bay Company after an unremunerative expenditure of £25,000 in the search for coal at Fort Rupert."

The Company and Vancouver Island. The story of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island is an interesting illustration of British methods of colonization. Mr. Alexander Begg gives the details in his "History of British Columbia."

No sooner had the Oregon boundary question been disposed of than the subject of settling the British territories came to the front. The tide of immigration was pouring into Oregon, and miners into California, and it seemed necessary that something should be done on the British side of the line. English statesmen did not see why the Pacific Coast should not be utilized for the reception of the surplus population of Great Britain, and the matter was soon brought before Parliament. A letter from the Hudson's Bay Company had been meanwhile addressed to Lord Grey, stating that their establishment was every year enlarging, and asking for a grant of land. Negotiations to obtain Vancouver Island continued until March, 1847, when Sir J. H. Pelly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, informed Earl Grey that the Company would "undertake the government and colonization of all the territories belonging to the Crown in North America and receive a grant accordingly."

This proposition was naturally too extensive for the British Government, so the negotiations were suspended until 1848, when a more moderate proposition was made, by which the Company offered to continue the management of the whole territory north of the forty-ninth degree; but was willing to accept Vancouver Island alone for colonization purposes. It undertook not to accept any pecuniary advantage from colonizing the territory in question, and promised that all moneys received for lands or minerals should be applied to purposes connected with the improvement of the country. The British Government had not as yet fully determined what should be done. The Company, however, had a charter prepared asking for a grant of the whole of Vancouver Island, and this was laid before Parliament.

The Earl of Lincoln (afterwards Duke of Newcastle) in the House of Commons, on 17th July, 1848, made an enquiry which had reference partly to the Company's powers at the Red River settlement. He announced himself in favour of the grant of Vancouver Island. Mr. Gladstone spoke against the measure, being of opinion that the corporation was not qualified for the undertaking. Mr. Howard believed that it would be most unwise to confer the extensive powers proposed on a fur-trading company; yet as California had lately been ceded to the United States, it appeared to him a matter of the highest importance that a flourishing British colony should be established on the western American coast in order to balance the increased strength of the United States in that quarter. Lord John Russell explained that the Company already held exclusive privileges, which did not expire until 1859; that it now held these western lands by a Crown grant dated 13th May, 1838, confirming its possession for twenty-one years from that date; that these privileges could not be taken from it without breach of principle, and that if colonization were delayed until the expiration of this term squatters from

the United States might step in and possess themselves of the Island. The matter was referred to the Privy Council Committee for Trade and Plantations, who on 4th September reported in favour of the grant of Vancouver Island to the Company, and its being vested in it for colonization purposes.

The grant was duly made on 13th January, 1849, to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, and its successors, with the royalties of the seas, and all mines belonging to it forever, subject only to the domination of the British Crown, and to the yearly rent of seventeen shillings, payable on the first day of every year. It was to settle upon the Island, within five years, a colony of British subjects, and to dispose of land for the purposes of colonization at reasonable prices, retaining ten per cent. of all the moneys received from such source, as well as from coal or other minerals, and applying the remaining nine-tenths toward public improvement upon the Island. Such lands as might be necessary for a naval station and for other government establishments were to be reserved. The Company should, every two years, report to the Imperial Government the number of colonists settled in the Island and the lands sold. If, at the expiration of five years, no settlement should have been made, the grant would be forfeited; and if at the expiration of the Company's license of exclusive trade with the Indians, in 1859, the Government should so elect, it might recover from the Company the Island, on payment of such sums of money as had been actually expended by it in colonization; that is to say, the Crown reserved the right to recall the grant at the end of five years should the Company either from lack of ability or will, fail to colonize, and to buy it back at the end of ten years by the payment of whatever sum the Company should have in the meantime expended. Except during hostilities between Great Britain and any foreign power, the Company was to defray all expenses of all civil and military establishments for the government and protection of the Island.

As years passed on, it became clear that colonization had not made much headway, and certainly not as much progress as had been expected by the Imperial Government. The Company's management became satisfied that the Island could no longer be held strictly for fur trading purposes; indeed, several of the largest shareholders announced themselves as opposed to the renewal of the charter. In the House of Commons there grew up a strong feeling against the Company's monopoly, and this, along with dissatisfaction amongst the colonists, led to the enquiry and Select Committee of 1857. Two years later the transfer was made to the Crown.

Sir James Douglas was born in Demerara, British Guiana, South America, in 1803, his parents having emigrated from Scotland shortly before. They soon died; and in 1815 with an elder brother, he set out for the North-West Territory, where he entered the service of the North West Company at a time when the rivalry between it and the Hudson's Bay Company was at its height. For this service he was pre-eminently suited, as in addition to his strength and coolness he possessed great tact in dealing with the Indians and in maintaining discipline amongst them. When the two Companies were amalgamated in 1821, Mr. Douglas soon rose to a position of influence and in course of time became Chief Factor of the Company, in which capacity he encountered many adventures, travelled great distances and made most important discoveries. About 1833 he became Chief Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company for the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and made his headquarters at Fort Vancover in what was then the territory of Oregon. In 1842 he passed over to Vancouver Island to establish a trading post there, at what is now Victoria, and in 1846, when Fort Vancouver was transferred to the United States, the western headquarters of the Company were changed to this place.

In 1848 the Island was granted by the Crown to the Company for ten years, and it undertook to establish a colony with local self-government. When the first Governor (Mr. Blanchard) returned to England in 1851 he was succeeded by Mr. Douglas, whose first official Act was to pay the Indians for their lands. In 1856 representative institutions were granted to the infant colony and in June its first Parliament met. In 1857 the commission of Mr. Douglas as Governor

was renewed for six years. About this time the discovery of gold caused a great influx of population, and in 1859 the grant of the Company having expired, Vancouver Island became a Crown Colony, with Victoria as its capital and Mr. Douglas as Governor. He was also invested with the dignity of C.B. Then came the San Juan difficulty when the Americans claimed that Island as having been ceded to them by the Oregon Treaty. After some discussion and excitement it was awarded to them in 1872 by the Emperor of Germany as Arbitrator. Meanwhile a Government had been organized on the mainland of British Columbia with Mr. Douglas at its head, and he at once raised £100,000 in England by loan, and treated with a company to open a road from Yale to Cariboo, so that the suffering people at the mines might get food. This road was completed in 1863, and in the same year Mr. Douglas was knighted. He retired from his Governorship shortly afterwards after proving to the people of both island and mainland his great ability and honesty as an administrator. He then made a tour of Europe, and on his return retired from public life, settling in Victoria, where he died in 1877.

Charges against the Company investigated. There were many charges made against the Hudson's Bay Company during the stormy times of competition with the Nor'-Westers and in its later period of almost autocratic power. Mr. A. K. Isbister, about the middle of the century, led in the attacks upon the corporation. Finally, a letter dated 23rd January, 1849, and written by Mr. Benjamin Hawes, M.P., Under-Secretary for the Colonies, on behalf of his chief, was sent to Mr. Isbister, as follows: "With reference to the charges which you have brought at different times against the Hudson's Bay Company, and which have formed the subject of correspondence between yourself and this Office for a considerable time, I am directed to inform you that Earl Grey has lately received a Report from Major Griffiths, recently in command of Her Majesty's troops at Fort Garry, to whom His Lordship had communicated the petition of certain residents of the Red River settlement. Major Griffiths' Report touches on most of your charges, so far as they regard the administration of that settlement; it is in full accordance with a former one received from Lieutenant-Colonel Crofton, the predecessor of Major Griffiths in that command. The witnesses have no longer any connection with the Company, and both may therefore fairly be regarded as unbiassed, as well as fully informed, and both exculpate the Company from a portion of the charges, while they avow themselves ignorant of the remainder, which are left, as they were when first brought forward, unsupported by distinct and trustworthy evidence. On the contrary, the substance of these accounts is that much credit is due to the Company for the manner in which it has of late years exercised its powers, which accords with such other information as Lord Grey has been able to obtain."

In the previous year the same ground of enquiry and investigation had been covered in an important despatch from the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor-General of Canada, to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary. The practical exoneration of the Hudson's Bay Company contained in this document was the more complete as coming from the head of a Colony which was naturally jealous of the powers and privileges of the great Chartered Company. It was dated at Montreal 6th June, 1848, and read as follows:

"I have the honour to receive your despatch of the 30th March, covering the copy of a further letter from Mr. Isbister on the subject of certain allegations of hardship and maladministration preferred against the Hudson's Bay Company, and referring me to your despatch, No. 79, of June, 1847, in which you instructed me to adopt such measures as might be practicable for instituting an examination into these charges. The subject of these communications has not failed to engage my attention, but the territory in question is so distant, so little intercourse takes place between it and Canada, and the jurisdiction of the Company is so peculiar, that it is by no means easy for me to obtain so perfect a knowledge of its proceedings as would enable me to furnish such a report as Your Lordship requires.

2. I am bound, however, to state that the result of the enquiries which I have hitherto made is highly favourable to the Company, and that it has left on my mind the impression that the authority

which it exercises over the vast and inhospitable region subject to its jurisdiction, is on the whole very advantageous to the Indians. From Colonel Crofton, who resided for a considerable period at Red River, in command of a detachment of troops, I derived much valuable information with respect to its system of administration. More especially it would appear to be a settled principle of their policy to discountenance the use of ardent spirits. It is indeed possible that the progress of the Indians towards civilization may not correspond with the expectations of some of those who are interested in their welfare. But disappointments of this nature are experienced, I fear, in other quarters as well as in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company; and persons to whom the trading privileges of the Company are obnoxious may be tempted to ascribe to its rule the existence of evils which it is altogether beyond its power to remedy. There is too much reason to fear that if the trade were thrown open and the Indians left to the mercy of the adventurers who might chance to engage in it their condition would be greatly deteriorated.

3. At the same time I think it is to be regretted that a jurisdiction so extensive and peculiar, exercised by British subjects at such a distance, and so far beyond the control of public opinion, should be so entirely removed from the surveillance of Her Majesty's Government. The evil arising from this state of things is forcibly illustrated in the present instance by the difficulty which I experience in obtaining materials for a full and satisfactory report on the charges which Your Lordship has referred to me. It were very desirable, if abuses do exist, that Government possessed the means of probing them to the bottom; and, on the other hand, it seems to be hard on the Company, if the imputations cast upon it be unfounded, that Government, which undertakes the investigation, should not have the power of acquitting it on testimony more unexceptionable than any which is at present procurable. It has been stated to me that Your Lordship has it in contemplation to establish a military officer at some point within the territories of the Company, and that the Company is disposed to afford every facility for carrying out this arrangement. I trust that this report may prove well founded. An officer so situated, if well selected, may render, I am inclined to believe, very valuable service. His presence will be regarded by the Indians and the settlers as a pledge of the interest taken by Great Britain in their welfare; he will exercise over the agents of the Company a salutary influence, while he will at the same time supply the channel through which accurate information respecting the proceedings of the Company may reach Her Majesty's Government, and useful advice, when necessary, be tendered in return."

The Earl of Selkirk's Colony. The history of the Selkirk settlement in the North-West is a most complicated and stirring one—equally dramatic and painful in details. When Lord Selkirk had come to the conclusion that the Hudson's Bay Company was master of the situation in the fur trade, after a prolonged visit to Montreal he set to work to purchase a controlling interest in its stock, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining about £40,000 in shares—the capital of the Company at that time being less than £100,000. This, combined with the fact that near relatives and friends of his were placed on the Board of Directors, gave him unlimited control, and he hastened to take advantage of it in favour of the scheme of colonization which he had in view. At a general Court of the Company, convened in May, 1811, the proprietors were informed that the Governor and Committee recommended a grant, in fee simple, of 116,000 square miles of territory to the Earl of Selkirk on condition that he should establish a colony thereon, and furnish, on certain terms, such labourers as were required by the Company in its trade. This was opposed by a number of the proprietors, but, notwithstanding their protest, Lord Selkirk succeeded in obtaining a grant which is described as follows: "Beginning at the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, at a point on 52 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and thence running due west to Lake Winnipegosis, otherwise called Lake Winnipeg; thence in a southerly direction through said lake, so as to strike its western shore in latitude 52 degrees; thence due west to the place where the parallel 52 degrees intersects the western branch of the Red River, otherwise called the Assiniboine River; thence due south from that

point of intersection to the heights of land which separate the waters running into the Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers; thence in an easterly direction along the height of land to the sources of the River Winnipeg, meaning by such last named river the principal branch of the waters which unite in the Lake Saginagas; thence along the main stream of those waters, and the middle of the several lakes through which they flow, to the mouth of the Winnipeg River; and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipeg to the place of beginning, which territory is called Assiniboia."

Having secured his grant Lord Selkirk brought out a shipload of the Duchess of Sutherland's tenants, who spent the winter at Fort Churchill, and in the spring proceeded to the junction of the Red River and the Assiniboine, where they had scarcely arrived when they were opposed by a party of Indians and disguised emissaries of the North West Company—which feared a serious injury to its fur trade from such a settlement. The emigrants, being helpless against such a number, were thus compelled to spend the winter following at Pembina (the Hudson's Bay Company fort on the boundary line between Manitoba and the United States) and in the spring once more proceeded to build huts and to also construct a fort called Fort Douglas in honour of Lord Selkirk. They seem to have soon lost heart, however, and in 1815 a number of them left for Eastern Canada. New re-enforcements arrived later on, and at the close of 1815 the settlement numbered about 200. Early in 1816 Mr. Robert Semple arrived to inspect the infant colony as the appointed Governor of the forts and adjacent territories; but in an ignominious skirmish in June, 1816, about three miles from Fort Garry, he was killed by North West Company followers, together with a number of the colonists.

This threatened to break up the colony altogether; but Lord Selkirk, after visiting two other colonies of his at Lake St. Clair and Grand River, Ont.; and after recovering from an illness which came upon him; hastened to the Red River, provided himself with a force of eighty or ninety soldiers and proceeded to Fort William where he issued his warrant for the arrest of the chief agent and several partners of the North-West Company. These men he sent to York charged with murder, arson, robbery, etc. On reaching Red River he provided the colonists with seed, grain and agricultural implements at his own expense; but when almost ready for harvest, the grasshoppers appeared and left the ground bare. Fresh supplies were brought, and the Indian title to as much of the lands as was required for civilization was extinguished through an instrument made between himself and the Chippewa and Cree Indians in 1817. Lands were set apart for a church and a schoolhouse, and when Lord Selkirk left for England the colonists were in comparative comfort. Meanwhile, after much delay, the prisoners at York for lack of evidence were released in 1818, and several verdicts for false imprisonment were obtained against Lord Selkirk, which his executors paid. In 1821 the rival Companies were amalgamated, and in 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company purchased for £84,000 sterling the land granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811. One of the constituencies on the Red River is named in honour of Lord Selkirk and the town of Selkirk, near Fort Garry, or Winnipeg, also commemorates his name.

Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company. The position of the united Provinces of Canada towards the Hudson's Bay Company is one of great historical importance, and is fully and fairly illustrated in a petition presented by the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto to the Legislative Council of Canada, on the 20th of April, 1857, which reads as follows:

"That an association of traders, under the title of 'The Honourable Hudson's Bay Company,' during a long period of time have claimed and exercised a sovereignty in the soil, together with the right of exclusive trade, over a large portion of the Province of Canada, and that the exercise of such claim is subversive of all those rights and privileges which were guaranteed to the inhabitants of Canada by Royal proclamation immediately after the conquest of the country, and subsequently secured to them by those Acts of the British Parliament which gave to Canada a constitutional government.

Your petitioners further shew that up to the year 1763, when, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau,

Canada was ceded to the British Crown, the whole region of country, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, and northward to the shore of the Hudson's Bay, had continued in the undisputed possession of the Crown of France for a period of two centuries, and was known as La Nouvelle France, or Canada.

That during the half century succeeding the Treaty above alluded to, an extensive trade and traffic was continued to be carried on throughout the country, described by commercial companies and traders who had established themselves there under authority of the Crown of France, and that a trade was likewise, and at the same period, carried on by other traders of British origin, who had entered into that country and formed establishments there consequent upon its cession to the British Crown.

That such trade and traffic was carried on freely and independent of any restrictions upon commercial freedom, either as originally enacted by the Crown of France, or promulgated by that of Great Britain.

That in 1783, nearly all the aforesaid traders and companies united and formed an association, under the name of the 'North West Company of Montreal,' which said Company made many important discoveries, and extended its establishments throughout the interior of North America, and to within the Arctic circle and to the Pacific Ocean.

That in the year 1821, the said North West Company united with the so-called Hudson's Bay Company, a company to all intents and purposes foreign to the interests of Canada, and owing no responsibility to her.

That under the name 'Honourable Hudson's Bay Company,' it advances claims, and assumes rights in virtue of an old charter of Charles II. granted in 1669 (the year given should be 1670), and bearing a date nearly 100 years before this country had ceased to be an appendage to the Crown of France, and pertained to that of Great Britain.

That under such pretended authority, said Hudson's Bay Company assumes power to grant away and sell the lands of the Crown, acquired by conquest, and ceded to it by the Treaty of 1763.

That said Company has also assumed the power to enact tariffs, collect customs dues, and levy taxes against British subjects, and has enforced unjust and arbitrary laws in defiance of every principle of right and justice.

Your petitioners more especially pray the attention of your Honourable House to that region of country designated as the chartered territory, over which said Company exercises a sovereignty in the soil as well as a monopoly in the trade, and which said Company claims as a right that inures to it *in perpetuo;* in contradistinction to that portion of country over which it claims an exclusive right of trade, but for a limited period only.

Whilst your petitioners believe that this latter claim is founded upon a legal right, they humbly submit that a renewal of such license of exclusive trade is injurious to the interests of the country so monopolized, and in contravention of the rights of the inhabitants of Canada.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honourable House will take into consideration the subject of how far the assumption of power on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company interferes with Canadian rights, and as to the necessity of more particularly declaring the boundaries of Canada on the westward, and on the northward, and of extending throughout the protection of Canadian laws and the benefits of Canadian institutions.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, President.
CHARLES ROBERTSON, Secretary."

The Capital of the Company in 1856. It is interesting to note the amount of capital employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in the year ending June 1st, 1856, as compiled and stated in 1863 by Mr. T. C. Keefer, C.M.G.:

	£.	s.	d.
Amount of Assets.....	1,468,301	16	3
Amount of Liabilities.....	203,233	16	11
Capital.....	1,265,067	19	4
Consisting of stock, standing in the name of the proprietors.	500,000	0	0
Valuation of the Company's lands and buildings, exclusive of Vancouver's Island and Oregon.....	318,884	12	8

Amount expended up to 16th September, 1856, in sending miners and labourers to Vancouver's Island, in the coal mines and other objects of colonization exclusive of the trading establishments of the Company, and which amount will be repayable by the Imperial Government if possession of the Island is to be resumed	87,071	8	3
Amount invested in Fort Victoria, and other establishments and posts on Vancouver's Island estimated at	75,000	0	0
Amount paid to the Earl of Selkirk for Red River Settlement	84,111	18	5
Property and investments in the Territory of Oregon ceded to the United States by the Treaty of 1846, and which are secured to the Company as possessing rights under that Treaty	200,000	0	0
Total	1,265,067	19	4

The Company and the Report of 1857. Early in 1857 a Select Committee of the Imperial House of Commons was appointed "To consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which it possesses a License of Trade." The first session of this Committee began to take evidence on the 20th February, and the eighteen members composing it were as follows: The Right Hon. Henry Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), Sir John Pakington, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Stanley, Mr. J. A. Roebuck, Mr. Edward Ellice, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Lowe, Viscount Sandon, and Messrs. Grogan, Kinnaird, Blackburn, Charles Fitzwilliam, Gordon, Gurney, Percy Herbert and Bell.

This Committee sat until the 9th March, and on 12th and 13th May. Its composition was somewhat changed for the second session, Messrs. Gordon, Bell and Adderley retiring, and Mr. Alexander Matheson, Viscount Goderich and Mr. Christy taking their places. The investigation and examination of witnesses ended on the 23rd June, and during the two sessions of the Committee a mass of valuable evidence was taken respecting the North-West from witnesses of the highest standing. The gentlemen examined were Mr. John Ross, Lieut.-Col. Lefroy, Dr. Rae, Sir George Simpson, Mr. William Kernaghan, Hon. Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Mr. Alexander Isbister, Rev. G. O. Corbett, Sir John Richardson, Colonel Crofton, Rear-Admiral Sir George Back, Mr. James Cooper, Chief Justice Draper of Canada, Bishop Anderson, Mr. Joseph Maynard, Mr. Alfred Robert Roche, Captain David Herd, Mr. John Miles, Mr. John McLaughlin, Mr. Richard Blanshard, Lieut.-Col. Caldwell, Dr. King, Mr. James Tennant and the Right Hon. Edward Ellice. On the 31st July the Committee finally agreed upon their Report, after Mr. Christy had proposed one of his own, and Mr. Gladstone a set of resolutions. The following is the Report as agreed upon:

1. "The near approach of the period when the license of exclusive trade, granted in 1838 for twenty-one years to the Hudson's Bay Company over that north-western portion of British America which goes by the name of the Indian Territory, must expire, would alone make it necessary that the conditions of the whole of the vast regions which are under the administration of the Company should be carefully considered; but there are other circumstances which, in the opinion of your Committee, would have rendered such a course the duty of the Parliament and Government of this country.

2. Among these your Committee would specially enumerate the growing desire of our Canadian fellow-subjects that the means of extension and regular settlement should be afforded to them over a portion of this territory; the necessity of providing suitably for the administration of the affairs of Vancouver Island; and the present condition of the settlement which has been formed on the Red River.

3. Your Committee have received much valuable evidence on these and other subjects connected with the enquiry which has been entrusted

to them, and especially have had the advantage of hearing the statements of Chief Justice Draper, who was commissioned by the Government of Canada to watch this enquiry. In addition to this your Committee have received the evidence taken before a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, appointed to investigate this subject, containing much valuable information in reference to the interests and feelings of that important Colony, which are entitled to the greatest weight on this occasion.

4. Your Committee have also had the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown communicated to them, on various points connected with the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

5. The territory over which the Company now exercises rights is of three descriptions: 1st. The land held by charter, or Rupert's Land. 2nd. The land held by license, or the Indian Territory. 3rd. Vancouver's Island.

6. For the nature of the tenure by which these countries are severally connected with the Company, your Committee would refer to the evidence they have received and the documents appended to their Report.

7. Among the various objects of Imperial policy which it is important to attain, your Committee consider that it is essential to meet the just and reasonable wishes of Canada to be enabled to annex to her territory such portion of the land in her neighbourhood as may be available to her for the purposes of settlement—with which lands she is willing to open and maintain communications, and for which she will provide the means of local administration. Your Committee apprehend that the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan are among those likely to be desired for early occupation. It is of great importance that the peace and good order of those districts should be effectually secured. Your Committee trust that there will be no difficulty in effecting arrangements as between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, by which these districts may be ceded to Canada on equitable principles; and within the districts thus annexed to her, the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company would, of course, entirely cease.

8. Your Committee think it best to content themselves with indicating the outlines of such a scheme, leaving it to Her Majesty's Government to consider its details more maturely before the Act of Parliament is prepared which will probably be necessary to carry it into effect.

9. In case, however, Canada should not be willing, at a very early period, to undertake the government of the Red River District, it may be proper to consider whether some temporary provision for its administration may not be advisable.

10. Your Committee are of opinion that it will be proper to terminate the connection of the Hudson's Bay Company with Vancouver Island, as soon as it can conveniently be done, as the best means of favouring the development of the great natural advantages of that important Colony; means should also be provided for the ultimate extension of the Colony over any portion of the adjoining continent to the west of the Rocky Mountains on which permanent settlement may be found practicable.

11. As to those extensive regions, whether in Rupert's Land, or in the Indian Territory, in which for the present at least, there can be no prospect of permanent settlement, to any extent, by the European race, for the purposes of colonization, the opinion at which your Committee have arrived is mainly founded on the following considerations: 1st. The great importance to the more peopled portions of British North America that law and order should, as far as possible, be maintained in these territories; 2nd. The fatal effects which they believe would infallibly result to the Indian population from a system of open competition in the fur trade, and the consequent introduction of spirits in a far greater degree than is the case at present; and 3rd. The probability of the indiscriminate destruction of the more valuable fur-bearing animals in the course of a few years.

12. For these reasons, your Committee are of opinion that whatever may be the validity, or otherwise, of the rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company under the charter, it is desirable that it should continue to enjoy the privileges of exclusive trade which it now possesses, except so far as those privileges are limited by the foregoing recommendations.

13. Your Committee have now specified the

principal objects which they think it would be desirable to attain. How far the chartered rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company may prove an obstacle to their attainment, they are not able, with any certainty, to say. If this difficulty is to be solved by amicable adjustment, such a course will be best promoted by the Government, after communication with the Company, as well as with the Government of Canada, rather than by detailed suggestions emanating from this Committee.

14. Your Committee cannot doubt but that, when such grave interests are at stake, all the parties concerned will approach the subject in a spirit of conciliation and justice, and they therefore indulge a confident hope that the Government will be enabled, in the next session of Parliament, to present a Bill which shall lay the foundation of an equitable and satisfactory arrangement, in the event, which they consider probable, of legislation being found necessary for that purpose."

The Right Hon. Edward Ellice, M.P., the son of a wealthy London merchant, was born in 1789. In political circles he was long known as an active and influential member of the Whig party. He was for some years a merchant in the City, and had considerable investments in the Hudson's Bay Company, besides being a proprietor of Canadian and West Indian lands. He entered Parliament in 1818, in the Liberal interest, as M.P. for Coventry, and, with the exception of the four years from 1826 to 1830, continued to represent that constituency until his death. His early political opinions were somewhat Radical in their nature, and they clung to him more or less throughout his public career. Among the intimate friends of Mr. Ellice were Sir Francis Burdett, Lord King, Lord Radnor, Lord Althorpe, Sir John Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) and Lord Byron. In the Opposition minorities of the first three Parliaments of which he was a member he generally voted in Mr. Hume's divisions. Early in life he had married a daughter of Earl Grey; and when that nobleman became Premier in 1830 he appointed Mr. Ellice first as Secretary to the Treasury and "Whip" of the House of Commons, and afterwards Secretary at War, both of which posts he filled in a thoroughly business-like fashion. Though he did not take an active or prominent part in public debates he was acknowledged on all hands to be one of the most practically influential members of the Whig party. He took a keen and active interest in the negotiations which followed the introduction of the Reform Bill; and with Lord Durham and others stood fast by the clauses enfranchising the Metropolitan boroughs. He received, in 1862, the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of St. Andrews and he was Deputy Lieutenant of Invernesshire, as well as the original Chairman of the Reform Club, which was mainly established in 1834 through his influence. He died in 1863. Of him, in connection with the rival Fur Companies of British America, Sir Edward Watkin says in his Memoirs:

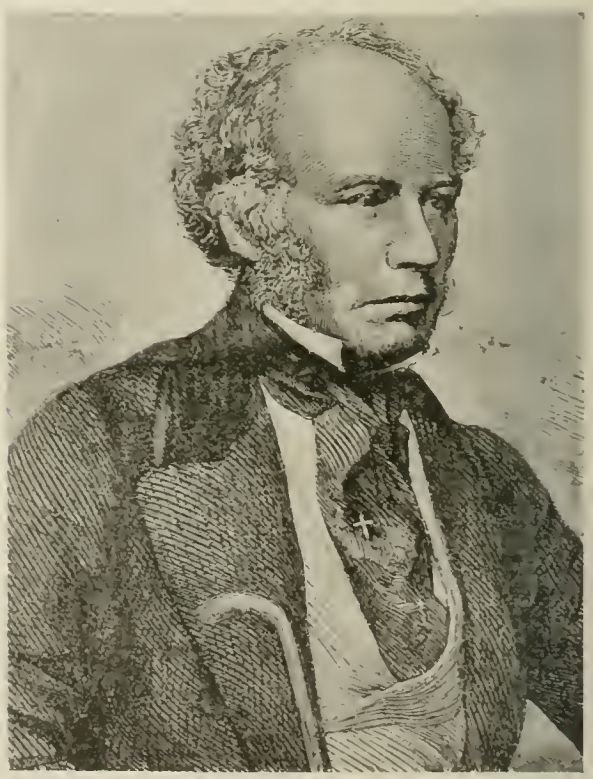
"I have alluded to this remarkable man under the soubriquet attached to him for a generation—'The Old Bear.' Mr. Ellice was the son of Mr. Alexander Ellice, an eminent merchant in the city of London. It is strange that he began life by uniting the Canadian fur trade with that of the Hudson's Bay Company, and just lived long enough to witness the sale and transfer of the interests he had, by a bold and masterly policy, combined in 1820. . . . In Mr. Ellice's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1857, on the Hudson's Bay Company, I find that in answer to a question put by Mr. Christy, M.P., as to the probability of a 'settlement being made within what you consider to be the Southern territories of the Hudson's Bay Company,' he replied, 'None, in the lifetime of the youngest man now alive.' Events have proved his error. Mr. Ellice was a man of commanding stature and presence, but, to my mind, had always the demeanour of a colonist who had had to wrestle with the hardships of nature, and his cast of countenance was Jewish. According to his own account, he went out to Canada in 1803, when he must have been a mere youth, and then personally associated himself with the fur trade—a trade which attracted the attention of almost the whole Canadian society. It was, in fact, at that time the great trade of the country. The traders had inherited the skill and organization of the old French *voyageurs*, who, working from Quebec and Montreal as bases of their operations, were

the doughty competitors of the Hudson's Bay Company, many of whose posts were only separated by distances of a hundred miles from those of the French. When Canada became the possession of our country, in the last century, Scotch and English capital and energy re-enforced the trade; and, as time went on, a powerful organization, called the 'North-West Company' arose, and extended its operations right across to the Pacific. At the end of the last century, or the beginning of this, Mr. Ellice's father, as Mr. Ellice stated, 'had supplied a great part of the capital by which the whole of the north-west trade was conducted.' Profitable trading brought division of interests; and, in addition to smaller swarms from the parent hive, a new organization, called the X. Y. Company, or Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company, carried on trade in competition with the original North-West Company of Canada. Mr. Ellice became connected with this X. Y. Company in 1805. The leading spirit of the North-West Company was Mr. McGillivray; and Mr. McGillivray and Mr. Ellice were, as a rule, cordial allies. Two leading firms engaged in the fur trade were McTavish, Fraser & Co., and Inglis, Ellice & Co."

Sir Edward Watkin and the Company. The modern position of the Hudson's Bay Company has been greatly affected by the intervention and policy of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward W. Watkin, the well-known promoter of the Grand Trunk Railway and other projects. Early in 1862 he became connected with a scheme to provide a telegraph service and means of travelling with regularity between the Canadian Provinces and the Pacific Coast, and a letter on the subject, dated 5th July, was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, signed by Thomas Baring, George Carr Glyn, and others. An interview was then arranged by the Duke between the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company and the parties interested in this scheme, and the meeting took place early in 1863.

In the meantime, the agitation in favour of opening up the Hudson's Bay Territory had continued to grow in Canada, and in September, 1862, two members of the Canadian Government, the Hon. (afterwards Sir) W. P. Howland and the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, were deputed, by Order-in-Council, to proceed to England and press the matter upon Her Majesty's Government.

In the following December (says Mr. Begg in his volumes upon the North West) a meeting of gentlemen interested in the telegraph service to British Columbia took place at the banking house of the Messrs. Glyn, 67 Lombard Street, London, at which Messrs. Howland and Sicotte, the Canadian delegates, were present. A course of action was them formulated, and at a subsequent meeting on 21st January, 1863, for the purpose of



The Rt. Hon. Sir Edmund W. Head.

supporting the proposals, Mr. Watkin moved the following Resolution:

"That this meeting, considering the growing importance of British North America, and the extent of British interests therein involved, is impressed with the desirability of more closely connecting the Mother Country with her American dependencies, and is of opinion that the completion of a line of communication across the British portion of the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific is a necessity of the times, and this

Association pledges its support to a well-devised scheme for accomplishing the object in view."

Shortly after this, Mr. Watkin became associated in the plan for the purchase of the whole rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. The eventual result was the reconstruction of the Company and the increase of its capital to £2,000,000 sterling. The Directors, under the new order of things, included the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Head, K.C.B., Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson, Eden Colville, George Lyall, Daniel Meinerthagen, James Stuart Hodgson, John Henry William Schroder, and Richard Potter. It is interesting to note in this connection that the capital stock of the Company had been increased only five times in two hundred years. In 1670 it was £10,500, and was increased in 1690 to £31,500; in 1720 to £94,500; in 1821 to £400,000; in 1857 to £500,000. The actual capital at this latter date stood as follows:

Assets.....	£1,468,301	16s.	3d.
Liabilities.....	203,233	16s.	11d.
Capital.....	£1,265,067	19s.	4d.

The Duke of Newcastle and the Company. In connection with changes in the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, the following interesting statement was made in the House of Lords—*Times*, July 3rd, 1863—by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies:

"He had hoped to be able to state this year to the House that arrangements had been made to complete the communications between the Colony of British Columbia and the east of British North America, and he thought he could now inform their Lordships that such arrangements would be carried out. He had desired a gentleman of great experience, knowledge and energy, who was constantly travelling between Canada and this country, to enquire whether it would be possible to effect a communication across the continent. This gentleman—Mr. E. W. Watkin—had returned with considerable information, and he had suggested to him to place himself in communication with Mr. Baring and others, and he believed they had arrived at the conclusion that if arrangements could be made with the Hudson's Bay Company, the undertaking should have their best attention. In order that these important communications might be made certain, guarantees were to be given by Canada on the one hand, and British Columbia and Vancouver Island on the other. A complete inter-colonial railway system had long been looked forward to by those interested in our North American Provinces, and it would be impossible to over-rate the importance in this country of an inter-oceanic railway between the Atlantic and Pacific.

By such a communication, and the electric telegraph, as great a revolution would be effected in the commerce of the world as had been brought about by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. It was unnecessary to point out to their Lordships of what importance it would be in the case of war on the other side of the Atlantic. There was another matter on which he wished to say a few words. Some eight or nine days ago it was stated in a portion of the press that the Hudson's Bay Company had sold their property. That statement was not altogether accurate, and certainly it was premature, for he had been informed within two hours before he came down to the House that the whole arrangement had only been completed that afternoon. He had not received any official communication on the subject, but some of the gentlemen concerned had been kind enough to inform him of the facts. He had stated on a former occasion that the Hudson's Bay Company had wished to sell. Certain parties in the city had, in the first instance, entered into communication with them for the purpose either of purchasing or obtaining permission for a transit through the Company's possessions. After some negotiation, the alternative of permission for a transit was agreed upon. That conclusion having been arrived at, he did not know what it was that raised the whole question of sale again, but some fortnight or three weeks ago fresh negotiations were opened.

Parties in the City proposed to the Hudson's Bay Company to give it by way of purchase a sum of £1,500,000. What had taken place was this: The Hudson's Bay Company very prudently required that the money should be paid down, and that the whole sum of £1,500,000 should be ready on a given day, which he believed was

yesterday. Of course the intending purchasers could not carry out that transaction in the course of a week, and they, therefore, applied to the International Financial Association to assist them. The Association agreed to do so, and the money either had been paid or would be on a day arranged upon. A prospectus would be issued to-morrow morning, and the shares would be thrown upon the market to be taken up in the ordinary way upon the formation of companies. These shares would not remain in the hands of the Association, but would pass to the proprietors, as if they had bought their shares direct from the Hudson's Bay Company. Of course the Company would only enjoy the rights which those shares carried, and no more.

They would, in fact, be a continuation of the Company; but their efforts would be directed to the promotion of the settlement of the country; the development of the postal and transit communication being one of the objects to which they would apply themselves. Of course, the old Governor and his colleagues, having sold their shares, ceased to be the governing body, and a new council, consisting of most respectable persons, had been formed that afternoon. Among them were two of the Committee of the old Company, with one of whom, Mr. Colville, he had had much personal communication, and could speak in the highest terms as a man of business and good sense. There were, also, seven or eight most influential and responsible people, and the name of the Governor, Sir Edmund Head, who had been elected to-day, would be a guarantee of the intentions of the new Company, for no one would believe that he had entered into this undertaking for mere speculative purposes, or that the Company would be conducted solely with a view to screw the last penny out of this territory. While the Council, as practical men of business, would be bound to promote the prosperity of their shareholders, he was sure they would be actuated by statesmanlike views. No negotiations with the Colonial Office had taken place; and as this was a mere ordinary transfer no leave on their part was necessary."

The Company's negotiations with Canada. Matters continued to progress slowly, after 1862, and many plans were discussed for the sale of the territory to Canada or the Crown, and the making of a continental British railway. Sir Edmund Head favoured a complete sale of rights and ownership to the Imperial authorities, but in view of the varied difficulties which then existed, made the following interesting suggestions in November, 1863:

1. An equal division of the portion of the territory fit for settlement between the Company and the Crown, with inclusion of specified tracts in the share of the former.

2. The Company to construct the road and telegraph.

3. The Crown to purchase such of the Company's premises as should be wanted for military use, and to pay to the Company a net third of all future revenue from gold and silver.

On the 19th February, 1864, the Governor-General of Canada (Lord Monck), in his Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, said:

"The condition of the vast region lying on the northwest of the settled portions of the Province is daily becoming a question of great interest. I have considered it advisable to open a correspondence with the Imperial Government, with a view to arrive at a precise definition of the geographical boundaries of Canada in that direction. Such a definition of boundary is a desirable preliminary to further proceedings with respect to the vast tracts of land in that quarter belonging to Canada, but not yet brought under the action of our political and municipal system."

During the debate on the Address which followed, the Hon. William McDougall, Minister of Crown Lands, who had special charge of the question at this time, and a considerable share in its final settlement, stated that "The Government of Canada had come to the conclusion that the first thing to be done was to determine whether the Red River Territory belonged to Canada or to some other country, and the consequence was that a correspondence had been opened with the Imperial Government on the subject, as stated in the Speech. He did not know that there was any harm in his stating his individual view of the case at the present time, which was that Canada was entitled to claim as a portion of its soil all that part of the North-West Territory that could be proved to have been in possession of the

French at the time of the cession of Canada to the British." On the 11th March and 5th April, 1864, the Duke of Newcastle, as Colonial Secretary, declined the above-mentioned suggestions of Sir Edmund Head, and made the following counter proposals:

1. The Company to surrender to the Crown their territorial rights.

2. To receive one shilling for every acre sold by the Crown, but limited to £150,000 in all, and to fifty years in duration, whether or not the receipts attained that amount.

3. To receive one-fourth of any gold revenue, but limited to £100,000 in all, and to fifty years in duration.

4. To have one square mile of adjacent land for every lineal mile constructed of road and telegraph to British Columbia.

On the 13th April, the Company accepted the principle of these proposals, but said that the amount of payments within fifty years should be either not limited, or else placed at £1,000,000 instead of £250,000. They added some other proposals, including a grant to them of 5,000 acres of wild land for every 50,000 acres sold by the Crown. Mr. Cardwell, who had succeeded to the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated on the 6th June that he could not accept the Company's view of the proposals. Sir Edmund Head, in December of the same year, while not receding from his former position, threw out an alternative, of which the principal feature was a payment to the Company of £1,000,000 sterling for the territory defined in his letter. On the 4th of December, 1867, the Hon. William McDougall, then Minister of Public Works in the new Confederation, introduced at the first session of the Dominion Parliament a series of Resolutions on which the Addresses provided for in the British North America Act were to be based. The Resolutions were carried by a large majority, and were as follows:

"1. That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

2. That colonization of the lands of the Saskatchewan, Assiniboia and Red River settlements, and the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West, and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable government for maintenance of law and order in the North-West Territories.

3. That the welfare of the sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganized territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several Provinces of this Dominion.

4. That the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, provides for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into union with Canada upon terms and conditions to be expressed in Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of this Dominion to Her Majesty, and which shall be approved of by the Queen-in-Council.

5. That it is accordingly expedient to address Her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Her Most Honourable Privy Council, to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with the Dominion of Canada, and to grant to the Parliament of Canada authority to legislate for their future welfare and good government.

6. That in the event of the Imperial Government agreeing to transfer to Canada the jurisdiction and control over this region, it would be expedient to provide that the legal rights of any corporation, company or individual within the same will be respected; and that in case of difference of opinion as to the extent, nature or value of these rights, the same shall be submitted to judicial decision, or be determined by mutual agreement between the Government of Canada and the parties interested. Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada.

7. That upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands re-

quired for purpose of settlement would be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the Aborigines.

8. That a Select Committee should be appointed to draft an humble Address to Her Majesty on the subject of the foregoing Resolutions."

The purchase of these territories for £300,000, the first Riel Rebellion and the admission of Manitoba as a Province of the Dominion, followed after some years of storm and stress.

Sir Edward W. Watkin.

Sir Edward William Watkin, Bart., ex-M.P., was born at Salford in 1819, and was employed in his father's banking-house until 1845, when he became Secretary to the Trent Valley Railway. From that time onward he was connected as Director or Manager with several of the most important English Railways, also with the Intercolonial Railway of Canada, and was for some time President of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. In 1839 he became one of the Directors of the Manchester Athenæum—an institution founded by Cobden and others "for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge," and organized certain celebrated literary gatherings in the Free Trade Hall. He also did much to secure parks for the people of that city. In 1843 he led in the inauguration of the Saturday half-holiday, and in 1845 was one of the originators of the Manchester *Examiner* newspaper. He was first elected to Parliament in 1857, but was afterwards unseated; was returned for Stockport in 1864, and sat for that constituency until 1867. He was returned by other constituences in 1874-1880, 1885, 1886 and 1892, and sat until 1895. In 1851 and 1861 Mr. Watkin undertook private missions to Canada with the general object of helping to bring the British Provinces into union and establishing an independent railway system. Both of these projects he greatly aided, and was also mainly instrumental in the re-organization of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was knighted in 1868. Whilst in Parliament in 1866-7 he obtained, as Chairman of two Select Committees, important alterations in the laws affecting railways, and especially in connection with the law of limited liability. He was High Sheriff of Chesire in 1874 and was created a Baronet in 1880. Sir Edward Watkin has done much to improve the harbours of Boulogne and Calais; promoted and accomplished the extension of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire lines which afforded a new entrance to London; was an ardent supporter of the project to build a tunnel under the English Channel; and has accomplished much general pioneer work in connection with the material development of Canada and England and the growth of transportation facilities.

The Transfer of the North-West to Canada. The history of the final negotiations relating to the transfer of the North-West to Canada is imbedded in a vast mass of semi-official and State correspondence. Much, if not almost all, that was of vital importance may, however, be found in the summaries afforded by what has been already given in these pages and by the two documents which follow. In 1865 the Hon. George Brown had visited England upon a fruitless mission concerning the desired acquisition of these Territories. In 1868 Sir George E. Cartier and Mr. William McDougall went to try and arrange terms, and

in the succeeding year the settlement was at last effected. The following is the Report to the Governor-General of the Canadian Delegation of 1868, dated at Ottawa, May 8, 1869—Sessional Papers 25, Vol. II., No. 5:

"We have the honour to submit for Your Excellency's consideration the following Report of our negotiations with Her Majesty's Imperial Government for the transfer to the Dominion of Canada of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory:

Under the authority of an Order-in-Council of the 1st October, 1868, we were appointed a Delegation to England to arrange the 'terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land,' and by another Order-in-Council of the same date we were authorized to arrange for the admission of the North-West Territory into union with Canada either with or without Rupert's Land, 'as may be found practicable and expedient.' We proceeded at once to execute the important mission confided to us, and on presenting ourselves at the Colonial Office, were invited by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to visit him at Stowe for the purpose of discussing freely and fully the numerous and difficult questions which were involved in the transfer of these great Territories to Canada. We found that His Grace had already made some progress in the preliminaries of a negotiation (under the Act 31 and 32 Vic., Cap. 105) with the Hudson's Bay Company for the surrender to Her Majesty of the territorial and political rights which it claimed in Rupert's Land. We objected very earnestly to some of the demands of the Company which were communicated to us by His Grace, but after much consideration, and important modifications of the Company's demands, we agreed that if it would surrender the Territory on the conditions which His Grace proposed, we would recommend the acceptance of these conditions by the Canadian Government.

The Duke of Buckingham's proposals will be found in the letter of Mr. Adderley, of the 1st December, 1868, addressed to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Considerable delay in the negotiations was occasioned by the retirement from office of the Duke of Buckingham and his colleagues, and also by the resignation of Lord Kimberley, then the Governor of the Company. On the 18th January, 1869, Earl Granville, who had acceded to office as Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted to us the reply of the Company, declining the proposals of the Duke of Buckingham. His Lordship subsequently asked us to communicate to him any observations which we might desire to offer upon this reply of the Company, and upon certain counter-proposals which it contained. We felt reluctant, as representatives of Canada, to engage in a controversy with the Company concerning matters of fact, as well as questions of law and policy, while the negotiation with it was being carried on by the Imperial Government in its own name and of its own authority. But we did not feel at liberty to decline Lord Granville's request, and on the 8th of February stated at length our views upon the various points raised in the letter of Sir Stafford Northcote, the new Governor of the Company, in answer to the proposals of the Duke of Buckingham. We beg to refer Your Excellency to the correspondence for full information as to the positions taken and the opinions expressed by us at this stage of the negotiations.

Lord Granville, being of opinion that the rejection by the Company of the proposals of his predecessor had terminated the negotiations issued by him, submitted for our consideration proposals of his own, based on a different principle from that which had been laid down by the Duke of Buckingham. We felt it our duty to state to His Lordship that these proposals would not be acceptable to the Canadian Government. They were subsequently modified, and in the form in which they appear in the letter of Sir Frederick Rogers of the 9th March, were conditionally accepted by us, subject to the approval of Your Excellency-in-Council. Certain details were left by Lord Granville to be settled between representatives of the Company and ourselves, which led to interviews and discussions with them, and to a correspondence which is also submitted herewith. During the progress of the negotiations, a formal complaint was made to the Colonial Secretary by the representatives of the Company against the Canadian Government for undertaking the construction of a road between Lake of the

Woods and the Red River settlement, without having first obtained the consent of the Company. The letter conveying this complaint was referred to us by Earl Granville for such explanations as we were able to offer. The correspondence on this subject is also respectfully submitted.

Your Excellency is aware that since our return to Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company has signified to Lord Granville its acceptance of the terms proposed by him for the surrender to Her Majesty of its territorial rights in Rupert's Land. We have, therefore, the honour to submit the same, with a memorandum of the details agreed to by us on behalf of the Canadian Government, for the approval of Your Excellency, and for such action thereupon as Your Excellency may be advised to take.

(Signed) GEORGE E. CARTIER.
WM. MCDOUGALL."

The document which follows is of course more important than the above and forms the basis of the terms of sale and transfer. It was addressed to Sir Stafford Northcote (afterwards Earl of Iddesleigh) the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated 9th March, 1869, and was signed by Sir Frederick Rogers, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and afterwards Lord Blachford:

"Sir,—Earl Granville has under review the correspondence which has passed respecting the proposed transfer to Canada of the jurisdiction and territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America. It is, in Lord Granville's opinion, of very great importance that this question should be settled on a permanent footing, and with little delay. He does not disguise the interest which Her Majesty's Government have in this settlement. It is not creditable to this country that any inhabited part of Her Majesty's dominions should be without a recognized Government capable of enforcing the law, and responsible to neighbouring countries for the performance of international obligations. The toleration of such a state of things in parts of Hudson's Bay Territory is unjust to the inhabitants of that territory, and is not without danger to the peaceful relations between this country and the United States; and this danger and injustice are likely to increase in proportion as the mining and agricultural capabilities of what is called the "Fertile Belt" begin to attract settlers from the east and south.

To Canada the settlement of the question is not less important, as removing a cause of irritation between it and its neighbours, and even with the Mother Country itself; as destroying an obstacle to that which has been looked upon as the natural growth of the Dominion; as likely to open an indefinite prospect of employment to Canadian labour and enterprise; and lastly, as enlarging the inducements which Canada is able to offer to the British immigrant. It is no small matter that it would enable Her Majesty's Government at once to annex to the Dominion the whole of British North America proper, except the colony of British Columbia. To the Hudson's Bay Company it may almost be said to be necessary.

At present the very foundations of the Company's title are not undisputed. The boundaries to its territory are open to questions of which it is impossible to ignore the importance. Its legal rights, whatever these may be, are liable to be invaded without law by a mass of Canadian and American settlers, whose occupation of the country on any terms it will be little able to resist; while it can hardly be alleged that either the terms of the charter, or its internal constitution, are such as to qualify it under all these disadvantages for maintaining order and performing the internal and external duties of government. The prejudicial effect that all these uncertainties must have on the value of the Company's property is but too evident.

The interests of all parties thus evidently pointing towards an immediate and definite adjustment, Lord Granville has been most unwilling to abandon the hope of bringing it about by way of amicable compromise. He is fully alive to the difficulty of such a compromise. He does not conceal from himself that the estimate which the Company forms of the nature and value of its rights is widely different from that which is formed by the gentlemen who represent Canada: nor can he undertake to express any opinion whatever as to the relative correctness of those estimates. Indeed, it would be impossible to do so without knowing to what extent the claims of the Com-

pany would be supported by the judgment of a court of law.

But after repeated communications with both parties, His Lordship is convinced that he will be serving the interests of the Dominion, of the Company, and of this country, by laying before the Canadian representatives and the directors of the Company a distinct proposal, which, as it appears to be, it is for the interest of both parties to accept, and in support of which Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to use all the influence which they could legitimately exercise. As the proposal is really an impartial one, Lord Granville cannot expect that it will be otherwise than unacceptable to both of the parties concerned. But he is not without hope that both may find, on consideration, that if it does not give them all that they conceive to be their due, it secures to them what is politically or commercially necessary, and places them at once in a position of greater advantage with reference to their peculiar objects than that which they at present occupy. The terms which His Lordship now proposes are as follows:

1. The Hudson's Bay Company to surrender to Her Majesty all the rights of Government, property, etc., in Rupert's Land, which are specified in 31 and 32 Vic., c. 105, sec. 4, and also all similar rights in any other part of British North America, not comprised in Rupert's Land, Canada or British Columbia.

2. Canada is to pay to the Company £300,000 when Rupert's Land is transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

3. The Company may, within twelve months of the surrender, select a block of land adjoining each of its stations, within the limits specified in Article 1.

4. The size of the blocks is not to exceed — acres in the Red River Territory, nor 3,000 acres beyond that territory, and the aggregate extent of the blocks is not to exceed 50,000 acres.

5. So far as the configuration of the country admits, the blocks are to be in the shape of parallelograms, of which the length is not more than double the breadth.

6. The Hudson's Bay Company may, for fifty years after the surrender, claim in any township or district within the Fertile Belt, in which land is set out for settlement, grants of land not exceeding one-twentieth of the land so set out. The blocks so granted to be determined by lot and the Hudson's Bay Company to pay a rateable share of the survey expenses, not exceeding —— an acre.

7. For the purpose of the present agreement, the Fertile Belt is to be bounded as follows: On the south by the United States boundary; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan; on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods, and the waters connecting them.

8. All titles to land up to the 8th of March, 1869, conferred by the Company, are to be confirmed.

9. The Company is to be at liberty to carry on its trade without hindrance, in its corporate capacity, and no exceptional tax is to be placed on the Company's land, trade, or servants, nor any import duty on goods introduced by them previous to the surrender.

10. Canada is to take over the materials of the Electric Telegraph at cost price, such price including transport, but not including interest for money, and subject to a deduction for ascertained deteriorations.

11. The Company's claim to land under agreement of Messrs. Vankoughnet and Hopkins to be withdrawn.

12. The details of this arrangement, including the filling up the blanks in Articles 4 and 6, to be settled at once by mutual agreement.

It is due, both to the representatives of Canada and to the Company, to add that these terms are not intended by Lord Granville as the basis of further negotiation; but a final effort to effect that amicable accommodation of which he has almost despaired, but which he believes will be for the ultimate interest of all parties. If this be rejected either on behalf of the Dominion or the Company, His Lordship considers that his next step must be to procure an authoritative decision as to the rights of the Crown and the Company, and with this object, he will recommend Her Majesty to refer their rights for examination to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, whose decision will form a basis for any future legislation or executive action which Her Ma-

jesty's Government may find necessary. Whatever may be the result of this proposal, His Lordship desires to express his sense of the openness and courtesy which he has experienced throughout these negotiations, both from the representatives of Canada and from the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Company, and the patience with which they have entertained proposals which, from their point of view, must no doubt have appeared inadequate."

The Right Hon. Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart., K.C.B., of the same stock as Sir Francis Bond Head, was born near Rochester, Kent, in 1805. He received his education at Oriel College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in Classics in 1827 and subsequently became Fellow of Merton College. In 1830 he received his degree of M.A., and in 1834 was appointed a University Examiner. Though chiefly devoted to classics he also spent some time in the study of politics, taking a special interest in the Colonies. Owing to pecuniary losses he became for some years a tutor at Oxford, at the same time writing for the press of London. A remarkably clever article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* attracted the attention of the Marquess of Lansdowne who advised him to study Ecclesiastical Law. This amounted to a tacit promise of patronage, so he took the advice and was before long appointed Poor Law Commissioner at a salary of £2,000 a year. He had meanwhile succeeded to the baronetcy. In 1847 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick, an office which he held till 1854 when he succeeded Lord Elgin as Governor-General of British North America.

His administration was during an eventful period, and being a most painstaking and conscientious man he was not disposed to act as a mere figure-head. He consequently came into considerable collision with the political men of the day. In 1858 he refused to grant a dissolution to the Brown-Dorion Government as the country was just recovering from the excitement of a general election held a few months previously. This course, though denounced by the party newspapers, was approved in England by the extension of his term of office. In 1861 he returned home, and was soon afterwards appointed Civil Service Commissioner and Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. This latter position he retained till his death.

His quiet and unobtrusive inclinations were perhaps more literary than political, and he was the author of a work entitled "The Hand Book of Spanish Painters." He had received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford and that of LL.D. from the University of Cambridge. Sir Edmund Head died in 1868 in London, when the baronetcy became extinct.

The Company and the Indians. With certain exceptions caused by the intense competition of rival Companies, the Indians were well treated by the Hudson's Bay Company, and this policy was one from which the Dominion afterwards reaped much benefit. The following may be quoted in this connection from the standing Regulations of the Service as established by the Councils of the Northern and Southern Departments of Rupert's Land:

"That the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence and conciliatory means be resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality; that the use of spirituous liquors be gradually discontinued in the very few districts in which it is yet indispensable, and that the Indians be liberally supplied with requisite necessaries, particularly with articles of ammunition, whether they have the means of paying for it or not, and that no gentleman in charge of district or post be at liberty to alter or vary the standard or usual mode of trade with the Indians, except by special permission of Council. That not more than two gallons of spirituous liquors and four gallons of wine be sold at the depot to any individual in the Company's service, of what rank soever he may be."

The following resolutions also formed part of the Rules of the Hudson's Bay Company:

"Resolved, 1st. That for the moral and religious improvement of the servants, the more effectual civilization and instruction of the families and Indians attached to the different establishments, the Sabbath be duly observed as a day of rest at all the Company's posts throughout the country, and Divine service be publicly read with becoming solemnity, at which all the servants and families resident be encouraged to attend, together with

any of the Indians who may be at hand, and whom it may be proper to invite.

2nd. That in course of the week due attention be bestowed to furnish the women and children with such regular and useful occupation as is suited to their age and capacities, and best calculated to suppress vicious and promote virtuous habits.

3rd. As a preparative to education, that the women and children at the several posts in the country be always addressed and habituated to converse in the language (whether English or French) of the father of the family, and that he be encouraged to devote a portion of his leisure time to their instruction as far as his own knowledge and ability will permit."

The Indians and Eskimos included under the Government or control of the Company have been estimated as follows:

Thickwood Indians, east of Rockies.....	35,000
Plain Tribes, Blackfeet, Crees, etc.....	25,300
Oregon and British Columbia Indians...	80,400
Indians in Eastern Canada.....	3,100
Eskimos	4,000
Total.....	147,800

Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, was born at St. Mary's Isle, Kircudbrightshire, Scotland, in 1771, of an old and distinguished family. He early developed more than ordinary capacity and was educated by several private tutors, afterwards attending one of the National Universities. Even as a boy he was interested in the subject of colonization and by the time of his marriage in 1807 to Miss Jean Colvie, of Ochiltree, a daughter of a prominent member of the Hudson's Bay Company, had already become known as an enthusiast on the subject of emigration and had published several books and pamphlets in connection with it. The principal scheme of his life and the one in which Canadians were most directly interested was his colonization of the Red River country which was included in the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, but which was more or less neglected until a number of private traders having formed themselves into the North-West Company of Montreal came into collision with the possessors. Intense competition and hostility resulted. At this juncture Lord Selkirk, who was a large shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company was elected Governor, and he having long cherished this scheme for founding a colony of Highland emigrants, now saw his way clear to make the attempt and also to civilize and Christianize the Indians. Consequently in 1811 he obtained from the Company a grant of 116,000 square miles in the neighbourhood of the Red River, and brought out a shipload of emigrants. They were immediately opposed, and frequently driven away from their settlements, by Indians and other representatives of the North-West Company. Finally the Governor of the Fort was killed by employés of the North-West Company in some local fight, upon which Lord Selkirk set out with a small force to protect the colony, taking the precaution to first have himself appointed Justice of the Peace in order to give his actions a sort of legal aspect. He arrested and sent for trial many of the leaders in the rival Company, and alleviated the troubles of the colonists by supplying them with grain and agricultural implements, while setting apart lands for a church and schoolhouse, and extinguishing the Indian title to so much of the lands as was required for colonization. At last his health being very much impaired, and his colonists settled comfortably, he returned to Scotland. Lord Selkirk wrote several volumes upon his Red River Settlement, and died in 1820. His name is commemorated in the North-West by the town of Selkirk, and he will be regarded in history as one of the founders and great pioneers of Northern Canada. Several suits for false imprisonment were brought against him by the members of the North-West Company and the amounts awarded to them by the Courts were paid by his executors. In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company purchased from his heirs the vast tract of land which had been granted to him in 1811.

The Company Since the Cession of its Territories. The history of the Hudson's Bay Company since the amalgamation of the North-West with the Dominion is no longer that of a powerful trading body holding sovereign authority over vast regions. But it remains a record of steady work and enterprise and endurance, with much of stirring adventure and financial profit to its shareholders. Its functions had ceased in great

measure to have any connection with the administration of affairs in the North-West. But the Company none the less assisted the authorities in many ways and on many occasions in the general work of organizing the machinery of government, suppressing lawlessness, and effecting satisfactory treaties with the Indian tribes. Its commanding influence with a large portion of the settlers, and with the Indian tribes, was always at the service of the Dominion for the purpose of strengthening and securing Canadian authority, and its officers on many occasions seem to have rendered valuable aid in this respect.

In July, 1870, just one month before the entrance of Colonel (Lord) Wolseley and the British troops into Fort Garry, the Hon. Donald A. Smith presided at the last meeting of the Council of officers held at Norway House. The business transacted was, in part, of a most important character. The subject of supplying liquor to the Indians was dealt with, and it was resolved that so far as the Company was concerned it would be put a stop to. It was decided that representations on the subject should be made to the Dominion Government, and when afterwards, in October, 1870, Mr. Donald A. Smith, Judge Johnson and Patrice Breland were appointed by the Canadian Government to act as the first Council of the North-West Territories, previous to the formation of the Council of 1873, one of the strongest recommendations made by these gentlemen to the authorities at Ottawa was on the subject of preventing the sale or supply of intoxicants to Indians.

The Hudson's Bay Company was a heavy loser by the Rebellion of 1869-70, as Riel did not hesitate to appropriate any goods, merchandize or property belonging to it to further his own ends and those of his followers. At the same time, the Dominion Government was largely dependent upon the Company for supplies when it first assumed possession of the country. The proposed settlement of these claims was a long and tedious affair, made more so by attempts of prejudiced parties to show that the Hudson's Bay Company instigated and assisted the Riel Rebellion. Although proofs of such a suicidal policy were not produced, the effort made the settlement extremely difficult to effect, and finally the Company abandoned its claims after much tedious correspondence and negotiation.

Mr. Alexander Begg in his North-West History tells us that the officers who had charge of the various districts in the North-West annually met in a Council for the regulation of the affairs of business for the ensuing year. Looking upon themselves as partners of the Company—they were in fact designated "wintering partners"—the officers felt that they were entitled to participate with the shareholders in any amount which might be received for the cession of the territorial rights of the Company. Many of them had been first explorers of parts of the country, and therefore held that they were entitled to share in the real estate as well as the business profits of the Company. When, therefore, the Company had come to an agreement with the Colonial Office for a transfer to the Canadian Government of its territorial rights, upon the payment of £300,000, the commissioned officers of the Company felt that they should receive a share of that amount.

In 1870, the Council of officers already referred to was held at Norway House, on Lake Winnipeg, and it was decided to represent the claims of the officers to the Company in England. With this object Mr. Smith (afterwards Sir Donald A. Smith, and in 1897 created Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), who, as Governor at Fort Garry, was present at the Council, was unanimously appointed as representative of the officers, and undertook the task of presenting their claims. The matter was one which necessarily attracted a great deal of attention from the shareholders, and Sir Stafford Northcote—who was then the Governor of the Company—had to preside over some troublous meetings in London. The result of Mr. Smith's mission, however, was, that compensation was given to the officers for the relinquishment of their claims, the sum of £107,000 was divided amongst them, and a new agreement, called the Deed Poll of 1871, was entered into. The officers felt that to the judgment and discretion of Mr. Donald A. Smith was due the just recognition of their claims, and when he returned in the following year, they presented him with a valuable testimonial of their esteem.

In November, 1871, Sir Stafford Northcote, in his report to the shareholders stated that:

A VIEW OF OLD FORT GARRY.

"Since the holding of the General Court on the 28th June the Committee have been engaged in proceeding with the re-organization of the fur trade, and have entered into an Agreement with the Chief Factors and Chief Traders for revoking the Deed Poll of 1834, and settling claims arising under it upon the terms sanctioned by the proprietors at the last General Court. They have also prepared the draft of a new Deed Poll adapted to the altered circumstances of the trade." This may be considered as the commencement of another era in the history of this old Company, and to the judicious management of its affairs at this time may be attributed much of its succeeding prosperity.

Mr. Donald A. Smith was, in the same year, appointed Chief Commissioner of the Company, under the new Deed Poll, and assumed the control of affairs at Winnipeg. In the published Report of June, 1873, the Governor of the Company stated "that the Committee have not failed to instruct their officers to render every assistance in their power to the Canadian Government in all measures adopted with a view to the development of the resources of the country, feeling that the interests of the Company are in this respect identical with those of the Government." The process of change from that of a purely fur-trading company, dealing almost exclusively with Indians and Eskimos, to that of a great modern storekeeping concern, supplying the wants of settlers and providing the cities and towns of the Dominion with fashionable garments, has been a gradual and unobtrusive one, and appears to have resulted from the adoption of the policy which was recommended in the above-mentioned Report.

The Company has by no means ceased, however, to be the largest fur-trading company in the world, and its annual sales in London, held each January and March, are as important as ever, and attract, as they did formerly, buyers from all parts of the world. The posts of the Company extend from the rocky shores of Labrador to the western boundary of Canada on the Alaskan frontier of the United States, and throughout the whole of this immense extent of country it largely controls the trade of the natives. The aborigines, whether Chippewayans, Loucheux, Crees, Salteaux, or Eskimos, still look to "the Company" for their chief means of support, and the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in the far interior is still, as for 225 years, the practical governor of the district under his command. There are no fewer than 126 stations at which this active fur trade is still carried on (1897), while in addition to these there are many wintering stations or outposts which are changed according to the circumstances and conditions of the trade.

As already mentioned, after the transfer of the country to the Dominion Government, the Hudson's Bay Company had ceased to be a governing institution. It became simply a private trading corporation, with a capital of £1,700,000, with an interest in one-twentieth of the land within the Fertile Belt, and with trading stations scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the United States boundary to the delta of the vast Mackenzie River where it enters into the Arctic Ocean. Under the new conditions, the officers included Chief Factors and Factors, Chief Traders and Junior Chief Traders. With the exception of not participating in the profits arising from the sale of lands, the arrangements as to salary, etc., were much the same as before. The effect, however, of the changes was that many of the older officers retired, while the creation of more grades permitted the appointment of a number of younger men, who were able to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances of the country and the impending modifications in the trade.

The year 1874 saw the completion of the first steamer on the Saskatchewan. This boat was named the *Northcote*, after the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote (afterwards Earl of Iddesleigh), who had been the Governor of the Company at the time of the inception of the enterprise. After a long and useful career, this boat gained fame for itself in running the blockade on the South Saskatchewan near Batoche during the Rebellion of 1885. Riddled with bullet holes, she still for some time continued to be of service, but is now no longer in commission. A change in the Imperial Ministry having taken place in this year and the Conservatives come into power, Sir Stafford Northcote joined the Cabinet and consequently resigned the Governorship of

the Company. The position was filled by the election of the Right Hon. George J. Goschen, M.P.

Mr. Donald A. Smith at this time, owing to his Parlimentary and other duties, also gave up the position of Chief Commissioner, so far as the control of trade matters was concerned. In this position he was succeeded by Mr. James A. Grahame, although he still retained the management and control of the Company's land affairs, and continued to take the deepest interest in its welfare. The attention of the Company was being given energetically to the development of its landed interests and to the extension of its general trade, as the country was gradually opened up, and in 1875 the shareholders were advised by the Governor and Committee that "the officers are availing themselves of opportunities, as they arise, of extending the general business of the Company, the prospects of which are expected to improve with the progress of settlement and the extension of railways." Further on in the Report a reference is made to the projected Canadian Pacific Railway, and it is stated that "The construction of this latter Line cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on the value of the Company's town lots at Fort Garry."

Negotiations with the Dominion Government for the purchase of the landed interest of the Hudson's Bay Company were about 1874 entered into and discussed, but it was considered advisable not to press them. The affairs of the Company continued with varying success, and in accordance with the condition of the times, but with no occurrence of public importance until in 1879 Mr. Donald A. Smith resigned his official connection with the Company, and the Committee in accepting it referred to the many important arrangements in which he had taken part, and expressed their gratitude for the fidelity which he had displayed to the general interests of all concerned. The services of Mr. Charles J. Brydges, who had been so long connected with the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk Railways, were then secured as his successor in the position of Land Commissioner of the Company.

The railway connecting Winnipeg with the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba road at Pembina was completed about this time and communication by rail between Manitoba and Ontario established, mostly through American territory. A tremendous speculation in real estate in Winnipeg and throughout the North-West followed and culminated in the early part of 1882 in what is known to financial history as the "boom." The Company received and were able to return to the shareholders during this period no less than £400,000, which being applied in reduction of the subscribed capital brought the amount down to £1,300,000 at which it stands in 1897.

In 1880 the return of the Liberals to power in England caused another change in the Governorship of the Company. Mr. Goschen resigned the position and was succeeded by Mr. Eden Colville, who had formerly resided in the North-West as Governor of Assiniboia, and one of whose first acts was to revisit the Dominion, and enquire for himself into the different condition of affairs. Mr. Colville's family had for generations been connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his father had also previously filled the position of Governor of the Company. In 1881 the Company assisted materially in the construction of the bridges across the Red River and Assiniboine River at Main Street in Winnipeg. A Company called the Red River and Assiniboine Bridge Company being formed, the Hudson's Bay Company took an interest in the enterprise to the extent of £5,000. This year was also a memorable one in regard to old Fort Garry, as it saw its final vacation by the Hudson's Bay Company and the occupation in its stead of the present premises which stand on the corner of York and Main streets, and comprise great retail and wholesale stores, making altogether one of the handsomest blocks in Winnipeg, if not in the whole North-West.

The historical environment of this old fort and its many buildings were of great interest. Nearly every event of importance in connection with the North-West has been discussed or carried on within its four walls, but the resistless tide of modern utilitarianism and democratic disregard of the past demanded this removal. Many of the buildings of that historic enclosure still remain scattered in a "renovated" condition throughout Winnipeg, but the bulk of them were removed to the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where they serve as warehouses for the Company.

In the year 1884 the resignation of Mr. James A. Grahame was accepted and Mr. Joseph Wrigley, formerly President of the Chamber of Commerce at Huddersfield, England, was appointed Trade Commissioner of the Company.

The great event in the recent history of the North-West and of the Company was the sudden outbreak of the Rebellion, and the battle of Duck Lake, in March, 1885. It called for speedy and decisive action on the part of the Dominion Government, and they appealed to the Hudson's Bay Company to render assistance in forwarding troops to the scene of trouble. The whole resources of the Company were promptly placed at the disposal of the Government, and as an instance of the completeness of the organization of this vast concern, it is stated that within forty-eight hours from the time of receiving the request to furnish assistance, transport and provisions for the 90th (Winnipeg) Rifles were provided at Qu'Appelle Station, 324 miles west of Winnipeg. When it was found, however, that more troops would be required, the resources of the Company were heavily taxed, although it continued to supply all the commissariat and transport until the whole of the 5,000 men who were eventually in the field, had been taken to and brought back from the scene of action. It was the proud boast of the Company that not a single officer in its service had personally benefited to the extent of one cent from the large sums of money that passed through its hands. To the promptitude and energy of these officers may be attributed much of the success in suppressing the Rebellion, and the fact that it did not spread, as was at one time much feared, among the larger tribes of Indians scattered throughout the other parts of the North-West Territories.

In 1887 the Commissioner summoned to Winnipeg for his assistance and guidance, and for considering the affairs of the Company and regulating its business generally, all its Chief Factors and Factors. From the far-off Mackenzie River, from the icy shores of Labrador, from the pine-clad hills of Cariboo, from the rolling prairies of the Assiniboine, from the stormy shores of Hudson's Bay, and from all the farthest points of the Dominion of Canada, came together these men, who in many cases, had passed their lives in the service of the Company. Old friendships were renewed, old recollections revived, and many important business conferences held, at which much was done in promoting the Company's interests, and bringing its affairs still further into keeping with the advancement of the times. A most fitting and popular appointment was made in January, 1889, when Sir Donald A. Smith was made Governor of the Company. Mr. Colville had resigned on account of ill-health, and Sir Donald thus succeeded to the highest position in the great concern which he had served so long and so well. Mr. C. C. Chipman was appointed Commissioner of the Company in 1891, and is still the chief executive officer of all departments of the Company's affairs.

Sir George Simpson was born in 1792 in Ross-shire, Scotland, where he passed his youth. Having removed to London in 1809, he was afterwards brought into communication with the Earl of Selkirk, then the leading spirit of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was chosen to take a part in the operations of this concern, which was then struggling for supremacy with the North-West Company. He sailed for Canada in 1820, his first winter being spent at Lake Athabasca. In the following year, when the coalition of the two Companies took place, he was appointed Governor of the Northern department, and subsequently Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land and General Superintendent of the Company's affairs in North America. In this position, which he held for upwards of thirty-five years, his peculiar talents came into prominence, and he was able to reconcile conflicting interests, abate personal jealousies and establish a controlling influence, which he retained to the last.

It is stated that he was the first Hudson's Bay Governor who fulfilled, on behalf of the Company, the duty imposed upon him by its Charter—the task of exploration and geographical discovery. Although as keenly alive to the material interests of his employer as the most unreasonable shareholder could expect, Governor Simpson never lost sight of the higher claims of science on his time, as well as on his energies. To his skilful direction and the eagerness with which he assisted Franklin, Richardson, Ross, Back and

other explorers, the most valuable results were due. It was he who sent out Dease, Thomas Simpson, Rae, Anderson and Stewart upon the path of research, and at every fort or factory controlled by him the explorer was sure of shelter, supplies, information and advice. During his long tenure of office, the profits of the Company also steadily increased year by year. In 1846 there were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company 513 articled men and thirty-five officers, which, with a network of trading routes between posts extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, gave it not only an extraordinary degree of influence with the natives and the trade monopoly of the North-West, but the actual domination of those regions—religious, political and social. In 1856, when Governor Simpson was about to retire, the affairs of 152 establishments were managed by himself, with 16 chief factors and 29 chief traders, assisted by 5 surgeons, 87 clerks, 67 postmasters, 500 *voyageurs*, and 1,200 permanent servants, besides sailors on sea-going vessels and persons temporarily employed, numbering three thousand men in all.

He also took a great interest in geographical discoveries in the North, and fitted out several Arctic expeditions. For his services in this respect he was knighted in 1841, soon afterwards setting out on his journey around the world, of which he later wrote an account. Latterly he resided at Lachine, where he entertained the Prince of Wales during his visit to British America. He was shortly afterwards obliged to give up an expedition to the Red River on account of ill-health, from which he did not recover, but died in the same year (1860). For many years he was a director of the Bank of British North America, but in 1859 transferred his services to the Bank of Montreal, and in him Montreal lost a greatly distinguished citizen, and one who had helped to raise her to the position of being the commercial capital of British America.

The Company and British Treaties. There have been two Treaties between Great Britain and France in which the Hudson's Bay Company or Territories were especially dealt with. They indicate in some measure the large place held by the Company in the history of British North America, and are of value for reference. The portions in question read as follows :

1. The Treaty of Ryswick. 1697. Clause VII. "The Most Christian King shall restore to the said King of Great Britain all countries, islands, forts and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the English did possess before the declaration of this present war. And, in like manner, the King of Great Britain shall restore to the Most Christian King all countries, islands, forts and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the French did possess before the declaration of war ; and this restitution shall be made on both sides within the space of six months, or sooner if it can be done. And to that end, immediately after the ratification of this Treaty, each of the said Kings shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the other, or to Commissioners authorized in his name for that purpose, all acts of concession, instruments and necessary orders, duly made and in proper form, so that they may have their effects.

Clause VIII. Commissioners shall be appointed on both sides to examine and determine the rights and pretensions which either of the said Kings hath to the places situated in Hudson's Bay ; but the possession of those places which were taken by the French during the peace that preceded this present war, and were retaken by the English during this war, shall be left to the French by virtue of the foregoing Articles. The capitulation made by the English on the 5th September, 1695, shall be observed according to its form and tenor ; the merchandizes therein mentioned shall be restored ; the Governor at the fort taken there shall be set at liberty, if it be not already done ; the differences which have arisen concerning the execution of the said capitulation and the value of the goods there lost, shall be adjudicated and determined by the said Commissioners ; who immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, shall be invested with sufficient authority for the settling of the limits and confines of the lands to be restored on either side by virtue of the foregoing article, and likewise for exchanging of lands, as may conduce to the mutual interest and advantage of both Kings."

2. The Treaty of Utrecht. 1713. Clause X. "The said Most Christian King shall restore to the

Kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possessed in full right forever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers and places situate in the said Bay and Straits, and which belong thereunto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted which are at present possessed by the subjects of France. All which, as well as any buildings there made in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six months from the ratification of the present Treaty, or sooner, if possible, be well and truly delivered to the British subjects having commission from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the same, entire and undemolished, together with all the cannon and cannon-ball which are therein, as also with a quantity of powder if it be there found, in proportion to the cannon-ball, and with the other provision of war usually belonging to cannon. It is, however, provided, that it may be entirely free for the Company of Quebec, and all other the subjects of the Most Christian King whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please, out of the lands of the said Bay, together with all their goods, merchandizes, arms and effects of what nature or condition soever, except such things as are above referred to in this Article. But it is agreed on both sides to determine within a year by Commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French, which limits both the British and French subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby to go to each other by sea or by land. The same Commissioners shall also have orders to describe and settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts.

Clause XI. The above mentioned Most Christian King shall take care that satisfaction be given, according to the rule of justice and equity to the English Company trading to the Bay of Hudson, for all damages and spoil done to their colonies, ships, persons, and goods by the hostile incursions and depredations of the French, in time of peace, an estimate being made thereof by Commissioners to be named at the requisition of each party. The said Commissioners shall moreover enquire as well into the complaints of the British subjects concerning ships taken by the French in time of peace, as also concerning the damage sustained last year in the Island called Montserrat and others, as into those things of which the French subjects complain, relating to the capitulation in the Island of Nevis, and Castle of Gambia, also to French ships, if perchance any such have been taken by British subjects in time of peace; and in like manner into all disputes of this kind which shall be found to have arisen between both nations, and which are not yet ended; and due justice shall be done on both sides without delay."

In 1818 the Convention of London was entered into with the United States. It contained a proviso respecting the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company which was important—as follows:

"Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry and cure fish, on certain coasts, bays, harbours and creeks of His Britannic Majesty's dominion in America, it is agreed between the high contracting parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbours and creeks, from Mount Joly on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty forever to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland hereinbefore described," etc.

Donald Alexander Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., was born in Morayshire in 1821, and was given a good English and

classical education. Medicine was the subject to which he was first attracted; but finally this was relinquished as a serious pursuit, and in 1838 he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first post to which he was sent was Mingan in Labrador, a desolate region even now, but absolutely appalling in its dreariness at that time. During his stay there an incident occurred which might have had the effect of changing his whole career. The future Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was attacked with colour blindness, and apprehensive of losing his sight altogether, determined to consult a good oculist. There was none nearer than Montreal, and a journey to that city during the winter season was fraught with much peril. The young man, however, resolved to undertake it, and set forth accompanied by two Half-breed guides. He reached his destination much exhausted with the fatigues and privations of the journey, and upon reporting himself at the Company's headquarters met with a chilling reception, was censured for quitting his post without authority, and was commanded to return without delay. This discouraged him to such an extent that he was almost on the point of throwing up his position and quitting the Company's service. Better thoughts prevailed, however, and Mr. Smith wisely determined to return to Mingan. His trip was not in vain, indeed, as he was able to get his eyes attended to and insure the safety of his sight. The return trip proved disastrous to the two Half-breed guides, who succumbed to the hardships, and the young man himself was scarcely alive when he reached home. But the journey was not altogether fruitless in another direction. It helped to show the material of which he was made, and many a time in subsequent years were his tenacity of purpose, his indomitable energy and stern self-reliance to stand him in good stead.

Mr. Donald A. Smith's career in connection with the history of Canada began with the transference of the North-West Territory to the Dominion, which took place while he was local Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1869, while the transfer was still incomplete, the Red River Rebellion broke out, and Mr. Smith was appointed a Commissioner by the Canadian Government, and empowered to proceed to Fort Garry and endeavour to settle the existing difficulties. For this task he was peculiarly fitted by his thorough knowledge of the country and the Indians and Half-breeds by whom it was inhabited. In his mission he achieved considerable success, despite the fact that the demeanour of the Half-breeds was very threatening, and that at one time he was to all intents and purposes a prisoner himself. During the negotiations he showed the greatest tact and foresight, and finally brought about the sending of Delegates to Ottawa, and the temporary suspension of hostilities. For his services on this and other occasions he was created, in 1886, a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Mr. Smith had the distinction of being the last resident Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and presided over its last Council as a governing body. Subsequently, for several years he was Chief Commissioner of the Company, and afterwards Governor of the Board in London.

Sir Donald Smith's political career may be said to date from his appointment, with the late Sir Francis Johnson and the Hon. Mr. Brelland, as member of the first Executive and Legislative Council of the North-West Territory. In 1870 he was elected the first member for Winnipeg in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. On the final admission of Manitoba to the Canadian Confederation he was, in 1871, elected to the Dominion Parliament as member for Selkirk. In 1874, on the abolition of dual representation, he resigned his seat in the Local House, but continued to sit for Selkirk until 1880. He was elected for Montreal West, having taken up his residence in that city, at the general elections of 1887, and represented that constituency until appointed High Commissioner in 1896. In Parliament he always exercised a wide influence, his ripe experience, wide knowledge and good judgment lending great value to his opinions, although he spoke but rarely. Sir Donald shared the Dominion Government's desire to induce the Manitoba Executive to settle the School question, and his efforts as one of three special Commissioners, although unsuccessful in bringing about that end, again demonstrated how sincere and how unselfish has been his desire to advance the general interests of the country. Any reference to his career

would be incomplete which did not touch upon his important connection with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1880, in conjunction with Sir George Stephen and others, he undertook the construction of the road. It was pushed forward with the utmost vigour to completion, and in ranking as one of the foremost of modern enterprises, necessarily adds to the reputation and position which has been won by Sir Donald A. Smith. On November 7th, 1885, he was present at Craigellachie, B.C., when the last spike was driven in the building of the great highway.

Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal is possessed of ample means, but, unlike many a wealthier man, his benefactions have been numerous and princely. In June, 1887, he gave half a million dollars towards the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, in commemoration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, in which noble action he was emulated by Sir George Stephen, now Lord Mount Stephen. His other gifts include one of $20,000 towards Female Higher Education in Montreal, and $100,000 for the founding of the Royal Victoria College for Women, besides an additional one to the Hospital and large amounts to many other interests and charities. Amongst the positions held by him are those of President of the Bank of Montreal, Chairman of the Montreal Board of the London and Lancashire Life Insurance Association, Chancellor of McGill University, and Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Lord Strathcona is also an Honorary LL.D., of Cambridge University. He possesses a residence on Dorchester Street, Montreal, which has been described as a veritable palace, filled with rare and costly works of art. He is noted for his hospitality as well as generosity. His wife is the daughter of the late Richard Hardisty, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his only child, a daughter, is married to Dr. Howard, of Montreal. In 1896 Sir Donald Smith was made a G.C.M.G., and appointed Canadian High Commissioner in London in succession to Sir Charles Tupper. His peerage came from the Queen in 1897 as a well-deserved Diamond Jubilee honour.

The Rulers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Governors and Deputy-Governors of the Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay were, as a rule, men of historic name and of the highest standing in their day. The following list, with dates, has been furnished the Editor by the courtesy of the present Governor of the Company, and cannot but prove of value from an historical standpoint:

GOVERNORS.

His Highness Prince Rupert	1670-1683
H.R.H. James, Duke of York (afterwards King James II.)	1683-1685
John, Earl of Marlborough (afterwards Duke of Marlborough)	1685-1691
Sir Stephen Evance, Kt	1691-1696
The Rt. Hon. Sir William Trumbull	1696-1700
Sir Stephen Evance, Kt	1700-1712
Sir Bibye Lake, Bart	1712-1743
Benjamin Pitt	1743-1746
Thomas Knapp	1746-1750
Sir Atwell Lake, Bart	1750-1760
Sir William Baker, Kt	1760-1770
Bibye Lake	1770-1782
Samuel Wegg	1782-1799
Sir James Winter Lake, Bart	1799-1807
William Mainwaring	1807-1812
Joseph Berens, Junior	1812-1822
Sir John Henry Pelly, Bart	1822-1852
Andrew Colville	1852-1856
John Shepherd	1856-1858
Henry Hulse Berens	1858-1863
Rt. Hon. Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart., K.C.B	1863-1868
Rt. Hon. The Earl of Kimberley	1868-1869
Rt. Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart, M.P. (Earl of Iddesleigh)	1869-1874
Rt. Hon. George Joachim Goschen, M.P.	1874-1880
Eden Colville	1880-1889
Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G	1889-1898

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS.

Sir John Robinson, Kt	1670-1675
Sir James Hayes, Kt	1675-1685
The Hon. Sir Edward Dering, Kt	1685-1691
Samuel Clarke	1691-1701
John Nicholson	1701-1710
Thomas Lake	1710-1711
Sir Bibye Lake, Bart	1711-1712
Captain John Merry	1712-1729
Samuel Jones	1729-1735
Benjamin Pitt	1735-1743
Thomas Knapp	1743-1746
Sir Atwell Lake, Bart	1746-1750
Sir William Baker, Kt	1750-1670
Captain John Merry	1760-1765
Bibye Lake	1765-1770

Robert Merry	1770-1774
Samuel Wegg	1774-1782
Sir James Winter Lake, Bart	1782-1799
Richard Hulse	1799-1805
Nicholas Cæsar Corsellis	1805-1806
William Mainwaring	1806-1807
Joseph Berens, Junior	1807-1812
John Henry Pelly	1812-1822
Nicholas Garry	1822-1835
Benjamin Harrison	1835-1839
Andrew Colville	1839-1852
John Shepherd	1852-1856
Henry Hulse Berens	1856-1858
Edward Ellice, M.P.	1858-1863
Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson, Bart	1863-1871
Eden Colville	1871-1880
Sir John Rose, Bart., G C.M.G.	1880-1888
Sir Donald A. Smith, G.C.M G.	1888-1889
The Earl of Lichfield	1889-1898

The Company and the Oregon Treaty. On June 15, 1846, a Treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the United States dealing with the vexed Oregon boundary dispute and containing the following important references to the Hudson's Bay Company:

"Article II. From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch of the river to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the said river shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual *portages* along the line thus described shall, in like manner, be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing, or intended to prevent, the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers not inconsistent with the present Treaty. Article III. In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first Article of this Treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected."

In 1863, the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company in connection with the international settlement above quoted became the subject of a special Treaty which was finally arranged by the Hon. W. H. Seward for the United States, and Lord Lyons, British Ambassador, on behalf of England. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company —a sort of branch of the Hudson's Bay Company for the purposes of wheat, wool, hides and tallow production—was also a party to the arrangement. This Treaty, which was concluded on July 1st, 1863, and proclaimed on March 5th, 1864, contained the following Clause:

Whereas it is desirable that all questions between the United States authorities on the one hand, and the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies on the other with respect to the possessory rights and claims of those companies, and of any other British subjects in Oregon and Washington Territory, should be settled by the transfer of those rights and claims to the Government of the United States for an adequate money consideration: It is hereby agreed that the United States of America and Her Britannic Majesty shall, within twelve months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, appoint each a Commissioner for the purpose of examining and deciding upon all claims arising out of the provisions of the above quoted articles of the Treaty of June 15, 1846."

Under the terms of this second Treaty a Joint Commission composed of Mr. Alexander S. Johnson for the United States and the Hon. (afterwards Sir) John Rose for Great Britain and Canada was appointed, and on September 10th, 1869, an Award was issued by them from Washington directing the payment of $450,000 by the United States to the Hudson's Bay Company and $200,000 to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. The amount was eventually ordered to be paid—$325,000 by a Congressional appropriation on July 11th, 1870, and $325,000 by a second Congressional appropriation on February 21st, 1871.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF CANADIAN RAILWAYS

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY

BY

SIR SANDFORD FLEMING, K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.C., F.R.G.S., etc.

THE project of an Intercolonial Railway to connect the Maritime Provinces with what was then called Upper and Lower Canada early occupied public attention in British America. Few are aware that among the first consequences of the stimulus given to progress throughout the world by the creation of the railway system, we must assign a prominent position to the consideration of a scheme for connecting Halifax with St. John, and the Bay of Fundy with the St. Lawrence.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway, the first passenger line in England, had been but a few years in operation when British North America became awakened to the necessity of establishing the railway system within her territory as a relief to the transportation disabilities under which she was labouring. Although the influence which railways were destined to exercise upon the world was at that time but imperfectly understood by the mass of men, some minds did comprehend the power which they possessed to develop the resources of a country. They were but few, however, and it was only by slow degrees that the generation which witnessed the introduction of railways appreciated the revolution they had accomplished.

The Stockton and Darlington Line above referred to, and the first of the kind in any part of the world, was opened on the 27th September, 1825. In the United Service Journal of 1832, Mr. Henry Fairbairn published the first suggestion, so far as known, of applying the railway system to Canada. He said :

" I propose, first, to form a Railway for wagons from Quebec to the harbour of St. Andrews upon the Bay of Fundy, a work which will convey the whole trade of the St. Lawrence in a single day to the Atlantic waters. Thus the timber, provisions, ashes, and other exports of the Province may be brought to the Atlantic, not only with more speed, regularity and security, than by the river St. Lawrence, but with the grand additional advantage of a navigation open at all seasons of the year : the harbour of St. Andrews being capacious, deep, and never enclosed in the winter season, whilst the St. Lawrence is unnavigable from ice from the month of November to May. Another great line of railway may be formed from Halifax, through Nova Scotia to St. John, in the Province of New Brunswick, and thence into the United States, joining the railways which are fast spreading through that country, and which will soon reach from New York to Boston, and through the whole New England States. This railway will not only bring to the Atlantic the lumber, provisions, metal, and other exports of the Provinces, but from the situation of the harbour of Halifax it will doubtless command the whole stream of passengers, mails, and light articles of commerce passing into the British possessions, and to the United States and every part of the continent of America.

Indeed, if the difficulties and expense of constructing these works in our North American Colonies were ten-fold greater, an imperative necessity would exist for their adoption, if it is desired by the Government of this country to maintain an equality of commercial advantages with the neighbouring United States. For the splendid advantages of the railway system are well understood in that country, where great navigable rivers are about to be superseded by railways of vast magnitude, reaching over hundreds of miles. Indeed, in no country will the results of the railway system be so extensive as in the United States, for it will assimilate their only disadvantage, in land distance from the sea ; and it will effect the work of centuries to connect, consolidate, and strengthen that giant territory, lying beneath all climates and spreading over a quarter of the globe. If, then, we would contend with these advantages in our North American Provinces, it is only by similar works that we can bring to the Atlantic the agricultural exports of the Colonies, and secure the stream of emigration which otherwise, with the facility of inland transportation, will be rapidly diverted to the western regions of the United States."

These words as penned so many years ago are worthy of preservation, not only for the correctness of view expressed and for the enunciation of a policy which has been entirely carried out, but for the modern language and tone in which the writer clothed his argument. The mind which, in those days, could judge what railways would effect, and foreshadow what has taken half a century to accomplish, must have been of no ordinary kind, and this latter end of the century seems a fitting time to remember Henry Fairbairn and mention his name with honour. St. Andrews, on the Bay of Fundy, was then an important centre of business in New Brunswick, and the mention of the part assigned to that locality in this scheme at once attracted public interest there. The commercial importance of the undertaking was immediately recognized, and its active population lost no time in putting into practical form the policy which Mr. Fairbairn had pointed out for it to follow. A meeting was called on the 5th October, 1835, at which resolutions advocating the line of railway were unanimously carried.

More than ordinary interest is attached to these proceedings, as they may be held to be the first step taken towards the consummation of the project. The resolution enunciated the necessity of a railway from Canada to the nearest winter port in New Brunswick via St. Andrews; the national importance of the project, and the prospect that it would be remunerative. The resolution suggested that an association be formed to promote the building of a railway. The Association was at once organized and an Executive Committee appointed. A deputation was also named to wait upon Sir Archibald Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, to demonstrate the advantages which must result from the scheme, and to solicit his assistance. The Lieutenant-Governor expressed his appreciation of the zeal and enterprise which suggested a project so well calculated to prove beneficial commercially and in every other respect, and promised to support the project. The Association appointed Mr. George H. Smith and Mr. E. H. Hatheway to explore the territory, so that the feasibility of the undertaking could be ascertained and the character of the difficulties in the way made known. These gentlemen reported in January, 1836. The route followed by them was in part that which the present New Brunswick and Canadian Railway has taken from St. Andrews northward to Woodstock, thence it proceeded up the valley of the River St. John as far as the point called Mars Hill, about 120 miles from St. Andrews, and then turned nearly westward towards Quebec, ending on the height of land between the waters of the River St. John and the St. Lawrence. The exploration was not continued farther than this height of land owing to an examination having been previously made through the district lying between it and the City of Quebec by Captain Yule of the Royal Engineers. The latter exploration had been carried on under the authority of Lord Aylmer, Governor-General of Canada.

The report of Messrs. Smith and Hatheway declared that no obstructions had been found which could impede the formation of the railway, that a great portion of the lands was fit for settlement, and that no burnt tracks apparently existed. The work was pronounced by the explorers to be less difficult than was expected. During the progress of the survey, the Association appealed to public opinion, and a verdict was pronounced unmistakably in its favour. In this state of affairs it became advisable to communicate with Lower Canada. Accordingly, in December, 1835, a Deputation proceeded to Quebec to bring the matter under the notice of its Government. Resolutions favourable to the undertaking were adopted in the same month by both Houses of the Legislature of Lower Canada. The inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal equally expressed sympathy in the undertaking. The Boards of Trade of both cities joined the Association, and special Committees were appointed to act in concert with the Deputation. In compliance with the wish of the Deputation, Captain Yule, R.E., who had made the exploratory survey between Quebec and the height of land, placed on record the expression of his opinion that the scheme was beyond the ordinary limits of commercial speculation, that it was even something more than inter-provincial in its character, that it included the greater object of reducing the time necessary to pass between Europe and America. In St. John, New Brunswick, a deep interest was

felt in the scheme, and, although a degree of rivalry existed between that place and St. Andrews, the press of St. John gave its support to the project.

In January, 1836, a Deputation proceeded to England carrying with them a petition to the King, and remained there engaged in negotiations with the Imperial Government until the following June. During March, resolutions similar to those passed by the Legislature of Lower Canada were carried in the House of Assembly, Nova Scotia, and in the same month a Bill passed the Legis-

Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., G.C.B.

lature of New Brunswick incorporating the "St. Andrews and Quebec Railroad Company," for the construction of a line from St. Andrews, New Brunswick, to Lower Canada. Lord Glenelg was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it was to him the several resolutions of the Provincial Legislatures and the reports of what had then been done were submitted. On the 27th April an estimate of the cost of construction, and of the probable traffic, was also laid before him. The cost of the work was estimated at $4,000,000, and the revenue to be derived at $606,000, apart from the carriage of mails.

The Deputation urged the importance of an immediate survey on a more comprehensive scale than that of the previous explorations, and suggested that a sum not exceeding £10,000 be expended in an exploration through the wilderness country, an expenditure which would save thousands in the end; and as the service could not be completed in one season, that it should be commenced without delay. The Deputation further proposed, as the means for raising the necessary capital, that the sum of £250,000 should be given as a bonus or special grant to the Company on the principle established in the Province for the construction of roads and internal improvements; that a further sum of £500,000 be invested in the stock of the Company, the dividends to form a part of the casual revenues; the remaining £250,000 to be obtained in stock in the Canadas and New Brunswick.

On the 5th May, 1836, the Deputation addressed a letter to Sir George Grey, then Under-Secretary of State, acknowledging the receipt of his letters of the 4th inst., which conveyed the gratifying information that their application for a sum of money not exceeding £10,000, to be expended in the exploration and survey of the proposed line of railway from St. Andrews to Quebec, had been granted, and that the other propositions submitted by them would receive the attention of Government as soon as the result of the survey should be known. The Deputation concluded their letter with an expression of thanks to Lord Glenelg. The day after the arrival from England of the Deputation at St. Andrews, 10th June, 1836, resolutions were passed at a public meeting to the effect that the munificent donation of £10,000 by His Majesty for the purpose of carrying into effect an exploration of the line for a railroad from St. Andrews to Quebec, affords an additional proof of "His Majesty's solicitude for the prosperity of his British North American Colonies, and is hailed by the members of the Association as an earnest of the ultimate completion of the work." Sir Archibald Campbell was also thanked for the countenance and encouragement he had given. The survey was entrusted to Captain Yule, who had a high

reputation in the Royal Engineers for practical knowledge and professional ability, and upon the 24th July, 1836, that officer commenced the work at Point Levis.

The scheme as a whole was favourably received by the Governor-General and by the great body of the people. It was generally looked upon as promising extraordinary advantages, and as a project which would give an impetus, never before experienced, to the prosperity of the country. On all sides it was held that every effort should be made to obtain an uninterrupted communication with the sea-board. Moreover, the project was thought to be the commencement of a system of international improvements to extend to the Far West, which had only to be put in operation to create an immense traffic and greatly to add to the wealth of the Provinces. It was argued that this consideration should be kept prominently in view. The value of the export trade from the West was inferred from the rivalry between New York and Pennsylvania in their endeavour to control it. The people of the United States, moreover, appeared clearly to understand the advantages which would result to the British Provinces from the undertaking. Illustrations of the spirit in which the project was reviewed can be found in the press of New York of that date. These furnish an early indication that it was this project which suggested to parties in the United States the policy of claiming a portion of New Brunswick as a part of Maine, so that the proposed line could not be followed. At that time the entire country through which Captain Yule prosecuted the surveys was held to be wholly within British territory. It was in 1837 that the Government of the United States made objection to the route proposed, and Canada was then in rebellion. Were the troubles of that date too tempting an opportunity to be neglected? Had that outbreak not taken place would the claim ever have been advanced?

It is true that in the Treaty of 1783 the boundary was very vaguely described; but it was capable of arrangement. Unfortunately, however, Canada, then weak, at war with herself, without cohesion, shaken by political difficulties, offered herself a willing prey to a strong and ambitious neighbour. If the loss has been hers, the fault has, to no small extent, been hers also. The facts are now the history of the past, and there are few incidents of modern times which more plainly tell their lesson. Let us only hope that the lesson is not to be read in vain, and that those who follow us will profit by its teaching and will not again, by disunion and political discord, court spoliation or dismemberment. The promoters of the railway were, for the first time, made aware of the action of the United States Government through the Deputation of the Association then in England. Upon their application for an interview with Lord Glenelg, the Deputation received a despatch from Sir George Grey, Under-Secretary of State, to the effect that as the Government of the State of Maine had protested against the prosecution of the undertaking, on the ground that it involved an infringement of certain stipulations respecting the unsettled boundary question, the Governor-General of Canada and the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick had been instructed to prevent further proceedings until measures had been taken to remove the objections of the State of Maine.

In pursuance of this interference, on the 24th of the same month, the Secretary of the Association received a communication from Sir John Harvey, Fredericton, to the effect that he had received the commands of His Majesty's Government, in consequence of a representation from that of the United States, peremptorily to prohibit any further proceedings for the construction of a railroad between St. Andrews and Quebec until the points in dispute should be settled. Captain Yule also wrote to the Association on the sudden turn of affairs, adding a few words of sympathy and hope, and the proceedings of the Association were abruptly closed. An attempt was made in 1838 to revive the project, but the boundary question had then assumed grave importance, and nothing could be done. The difficulties with Maine, which followed the sudden and unexpected suspension of the railway survey, and the troubles connected with the rebellion in both the Canadas, pointed to the fact that if Northern America was to remain British America, there must be a speedier connection between her and the Mother Country, and that in winter there must be a mode of approach to the Canadas other than the

frozen St. Lawrence. The first indication that light had dawned in the Colonial Office upon this subject, is found in a despatch—24th October, 1838—from Lord Glenelg to Sir John Harvey, to the effect that the Imperial Government had resolved to advertise for tenders for carrying the mails between England and Halifax by steam instead of sailing vessels, and that the Imperial Postmaster-General had turned his attention to the necessity of increased expedition in the carriage of mails by land.

In a despatch dated 4th May, 1839, Lord Normanby informed Sir John Harvey that a contract had been entered into for a semi-monthly mail by steamships between Liverpool and Halifax, and the improvement of the mail roads was again earnestly pressed on the Colonial Governments. It was, doubtless, the knowledge of the views of the Imperial Government which led Lord Durham, in his celebrated Report, to allude to the future of British America. Some explanation has always been sought for his expressions at this date—January, 1839. The words, it is true, are not many, but viewed in the light of our present knowledge, they are pregnant with meaning. He declared that "the completion of any satisfactory communication between Halifax and Quebec would, in fact, produce relations between these Provinces that would render a general union absolutely necessary."

He was indeed more of a prophet than was believed for many years. In theory, the railway was undoubtedly the pivot of the Dominion; in fact, the railway owes its existence to the Dominion. In February, 1839, a body of armed men from the State of Maine attempted to take possession of the disputed territory. The organization of a force to repel the invasion must have established the necessity of a military road through the length and breadth of British America. These various difficulties led to a Report from the Post Office authorities at Quebec—January, 1839—in which the road then used for carrying mails between Quebec and Fredericton is described as passing through the territory in dispute, and stating that in giving up this route there was but one other choice, "the neglected road partially opened up by Sir James Kempt," between the Lower St. Lawrence and the River Restigouche.

The advantage of the Metis road, since known as the Kempt road, at that time was that it passed through undisputed territory. From a military point of view it commended itself to the Government on the ground that troops and supplies could be brought by water from Halifax up the Restigouche to within 300 miles of Quebec, at periods when the St. Lawrence is not practicable. An exploration and survey of a road from the Restigouche to the St. Lawrence was therefore made in the summer of 1839, and in the following year an appropriation was voted by the Imperial Parliament for the completion of this communication between Lower Canada and New Brunswick. The eventual settlement of the boundary question did not lessen the necessity for a military road; indeed, some line of communication for military purposes was the more necessary, as the new boundary interposed a wedge of foreign territory which threatened to sever all connection between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec. Accordingly, not long after the conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty, the Imperial Government directed a survey of a military road to be undertaken which had in view the connection of the Provinces at a distance as remote as practicable from the frontier. This survey was made by Colonel Holloway of the Royal Grenadiers, aided by Sir James Alexander, then a Captain in the 14th Regiment. The latter was well and favourably known, acquainted with Canadian life, and known to strongly sympathize with Canadian interests.

The survey was made in 1844. The Report set forth that in traversing the highlands the most difficult grades would not exceed 1 to 15; that these could be reduced by oblique and prolonged circuits; that the bridging of streams would be attended with but little difficulty, as the main rivers—the St. John and Miramichi—were avoided; that the projected road would traverse a fertile, uncleared country where there were abundant materials of wood and stone: and that the engineers estimated the cost at £2,500 per mile for a macadamized road, and £450 per mile for a plank road subject to repairs in five years and renewal in ten years. The total length of the road was estimated at 500 miles. The year 1845 will be long memorable as that

of the great railway mania in the United Kingdom. During this period many old projects were revived and many new ones started. Among the former was that of the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway, apparently recalled to life by the proposal of a new scheme, the Halifax and Quebec Railway, the prospectus of which had been issued in England.

At that time Sir Richard Broun was engaged in taking steps for the formation of a Colonization Company, under unusually favourable circumstances. The design was to combine the influence of all parties on both sides of the Atlantic, who were interested in, or otherwise favourable to, the revival of the rights of the Baronetage of Scotland and Nova Scotia. He was also engaged in schemes for connecting Great Britain to Japan, China, and the East Indies by means of a continuous line of steam navigation and railways through British North America. At this juncture he received a letter from a Mr. William Bridges, suggesting that a railway to unite the waters of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence would be beneficial to the North American Provinces, and requesting his aid. It was readily promised, as the project so entirely agreed with his own theories. Sir Richard Broun accordingly took an active part in the advancement of the scheme of the Halifax and Quebec Railway, and advocated it for years. In July, 1845, he forwarded to the Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia a Memorial from the Provincial Board praying for certain facilities and advantages on the plea that the proposed railway would supersede the necessity for the projected military road, and that it would furnish facilities for the systematic plantation and settlement of the whole frontier territory of British North America. The Memorial was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Bridges asking that the prayer of the Memorialists should be recommended to the Home Government.

Several routes were projected. One followed the line of the proposed military road from Halifax by Truro, the bend of the Petitcodiac, Boiestown, Grand Falls and Temiscouta Lake. Another joined the above line at Truro and started from Canso. Another started from Halifax, crossed the Bay of Fundy between Halifax and St. John, and then proceeded to Fredericton and Boiestown; and another took the last-mentioned route to Fredericton, and proceeded up along the west side of the river St. John to Grand Falls. The Governor of New Brunswick in a despatch to the Home Government stated that having conferred with the Executive Council and several influential persons in Fredericton and St. John, there appeared to him a general disposition to cooperate with the Railway Association, particularly if the Association would declare its intention of adopting the route from Halifax by Annapolis, St. John and Fredericton. These proposals and negotiations revived the project of the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway, dormant since 1837.

A meeting was held on the 8th of October, 1845, at which a Delegate was appointed to wait upon the Colonial Secretary and present a communication from the Association in furtherance of the general interests of the undertaking. On the 24th of the same month a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of St. John was held, when two Delegates from St. Andrews were heard on behalf of the St. Andrews Railway, and resolutions were passed thanking the Deputation for the information they had given, assuring them that the most eligible lines for the general good would necessarily command the most attention and consideration, regardless of local interests.

In November following, the Chamber of Commerce of St. John held another meeting and presented a report to the Governor considering only the two routes from Halifax and giving their decided preference to that passing by Annapolis, St. John and Fredericton. On the other hand the people of St. Andrews continued their exertions in behalf of their own project. Subscription lists were opened, the capital asked for being £750,000 in shares of £25 each. On the 25th November, 1846, a general meeting of its stockholders was held, when a Board of local Directors was elected. Several shares were taken in England, and a London Board was appointed, of which Mr. William Bridges, formerly of the Halifax and Quebec Railway, became Secretary. Lord Ashburton was a member of this Board, and he courteously expressed his sympathy with the project. The settlement of the boundary question had placed St. Andrews at a great disadvan-

tage. It could no longer obtain a direct connection with Quebec without crossing territory which now formed part of the State of Maine. Thus the confident hope which the people of St. Andrews had formed with respect to their town becoming the ocean terminus of a great Intercolonial Railway soon passed away.

In the meantime the Halifax and Quebec scheme was experiencing many difficulties. The prospectus published in England had given the names of several men of standing and influence in Nova Scotia as connected with it. Several of these gentlemen repudiated the connection, stating that they had not been consulted and that their names had been used without their sanction. This proceeding destroyed confidence in the Association. Nevertheless Lord Falkland, the Governor of Nova Scotia, looked upon the scheme as both practicable and desirable, and declared that he should deeply lament its being abandoned, either for want of effort to determine its feasibility, or from its having been undertaken by individuals without the influence to effect its completion. In view of the importance of the project, alike to the Mother Country and to the Colonies, he applied to the Home Government to send out competent Military or Civil Engineers to make an accurate survey, by which its practicability could be determined and the best route established. He also set before the Home authorities that, as the Mother Country would thus obtain direct railway communication with Quebec, the object proposed by the military road, it was hoped that the British Government would contribute towards the railway some portion of the money which would otherwise have been expended on the military road.

Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied to this despatch, and approached with caution the question of granting any aid to the undertaking, but in April, 1846, instructions were issued to the Royal Engineers to make the survey asked for. Public attention was much attracted to the project by the speeches and writings of many prominent men who discussed it at this time. The points generally considered were the effect that the railway would have on the commerce of the country, on the settlement of wild lands, on the union of the Provinces into one community, the more intimate connection which could be established with the Mother Country, and the greater general security in case of war. On the last point, Colonel Holloway, who had conducted the survey for the military road, expressed himself strongly in favour of the railway.

Sir John Harvey, in his opening address to the Legislature of Nova Scotia in January, 1847, recommended to their continued attention this railway, which he said was not second to any project which had ever engaged the notice of any

Major General Sir John Harvey.

Colonial Legislature in any part of the British dominions, and which would "constitute the most important link in that great line of communication, which may be destined at no remote period to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, and to conduct to a British seaport, from those into which it is now forced, vast streams of trade, not of our own western possessions alone, but of the rich and extensive wheat and grain growing districts of all central America." Resolutions were passed by the Parliaments of

the three Provinces, in Nova Scotia on the 4th March, New Brunswick on the 2nd April, and Canada on the 26th May, 1846, setting forth the necessity for the survey, and binding the several Provinces to make good the expenses, each within its own limits. Accordingly, instructions for the survey of the three projected routes were issued on the 11th June, 1846, by Mr. Gladstone, to Captain Pipon and Lieutenant Henderson, of the Royal Engineers.

Major Robinson, who had been also appointed in 1847, made the final report of the survey under date of 31st August, 1848. The route recommended was from Halifax to Truro, passing over the Cobequid Mountains, thence by the Gulf shore to the River Miramichi, which would be crossed at the head of tide, thence proceeding by the Nipissiguit River to the Bay Chaleur, and along the coast to the mouth of the Metapedia, proceeding up the valley of the Metapedia to the vicinity of the St. Lawrence, the Rivière du Loup and Point Levis. The estimate for this line, for 635 miles, from Halifax to Quebec, was set down by Major Robinson at £7,000 sterling per mile, or in round numbers, £5,000,000 sterling; and it was strongly recommended that the railway, at whatever time it might be commenced, should be properly and efficiently constructed.

The route commenced would, in Major Robinson's opinion, secure the greatest immediate amount of remuneration for the expenditure, and develop in the highest degree the commerce and fisheries of New Brunswick. The greatest facilities for construction were afforded, at many points, by its proximity to the sea, and, from the same cause, there was a minimum of apprehension as to the interruption of traffic by climatic influences. Its remoteness from the United States frontier secured it from attack in case of hostilities with the Republic, and the grades would be easy on account of its passing through the least elevated country. The Report aroused considerable discussion, which continued until 1852. In the meantime a problem of more than usual difficulty occupied public attention—that of colonization from Ireland as a consequence of the famine of 1847. It was contended that the Imperial Government should direct a systematized emigration to British Colonies, with the certainty of obtaining employment for the emigrant on his arrival. The arguments mainly took the form of the scheme advocated by Sir Richard Broun, that colonization should be considered in connection with railway construction. One gentleman, Mr. Buchanan, in a letter to Lord Elgin dated 12th February, 1847, urged the employment of 25,000 men on the Halifax and Quebec Railway. To each of these he proposed that there should be given fifty acres of land along the line of the railway, besides certain wages.

Lord Grey himself favoured the grant of money to railways, instead of paying any direct subsidy to emigration, on the principle that emigration would follow the commencement of the railway. He considered that the hardships and difficulties attendant on the new life of the emigrant were to no small extent caused by want of combination and by the absence of division of employment. In order that colonization might be best promoted, he believed Parliamentary appropriations to be desirable for carrying out necessary improvements such as railways and canals or other public works. On the part of the local Governments, no effort was spared to induce the Home Government to intervene. On the 31st March, 1849, an Act was passed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia authorizing the transfer to the Imperial authorities of Crown lands, ten miles wide, on each side of the line of the proposed railway, and pledging the House to the payment of £20,000 sterling for interest on capital to carry on the work. The Home Government, however, replied that the demands on the Imperial Treasury were, at that time, too manifold and too pressing to admit of any measures being submitted to Parliament for the aid required.

The project accordingly remained stationery, as the united resources of the three Provinces, unaided, were inadequate to carry on the work. But the question in no way passed out of view. It was discussed in the press. Several pamphlets appeared in its advocacy, and among the latter was a *brochure* by Major Carmichael-Smyth which appeared in the winter of 1849, earnestly setting forth the advantages of employing the people and capital of Great Britain in her own Colonies. This writer advocated the application of the surplus labour of the United Kingdom to the con-

struction, not only of an Inter-colonial communication, but of an Imperial line of railway from Halifax to the Pacific coast. The importance of a railway connection between Halifax and the United States system of railways was fully recognized in the United States, and an effort was early made to effect it. In July, 1850, a convention was called to meet at Portland for the purpose of considering a series of propositions for the construction of a railway from Portland through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Halifax. Representatives from the several British Provinces were invited to attend. At the meeting of this Convention the representatives of United States interests pledged themselves to construct their part of the railway through the British Provinces, provided Acts of Incorporation, with liberal grants of money and land were given.

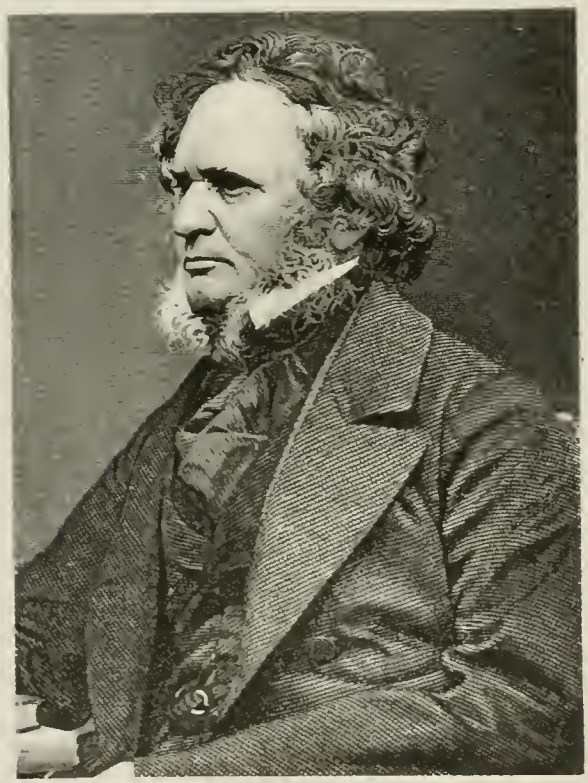
The representatives of the British Provinces, however, determined that they would construct the railway through their own territory with their own resources. But as the rate of interest on loans would be reduced by an Imperial guarantee, another appeal was made to the Home Government to guarantee the interest on the cost of its construction; the revenue of the Provinces being pledged to the British Government as security. The people of Nova Scotia were especially interested in the completion of this railway connection with Halifax, their capital. Mr. Howe, then Premier, accordingly proceeded as a Delegate to England to press their cause on the Home Government. He was so far successful that he received a letter, 10th March, 1851, from the Colonial Secretary, to the effect that the Government had determined to recommend to Parliament that the guarantee should be granted, or that the money should be advanced from the British Treasury, on certain conditions.

This letter mentioned "the strong sense entertained by the British Government of the extreme importance not only to the Colonies directly interested, but to the Empire at large, of providing for the construction of a railway by which a line of communication may be established on British territory between the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada." Mr. Howe's mission was to advocate the claims of Nova Scotia, in regard to the railway projected from Halifax to St. John, to meet a railway through the State of Maine from Portland. But the letter of the Colonial Secretary stated that the British Government would not feel justified in asking Parliament to pledge the credit of England for any object which was not of importance to the Empire as a whole. As they did not consider that the railway advocated by Mr. Howe answered this description, in order to obtain the Imperial guarantee it was essential that satisfactory arrangements should be made with Canada and New Brunswick, by which the construction of a railway passing wholly through British territory from Halifax to Quebec, or Montreal, should be provided for.

Moreover, in order that arrangements might be effected, the Imperial Government proposed to recommend to Parliament that Canada and New Brunswick should receive equal assistance. It was also determined that the cost should be provided for by loans raised by the Provinces, with the Imperial guarantee; that the line recommended by Major Robinson need not be followed if a shorter and better line should be found, but that any deviation should be subject to the approval of the Imperial Government; that the loans to be raised in the several Provinces should be a first charge upon the Provincial revenue, after payments on account of the civil lists, and also, that taxes should be imposed sufficient to provide for the payment of interest and sinking fund. At the same time (14th March, 1851) Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, that Her Majesty's Government had long earnestly desired to see the Railway constructed, as they considered it greatly calculated to advance the commercial and political interests both of the British Provinces in North America and of the Mother Country, and that they regarded the work as of so much importance to the whole Empire as to justify them in recommending to Parliament that Imperial assistance should be given. Earl Grey concluded by suggesting that a deputation from the Executive Councils of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should meet Lord Elgin and his Council, for the purpose of coming to some agreement on the different matters to be considered in connection with the

railway; which agreement, after being approved by the Legislatures of the several Provinces might be submitted for the sanction of the Imperial Parliament.

The suggested Conference was held at Toronto, and a satisfactory arrangement attained. The Parliament of Canada, being then in session, proceeded at once to pass the required legislation. The Assemblies of the Maritime Provinces were called expressly for the purpose, but before the Legislature of New Brunswick could meet, a despatch was received from London conveying



Edward, 14th Earl of Derby, K.G.

the intelligence that, although the British Government had no objection to the project including a proviso for establishing a communication with the railways of the United States, the cost of such a communication could not be included in the guarantee. Mr. Howe had understood that the guarantee would cover the cost of the railway advocated by him in London, namely, from Halifax, by Truro and St. John, to join the railways from Portland in the United States, as well as of the main line to Quebec and Montreal. As this railway (the European and North American Railway) was considered to be of very great importance to New Brunswick, and as the Legislature of that Province had already pledged the public credit to the extent of £300,000 sterling for that line and the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway, it was not considered expedient to accept the terms offered if that line was not included in the guarantee.

The Conference, therefore, came to an end; but the delegates, before separating, expressed their determination not to abandon the hope of obtaining the desired aid from the Imperial Government. Accordingly, Sir Francis Hincks, Mr. E. B. Chandler and Mr. Howe proceeded to London, and pressed their views on the Government, of which Lord Derby was then the head. Although the various despatches show that the Imperial Government, under different Administrations, always held that the proposed railway from Halifax to Quebec would be of benefit to the Mother Country, the terms conceded to Mr. Howe by the letter of the 10th March, 1851, required that the railway should be constructed at the cost of the Provinces, and that the Provinces should tax themselves sufficiently to secure the Mother Country from loss by the guarantee of interest. The assistance offered by the Imperial Government was limited to the guarantee of a loan, by which the yearly interest would be reduced. It therefore followed that the Deputation should consider what would be most advantageous to the Provinces. They urged that Major Robinson recommended his route principally on military considerations, treating revenue as of secondary importance, so that his line avoided the populous districts of New Brunswick; that on account of the settlement of recent difficulties with the United States, military considerations need no longer assume such prominence, and no special necessity continued for keeping the railway far from the frontier of the United States; consequently, that the proposed line should pass St. John, and up the valley of the river St. John, as that route promised the greatest commercial advantages. It was further argued that as the whole cost of construction would be borne by the Provinces, the Colonial Legislatures could hardly be expected to sanction a line with the primary

view of consulting military or Imperial interests. Lord Derby acknowledged the force of the arguments, and admitted the importance of a railway through British territory connecting the Provinces. He, however, declined to aid on the terms proposed.

No further communications on the subject appear to have passed between the several Governments from 1852 to 1857, with the exception of a statement furnished by the Imperial authorities in April, 1856, showing that the surveys had cost £14,605 17s. 10d. sterling. The three Provinces, however, without any unity of plan, but each acting independently, determined each with its own resources to proceed with the construction of railways. The Intercolonial system accordingly, was commenced at different points, on no defined plan, and with no assured certainty as to when the full system would be completed. In 1852, Canada incorporated the Grand Trunk Railway Company with the Provincial guarantee of $12,000 per mile, for the construction of the line from Sarnia to Trois Pistoles, 153 miles east of Quebec. The section to St. Thomas, forty-one miles, was finished in 1855, to Rivière du Loup, about 120 miles from Quebec, in 1860. In September, 1852, New Brunswick entered into a contract with Messrs. Peto, Betts, Jackson and Brassey for the construction of a railway from the western side of the Province, easterly to the boundary line between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. By September, 1853, the surveys were so far completed that the first sod was turned on the 14th of that month. Construction was immediately commenced, and was prosecuted until 1854. But the financial crisis consequent upon the Crimean War, brought the operations to a close.

In 1856, the contractors retired from the work, and the portions of the line on which their operations had been carried on, lying chiefly between Moncton and Shediac, were transferred to the Provincial Government. Operations were at once undertaken by the Government. The railway was opened for traffic in 1860 between St. John and Shediac, a distance of 108 miles. In the spring of 1854 Nova Scotia passed the Railway Act, authorizing a Provincial loan. The first sod was turned at Richmond, near Halifax, on the 13th June, 1854. The railway was opened for public traffic to Truro, sixty-one miles, on the 15th December, 1858.

Thus, between Quebec and Halifax, 288 miles of railway were independently built by three Provinces without aid from the Imperial Government. In June, 1857, negotiations were resumed, and a Deputation left Canada in July to submit to the Imperial Government the political considerations which suggested that aid should be granted to the enterprise. The Imperial Executive, however, declined to apply to Parliament for the aid asked for, on the ground that the resources of the Empire were already severely taxed.

During the following year, pursuant to mutual agreement, each Province sent an Address to the Queen, setting forth that each Legislature was prepared to aid the railway to the full extent of the resources of the country, and they would regard no sacrifice as too great to promote its construction. On the 1st May, 1858, the Legislature of Nova Scotia addressed Her Majesty to the effect that this enterprise, of more than Colonial importance, had been pressed upon the consideration of Her Majesty's Government for many years, that the benefits to be derived were acknowledged, but that, as the accomplishment was beyond their unaided resources, the result must depend on the assistance which would be given to it. In the same year the Legislature of Canada passed a series of resolutions setting forth that the national importance of the scheme called for the interference of the Imperial Government; that during the months of winter, intercourse between the Provinces could only be carried on through the United States; that in time of war the difficulty of access to the ocean would be seriously felt; and arguing that the railway, while extending facility of communication from Province to Province, was necessary for Imperial interests, and would form an important section of a highway which would ultimately extend across British America from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Each Province also sent Delegates to London again to press upon the Imperial Government the object so earnestly desired—but only to meet with another denial. While those who were advocating the project saw that in the future the

federation of British North America must follow, the Colonial Office considered that the opportune moment had not arrived; that national expenditure must depend upon national resources; that however important the benefits which the Intercolonial Railway would confer, objects of interest to Great Britain yet more urgent had presented themselves; and that the project must yield to the necessity of not unduly increasing the public burthens. In 1861 the Civil War was raging in the United States. Again the necessity of the railway became so evident that it could not be ignored; and it was felt that under the pressure of events another appeal should be made for Imperial assistance. An Address was presented to the Queen in April, repeating the arguments so frequently and strongly advanced. But there was the same reply, that it was not possible to encourage expectation of assistance. The Provinces, however, still adhered to their determination in no way to abandon the enterprise, and in October, 1861, a despatch was sent to the Imperial Government, conveying the Resolutions agreed to by fifteen Delegates from the several Provinces meeting in Council at Quebec.

These resolutions were to the effect that the Government of the Provinces should renew the offers of October, 1858, to the Imperial Government to aid in the construction of a railway to connect Halifax with Quebec, and that a delegation from each Province should proceed to England with the object of pressing the plan upon the Home Government. At the same time, it was declared that the Provinces should endeavour to procure the separate Provincial legislation necessary to carry out the project, and that the route should be decided by the Imperial Government. The Delegates proceeded to England, and, while engaged in submitting their propositions to the Colonial Secretary, news of what is known as the "Trent Affair," reached England. This event placed the enterprise in such a light before the British public that the success of their application seemed assured.

The Delegates themselves put forward their case with great force, stating that the late startling events rendered their representations almost superfluous. The war against which they had desired security was now imminent. Their frontier was unprotected, and exposed to the concentration of hostile troops at the termini of seven railways in the United States. A hundred thousand men, they said, could be sent across the frontier with more ease than a single battery of artillery could be transported from England, or a single barrel of flour carried to the seaboard. In their present position, if cut off by war from the United States and by the winter ice from Canada, the Maritime Provinces would have to depend upon Europe for their breadstuffs. The Delegates added that, if the facts which had occurred and the dangers which were apprehended, did not successfully plead their cause, all that they could advance would only be a needless intrusion on the patience of the Government.

The terms which the Delegates at this time proposed were different from those previously submitted. The estimate for the railway required to be constructed was £3,000,000 sterling, and the Delegates proposed that in order to meet the yearly interest on this sum at four per cent., the Provinces would raise yearly £60,000 if the Imperial Government would raise the other £60,000 yearly, in consideration of which mails, troops and munitions of war on Imperial account were to be carried free. This proposal the Imperial Government declined to accept, but renewed the offer of Lord Grey of the 10th March, 1851. On the 10th March, 1862, Delegates from all the Provinces met again in Quebec to consider the renewed proposal of the Imperial Government, and they came to the resolution to accept the proposal of the Imperial guarantee of interest on the loans to be made.

Influenced by a conviction of the paramount importance of the railway as forming an essential link through British territory, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Provinces resolved themselves to assume the liabilities necessary to its construction. Delegates were accordingly appointed to proceed to England once more to arrange the terms on which loans could be made, and ascertain the extent of the security to be given, as well as the amounts to be allowed for the transport of troops and mails, and, indeed, generally to determine the best mode of commencing the enterprise. Several interviews took place between the members of the Home Government

and the Delegates. The rate of interest, the terms of re-payment, and the question of the priority of the Imperial obligation over the other debts of the Provinces, were all severally discussed, likewise the establishment of a sinking fund, which the Delegates did not favour. Those from Canada had formed strong objections to the establishment of a sinking fund, and they therefore prepared a memorandum dated December 23rd, 1862, on this point, setting forth that the conditions proposed by the Delegates, and detailed in a paper submitted, would enable the Colonies to borrow the requisite funds at the low rate of 3½ per cent., and would render the Imperial guarantee a real act of assistance—one which would be accepted as an equivalent to a contribution by the Imperial Government to the undertaking. The memorandum further set forth that the resources of the Provinces were in themselves an ample security against any loss falling on the Imperial Exchequer. This memorandum was forwarded to the Colonial Office, but no further interview consequent upon it was held. Their colleagues having left for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Canadian Delegates themselves returned to their own Provinces, and the whole matter was again shelved.

The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, however, continued to urge the project at every opportunity. On the return of the Delegates, Bills were passed authorizing loans for the construction of the railway. The votes were carried with the expectation that the Government of Canada would take the same course. But it was held in that Province that the failure of the negotiations left matters precisely where they had been, and that there was no call for legislation inasmuch as no defined policy had been determined upon. Eventually, on the 25th February, 1863, an Order-in-Council was passed by the Canadian Executive expressing concurrence in the action taken by their Delegates and suggesting a course of action which in their view would, more speedily than any other, conduce to a practical and definite settlement. In the recent negotiations in London, the Home Government had insisted that the Imperial Parliament should not be asked to guarantee the loan of £3,000,000 until the surveys had been made, the line submitted to and approved by Her Majesty's Government, and until it had been satisfactorily shown that the railway could be put into operation without application for a further Imperial guarantee. It was also asked that the survey should be carried on by three Engineers, one of whom was to be appointed by the Home Government. Accordingly, the Canadian Government considered that a reliable survey and estimate should precede any further negotiations with respect to ways and means.

A sum was therefore placed in the estimates for that purpose and it was arranged that the duty should be performed by a commission of three Engineers, one appointed by the Province of Canada, one jointly by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the third by the Imperial Government. In pursuance of this arrangement the Government of Canada passed an Order-in-Council on the 22nd August, 1863, appointing Mr. Sandford Fleming to co-operate with the nominees of the Imperial Government and the Lower Provinces. This appointment was communicated to the Governments interested, with the request that such action should be taken as would enable Mr. Fleming, with his colleagues, to commence the survey without delay. Mr. Fleming was, however, also nominated by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, likewise appointed him on behalf of the Imperial Government. He at once entered upon the work of surveying the route or routes proposed, and before the close of 1864 obtained sufficient information to enable him to present a Report containing estimates of the probable cost of the Intercolonial Railway. These were necessarily imperfect, as they were based on a very limited examination. The line surveyed through the interior of the country was estimated at an average of $46,000 per mile, or $20,635,500 for a total distance of 458 miles—the length of new railway to be constructed.

In October of this year, with the sanction of the Imperial Government, a Conference of Delegates from all the Provinces, including Newfoundland, was held at Quebec, and a series of seventy-two Resolutions adopted, by which it was proposed to unite Eastern and Western Canada with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. At the same time, provision was made

for the admission of the Territories then occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, together with British Columbia and Newfoundland. The Resolutions formed the basis of the articles of Confederation subsequently incorporated in an Imperial Act. It was, among other things, declared that the "General Government shall secure, without delay, the completion of the Intercolonial Railway from Rivière du Loup, through New Brunswick, to Truro in Nova Scotia." This decision of the Quebec Conference having received the approbation of the Imperial Government, was submitted to the Provincial Legislatures and sanctioned by the Province of Canada on the 10th March, 1865, by the Province of Nova Scotia on 18th April, 1866, and by the Province of New Brunswick on the 6th April, 1866.

A distinct provision for an Imperial guarantee of £3,000,000 sterling was included in the proposals submitted to the Imperial Government at London. Her Majesty's Ministers eventually introduced a Bill in the Imperial Parliament designated the "British North America Act of 1867," creating the Dominion of Canada. It received the Royal sanction on the 29th March, 1867, and became, on the 1st July following, the Constitution of Canada. On the 12th April, 1867, the Imperial Parliament passed a second measure in the interest of Canada, entitled, "An Act for authorizing a guarantee of interest on a loan to be raised by Canada, towards the construction of a railway connecting Quebec and Halifax."

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—EDITOR'S NOTES

Tabular History of the Railway. The following Memorandum prepared by Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistican, completes the story of the creation of the Intercolonial Railway:

1867. Minister of Public Works instructs Mr. Sandford Fleming, Engineer-in-Chief, to proceed at once with surveys—July, 1867.

1868. Battle of the routes through New Brunswick fought. Commissioners appointed to manage construction: A. Walsh, the Hon. E. B. Chandler, the Hon. A. W. McLelan, C. J. Brydges.

1870-71. Battle of iron versus wooden bridges waged. Windsor branch 32 miles, transferred to Windsor and Annapolis Railway for operating purposes.

1872. Railways in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia reconstructed and called the Intercolonial Railway by Order-in-Council—9th November.

1874. Railway transferred to Public Works Department. Act of 1874.

1875. Change of gauge between Halifax and St. John—18th June.

1876. Whole line of Intercolonial opened—1st July.

1879. Purchase of Rivière du Loup Line, 126 miles, from Grand Trunk Railway, for $1,500,000—1st August.
Department of Railways and Canals organized with Ministerial head—20th May.

1884. Eastern Extension (80 miles) purchased from the Government of Nova Scotia, 9th January. Cost on 30th June, 1884, of line and equipment $1,284,311.

1885. Cape Traverse branch (13 miles) completed.
St. Charles Loop Line (14 miles) completed.
Dalhousie branch (7 miles) completed.

1886. Rivière du Loup (town) branch (4 miles) completed.
Dartmouth (town) branch (4 miles) completed.

1887. Carleton branch incorporated with Intercolonial Railway by Order-in-Council—8th October.
Pictou (town) branch (14 miles) completed.

1888. Cars lighted with electricity and heated with steam.

1890. Oxford branch opened for traffic.
Accounts for maintenance and operation of Eastern Extension merged in similar accounts of the Intercolonial Railway—1st July.

1891. By Act 54, Vic. Cap. 50, the following

lines were, together with Eastern Extension, combined with the Intercolonial System: Oxford Junction (72½ miles) opened on the 15th July, 1890, and Cape Breton Railway, 52½ miles of which were opened on 24th November, 1890, and 46 miles on 1st January, 1891.

1892. Carleton branch transferred to City of St. John for $40,000, and on 3rd September, 1892, leased to the Canadian Pacific Railway for 999 years. The deed was confirmed by Act of 1893, Cap. 6.

The total mileage of the Intercolonial System, on 30th June, 1895, was 1,186½ miles of operated road, including the Windsor branch (32 miles). The Intercolonial touches six Atlantic ports, viz., Pointe du Chene, Pictou, St. John, Halifax, Sydney and North Sydney. The following are the through distances:

	Miles.
Levis (opposite Quebec) to Halifax, N. S.	675
Levis to St. John, N. B.	578
Levis via Truro to Sydney, C. B.	827
" " North Sydney	820

Lord Durham's Prophetic Statement. In his famous Report of February, 1839, the Earl of Durham referred as follows to the idea of an Intercolonial Railway: "The completion of any satisfactory communication between Halifax and Quebec would in fact produce relations between these Provinces that would render a general union absolutely necessary. Several surveys have proved that a railway would be perfectly practicable the whole way. Indeed, in North America the expense and difficulty of making a railway bears by no means the excessive proportion to those of a common road that it does in Europe. It appears to be a general opinion in the United States that the severe snows and frosts on that continent very slightly impede, and do not prevent, the travelling on railroads; and if I am rightly informed, the Utica Railroad, in the northern part of the State of New York, is used throughout the winter. If this opinion be correct, the formation of a railroad from Halifax to Quebec would entirely avoid some of the leading characteristics of the Canadas. Instead of being shut out from all direct intercourse with England during half of the year, they would possess a far more certain and speedy communication throughout the winter than they now possess in summer. The passage from Ireland to Quebec would be a matter of ten or twelve days, and Halifax would be the great port by which a large portion of the trade and all the conveyance of passengers to the whole of British North America would be carried on."

The Earl of Derby and the Railway. The importance of the railway from Halifax to Quebec was dealt with by Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby and Prime Minister, in addressing the House of Lords on 14th February, 1851. The following reference is of interest and value:

"This question was one that had long been under the consideration of parties who from various circumstances had been called upon to take an interest in Colonial affairs; but every day and every hour that elapsed only added to the importance of the question itself, and to the necessity of not losing time in bringing to practical conclusions the various operations conducted partly by the Government and partly by others. He was not one of those who underrated the importance to this country of Canada and the whole of our North American possessions; but important as was Canada and the whole of these possessions (comprising an area of surface not less than the whole of Europe put together, and a large portion of which was well suited for the production of a hardy and healthy race of people), he thought if it were possible to separate their interests or their political relations—which he believed it impossible to separate—he was not sure if he should not say that even beyond the preservation of a great part of Canada to us, which in his notion was an inferior point of view to regard the matter in, the possession of what were called the Lower Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (from their geographical position and their naval and military capacities, from the resources they afford in time of war and the advantages they are able to offer us in time of peace), he was not sure if he would not say that these Lower Provinces, infinitely less extensive as they were, were not of much greater importance to Great Britain than all our Canadian and other North American dependencies.

But if there was any one point of view in which these Colonies, or the great portion of the North American continent which still belonged to us was to be regarded as of importance, that point of view was the intimate connection of all these Provinces in one unbroken chain of communication, rendering their material and social intercourse as easy as possible, and combining with that intercourse, as necessarily and naturally follows, their political connection with each other and with this country. He held, therefore, that the establishment of a line of communication between Halifax and Quebec for a distance of about 700 miles, through an exclusively British territory, rendering two points—and two points essential for the power of this country which are now separated by a vast extent of wilderness on the one side, and by a difficult and, for a great portion of the year, frozen coast on the other—rendering their communication, from being what they now are (most uncertain, most difficult, and most dilatory), rendering it rapid, easy and constant; that, he said, was an object in itself of primary importance to the interests and to the Imperial power of this country on the continent of America."

Imperial Defence and the Intercolonial. The importance of the Intercolonial Railway as an Imperial work, the necessity for something of the kind as a defence against possible American aggression, and the position of Canada as part of the Empire, were dealt with at length in the following extracts from a most interesting document written early in 1858 by the Hon. John A. Macdonald and the Hon. John Rose. It was in the form of an Official Memorandum prepared for the Governor-General and the Imperial Cabinet by these two distinguished members of the Canadian Government, and was referred to in a letter to His Excellency from Mr. (Sir John A.) Macdonald on February 1st, 1858:

"It was not thought in Canada a fitting time to press this subject again on the British Government, when all its energies were directed to the vigourous prosecution of the Russian war, a struggle in which Canada fully sympathized, and was ready to make its own. But now that peace has been restored, it would seem that no time should be lost in undertaking this great work. Circumstances have arisen during the progress of the war—the Enlistment and Nicaraguan questions with the United States, for instance—which show that the necessity for such a road has not decreased. Whether as a means of pouring into Canada a sufficient force, or of withdrawing it therefrom, without delay, and at all seasons in case of sudden exigency, it is equally called for.

The only bar to its construction up to 1852 was the difference of opinion as to route; and that difference, it is believed, is not irreconcilable. While Imperial interests require as imperatively as ever the completion of this project, the position of Canada with respect to it has materially altered. In 1852 there were no railways in operation in Canada (with two unimportant exceptions), and she had no winter route to the Atlantic; but since that time ten lines extending over about 1,600 miles have been constructed at an aggregate cost of about nineteen millions sterling, by private companies chartered and aided by money grants from the Provincial Government to the extent of nearly five millions and a half. This sum has been raised partly by the bonds of Canada, on the immediate credit of her consolidated revenue, bearing six per cent. interest, and partly by her bonds issued on the credit of a general municipal fund, established in the Province by Legislative authority. Preparations are now also in progress for the construction of an interior line of communication (far removed from the American frontier) by a combined system of railway and canal between the River Ottawa and Lake Huron.

Canada has, therefore, already assumed the full measure of pecuniary obligation which her resources render prudent; but as access to the ocean, and communication with England, can only be had in winter through the United States, it is manifest that, in so far as Imperial interests are concerned, the railway facilities are in a great measure incomplete. Canada is fully alive to the importance of providing for the maintenance of her connection with England; and she has sought opportunity, and availed herself of every occasion, practically to cement that relation. For the purpose of establishing a direct postal communication

with England, which should not only put a stop to a large contribution to the revenue of the United States, but also attract to the Colony a share of that trade and that emigration which was being diverted to that country, she has established, by the payment of an annual subsidy of £50,000, a direct weekly line of ocean steamers between the Colony and England. In this enterprise she is not only unaided by England, but has to combat a line plying to the ports of the United States, supported by a subsidy from the Imperial Government exceeding £180,000 per annum.

The Province has also enrolled, drilled and armed at her own expense a large and available volunteer force, consisting already of sixteen troops of cavalry, seven field batteries of artillery, five companies of foot artillery, and fifty companies of riflemen; all provided with the most modern and effective arms. This force is maintained at a heavy cost to the Colonial treasury, and, being well disciplined, would be of essential and immediate service should occasion arise for their active employment. In addition to this, Canada has been divided into military districts; and the whole sedentary militia, consisting of every man capable of bearing arms, has been organized.

In so far as the commercial wants of the Province are concerned, they are amply supplied by the existing railway communications to the American seaports (New York and Boston), and by the railway from Montreal to Portland, over which a Canadian Company has complete control; but this entire dependence on, and exclusive relations with, a foreign country cannot but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the status of Canada as a portion of the Empire, and tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the mother country and the colony. We are sensible that we need not dwell on the grave and possibly disastrous consequences which, if a rupture should unhappily arise with the United States, may result from the want of communication in winter between England and the interior of the Province; but it is evident that the safety of the Colony can only be secured either by keeping, from the moment of the first apprehension of danger, a military power within it of such magnitude as would repel any invading force during the five months when re-enforcements or supplies could not be obtained by sea; or the means must be created of throwing in that force and transporting them to those points which are assailable.

We would further mention some facts which show that while the means of resisting invasion are in no way increased, the facilities for accomplishment are daily becoming greater. There are now no less than seven American railways terminating directly at the Canadian boundary, and a far greater number touching the waters of the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes Ontario and Erie which divide Canada from the United States. All these roads may be said to form together a continuous line, running parallel with, or in easy proximity to, the Provincial boundary; and by their means, America would be enabled to concentrate, with the utmost expedition and ease, all her forces upon any quarter, and to choose her own point of attack.

It may be urged that war with America is impossible, or at least an event so unlikely and remote as to justify no expenditure in anticipation of it. Admitting that the character and moderation of the Federal Government afford assurance of continued amity, it is not to be forgotten that there are other elements, not subordinate, whose influence may at any time become too powerful for control. The best safeguard against aggression is the power of repelling it. The knowledge of our weakness and exposure to attack may do much to precipitate that which, were our strength understood, would never be undertaken. It is now well known that, being cut off from England, the Province cannot make her resources and strength available should the necessity for their exercise unhappily come to pass; and when the occasion does arise, it will be too late to provide the means. The Road cannot be constructed without a due regard to reasonable economy for several years, and experience shows how impossible it is to foresee what events within that period may interrupt the friendly relations with a country the peculiar constitution of which vests so much power in a class whose interests or passions may, at any time, prompt them to acts which would necessarily lead to a rupture. While, therefore, the

commercial or material advantages to Canada which would follow the construction of the Road are comparatively unimportant, she feels it her duty to urge the high national considerations which demand that the work should be undertaken.

There can be little fear of any causes of difference between the Colonies and the United States. The danger hitherto has sprung from subjects wherein, as a Colony, Canada had no interest, but which (such as the Central American, the Oregon and Enlistment questions) were purely of Imperial concern; so that, should hostilities arise, Canada would (as she was during the last war) be made the battle-ground in a quarrel which she did not cause, and in which she had no special concern. The Colony has received the solemn assurance of the Imperial Government, a promise on which she implicitly relies, that while she is expected to assume her share of the burden of any force which her own internal wants may require in time of peace, yet that the whole power of the Empire will be put forth for her protection and security against foreign aggression. Canada has acted on this assurance, and performed her part of the obligation; but we would respectfully urge that, without means of communication with Great Britain, the Imperial Government is powerless to perform its share; and that the very first step towards the fulfilment of the promise is to provide proper access to the country."

It may be added that the Delegates to London in October, 1858, in connection with this question included the Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. John Ross and the Hon. A. T. Galt, for the Canadian Provinces; the Hon. Charles Fisher and Hon. A. J. Smith, for New Brunswick; and the Hon. Charles Tupper, Hon. W. A. Henry and the Hon. R. B. Dickey, for Nova Scotia.

Canadian Address to the Queen. On the 16th August, 1858, both branches of the Canadian Legislature passed Resolutions which supported and maintained the above Memorandum and served as the bases for Addresses afterwards presented to Her Majesty:

1. "That the construction of an Intercolonial railway, connecting the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with Canada, has long been regarded as a matter of national concern and ought earnestly to be pressed on the consideration of the Imperial Government.

2. That during several months of the year intercourse between the United Kingdom and Canada can be carried on only through the territory of the United States of America, and that such dependence on, and exclusive relations with, a foreign country cannot even in time of peace but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the status of Canada as a portion of the Empire, and may tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the Mother Country and her Colonies.

3. That while this House implicitly relies on the repeated assurances of the Imperial Government that the strength of the Empire would be put forth to secure this Province against external aggression, it is convinced that such strength cannot be efficiently exerted during a large portion of the year from the absence of sufficient means of communication, and that should the amicable relations which at present so happily exist between Great Britain and the United States be ever disturbed, the difficulty of access to the ocean during the winter months might seriously endanger the safety of the Province.

4. That in view of the speedy opening up of the territories now occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the development and settlement of the vast regions between Canada and the Pacific Ocean, it is essential to the interests of the Empire at large that a highway extending from the Atlantic Ocean westward should exist, which would at once place the whole British possessions in America within the ready access and easy protection of Great Britain, whilst by the facilities for internal communication thus afforded, the prosperity ot those great dependencies would be promoted, their strength consolidated and added to the strength of the Empire, and their permanent union with the Mother Country secured.

5. That Canada has already nearly completed the construction within the Province of a chain of railways over 1,600 miles in length, extending from the eastern frontier of the Province towards its western boundary, which is of the greatest im-

portance to its commercial and material prosperity and forming part of the great proposed highway, but which, without completion to the ocean is comparatively useless in a national point of view, either as bringing the sister colonies together or as connecting those colonies with the parent state.

6. That this House, under these circumstances, is deeply impressed with the importance of an Intercolonial railway and the necessity for its immediate construction; and desiring to co-operate with the Imperial Government and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in securing its speedy completion, this House approves of the Memorandum addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Canadian Delegates, and laid before Parliament by His Excellency the Governor-General in his gracious message communicated on the thirty-first day of May last, and recommends that the future negotiations should be conducted as nearly as may be on the basis thereby submitted."

The Nova Scotia Legislative Address. On the 1st of May, 1858, both branches of the Legislature of Nova Scotia addressed Her Majesty as follows upon the all-important topic of inter-provincial transportation facilities:

"We, the loyal and devoted subjects of Your Majesty, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, now in Provincial Parliament convened, approach Your Majesty to renew an expression of the unabated interest which the Legislature and the people of this Province continue to take in the long-agitated project of an Intercolonial railroad, by which the Colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with the sister Colony of Prince Edward Island, may be bound more closely together and their intercourse and union facilitated, and the communication from the parent State and Your Majesty's North American Empire be improved by a rapid and efficient mode of transport from the sea-board to its distant borders, independently of passages through foreign territory. This great enterprise, of national no less than colonial importance, has been through many years pressed upon the consideration of Your Majesty's Government. During the last season Delegates from the Governments of Canada and this Province urged the undertaking on the attention of Your Majesty's Ministers. The benefits of the measure both in its national and colonial relations are acknowledged, and we abstain from repeating arguments so recently presented and so familiar, further than humbly to beg Your Majesty's consideration of the statements contained in the letter of the Delegates from this Province addressed to the Right Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated in London on the 20th August, 1857, a copy of which accompanies this Address.

The gigantic work we advocate has been facilitated by the efforts and expenditures of the Provinces; but its accomplishment is beyond their unaided resources, and on the efficient assistance of Your Majesty's Government depends this great result. In urging our prayer on Your Majesty we are assured that it will not be its least recommendation to your Royal consideration that, while it has in view the consolidation of national power, it affords to Your Majesty another occasion of manifesting your benignity and regards towards your loyal colonial subjects in this portion of your extended Empire, by aiding an undertaking in which their feelings and interests are deeply engaged. We humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to extend Imperial aid to this important measure, and to cause measures to be taken for ascertaining the views and ability of the several Provinces with respect to it, and the nature and extent of the assistance they respectively require, and of the aid Your Majesty's Government will be disposed to afford; that arrangements may be matured for the early commencement of this work by the united efforts of the three Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with such co-operation and aid from Your Majesty's Imperial Government as may be commensurate with the greatness of the object and the magnitude of the national interests it promotes.

EDWARD KENNY,
President of the Legislative Council.
STEWART CAMPBELL,
Speaker of the House of Assembly."

The Second Nova Scotian Address. The following Address to the Queen was passed by the

Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia during the Session of 1861:

"We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, respectively beg leave to again invite our Sovereign's consideration to a work of national importance. For nearly twenty years the people of British America have been struggling to secure a great highway extending from the sea to the western bounds of Canada, and have made many sacrifices to obtain it. The foremost men in all the Provinces of all political parties, have, from time to time, united to accomplish this work. They are united now, and they justly regard the realization of their hopes as an object not unworthy of the grave consideration of the Imperial Government. The recent visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to these Provinces has not only enabled our Sovereign's son to survey their boundless resources, but has illustrated the spirit of loyalty and love of British connection which pervades them. To unite them in the bonds of peace, to develop their resources, to enlarge their population, to harmonize their public sentiments by mutual intercourse, to strengthen them in time of war, and to keep alive in their midst the traditions and the policy of the Mother Country, appear to us objects worthy of combined effort on the part of the Provincial and Imperial Governments; and we rejoice to perceive that, at last, the great cities of the three Kingdoms are awakening to a sense of their importance and are about to petition Parliament for aid to construct a great highway from the St. Lawrence to the harbour of Halifax.

The Legislature of Nova Scotia beg respectfully to refer Your Majesty to the various efforts made by means of Addresses and Delegations from the Colonies to enlist Imperial support to this great national undertaking. This, and the heavy sacrifices made by them in constructing several sections of railway which may now be incorporated in this work sufficiently evince the anxious desire of the people and Legislatures of all the Provinces to secure its speedy completion, which cannot be done without Imperial aid. We entertain the confident hope that the assurances repeatedly given by Your Majesty's Ministers of their determination to aid this important enterprise may yet be realized, and that Your Majesty's reign may witness the completion of an undertaking which involves the interests not only of British America, but the Empire at large. Trusting that Your Majesty will give to the subject of this Address the grave consideration due to its magnitude and importance, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, as in duty bound, will ever pray," etc.

During this year petitions of a similar nature were presented to the Imperial Parliament by merchants, bankers, etc., in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Bristol.

Address from New Brunswick's Legislature. During the Session of 1861 the following Address was prepared and passed by the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for presentation to the Queen:

"We, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, beg leave to approach Your Majesty with renewed assurances of our attachment and fidelity to Your Majesty's person and Government. In common with Your Majesty's loyal subjects in these North American Provinces, we are deeply impressed with the great advantages, if not absolute necessity, of a railway from Halifax to Quebec connecting Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with Canada. The Legislature and people of New Brunswick have, on all occasions, manifested the greatest interest in the importance of the work to the British Empire, and have expressed their willingness to contribute for its accomplishment to an extent commensurate with the financial ability and resources of the country.

Your Majesty's Government are aware that the construction of railways has so far absorbed our resources as necessarily to lessen the means at our disposal to assist in this important undertaking; but the lines of railway already in operation in this Province may be made available for the purposes of this great work. The importance of the Intercolonial railway for the great and manifold resources of the Province; the facilitating the transmission of mails; the securing of improved postal communication between Great Britain and Canada through British territory; the advantages of the line for military

purposes, and for the consolidation of Your Majesty's dominions in this continent; have often been urged in former representations, and as often conceded by Your Majesty's Ministers. Recent events have demonstrated the necessity for renewed interest and the maintenance of national honour. New Brunswick has millions of acres of ungranted lands fit for cultivation and settlement, which under a good system of colonization might be made to contribute to this work. Should Your Majesty's Government, in view of the great national advantages the carrying out of this great work will secure, adopt measures to promote its construction, New Brunswick will cheerfully contribute in lands and money to the utmost of her means towards the accomplishment of an object so desirable. We therefore humbly pray Your Most Gracious Majesty to take this our petition into your most favourable consideration, and grant such aid for the construction of an Intercolonial railway as may be proportionate to the magnitude of the work, and to the Imperial interest involved in this great undertaking."

The Intercolonial and the Ashburton Treaty. The surrender of territory through the miserable Ashburton Treaty affected in a marked degree the cost, location, convenience and value of the Intercolonial Railway. Sir Sandford Fleming, in his volume dealing with the construction of the road, refers to this point as follows:

"The location of the line being necessarily confined to British territory, it was forced to make a considerable *detour* to avoid entering the State of Maine. Had no national considerations presented themselves, or had the boundary been laid down according to the Treaty of 1783, or even in accordance with the settlement proposed, and to some extent pressed by the United States some years prior to the Ashburton Treaty, there would have been no difficulty in securing a direct, eligible route. The railway would, in this case, in all probability have followed the general course of the route surveyed by Captain Yule, in 1837, for the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway, as far as the neighbourhood of the River St. John, but with such modifications and improvements as further surveys might have suggested. Owing to certain political influences, Captain Yule was bound by his instructions to pass to the north of Mars Hill. Thus his line was deflected out of the direct course to the sea-board; and it is highly probable that, untrammelled, he would have followed a shorter route. It is evident, from an inspection of the map, and from the natural features of the country, that lines of railway might have been projected so as to bring Montreal within 380 miles of St. Andrew's, 415 miles of St. John, and 650 miles of Halifax; and that the distance from Quebec to St. Andrew's need not have exceeded 250 miles, or sixty-seven miles less than to Portland, U.S.A. Fredericton, the seat of local Government, would have been on the main line to Halifax, and distant from Montreal about 370 miles; and these lines, moreover, would have been wholly within the limits of the Dominion had the international boundary been traced according to the true spirit and intent of the Treaty of 1783.

The distance between Montreal and Halifax might thus have been lessened nearly 200 miles. St. Andrew's would have taken the place of Portland as the winter terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway, and would have commanded, together with St. John, a traffic now cut off from both places, and centred at a foreign port. The direct route would have brought the Springhill coal fields of Nova Scotia some 200 miles nearer to Montreal than by the present line of the Intercolonial, and would have rendered it possible to transport coal by rail at a comparatively moderate cost. If, under such circumstances, an Intercolonial line to connect the cities of the Maritime Provinces with those of the St. Lawrence had been constructed, the building of 250 miles of railway representing an expenditure of $10,000,000 would have been unnecessary. Great as this saving would have been, the economy in working it and in maintenance would have been more important. The direct line would also have attracted certain branches of traffic which by the longer route must either be carried at a loss or repelled. These considerations render the difference in favour of the direct line incalculable, and cause the more regret that the Treaty made by Lord Ashburton, which ceded British territory equal in size to two of the smaller States of the Union, rendered such

a direct line through British territory forever impossible. Although it is too late to rectify this almost fatal error, it is important in a history of the Intercolonial Railway to recount all the steps by which so costly a consequence has been forced upon the Dominion."

Necessity for the Intercolonial Railway. The difficulties and inconveniences resulting from a lack of transportation facilities in the early days of the Canadian Provinces are indicated in the following extract from a leading article in the London *Review* of January 11th, 1862:

"This consolidation, however, so necessary to their safety and development, and so ardently desired by them all, can alone be obtained through the instrumentality of a great Colonial highway. The representatives of the several Provinces could not at present assemble at a certain point for deliberation without passing through some portion of the adjoining Republic. It will scarcely be credited that it is easier for persons living at Halifax to proceed to England than to go to Quebec at this season of the year; and that the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and Canada know less of each other and their neighbouring Provinces than they do of England and the English. In like manner, the inter-colonial and English correspondence with Canada during winter, notwithstanding the enormous subsidies paid to trans-Atlantic steamers, is conveyed through the States and is liable to be summarily suspended, even in peace, upon a short notice, and must necessarily cease altogether in war. The expense that would be occasioned by conveying the mails overland from Halifax to the St. Lawrence on sledges, would be immense, while the delay would almost paralyze commerce, and be attended with the greatest danger and disadvantages to military operations."

Finances of the Railway. The paid-up capital of the Intercolonial Railway on June 30th, 1896, according to official or Government figures, was $55,267,045, and the excess of working expenses over revenue from 1868 to 1896 was $8,138,911. The following table—Government Year Book, 1896—gives the figures from year to year:

Year	Construction and Rolling Stock.	Working Expenses.	Revenue Received.
Before Confederation.	$13,881,461		
1868	$483,354	$359,961	$420,753
1869	282,615	387,548	455,023
1870	1,729,381	445,209	471,245
1871	2,916,782	442,993	565,714
1872	5,131,142	595,076	622,901
1873	5,201,451	1,011,893	703,458
1874	3,614,899	1,847,925	893,430
1875	3,472,186	1,581,934	886,087
1876	1,150,868	1,374,073	996,138
1877	1,518,352	1,890,269	1,285,110
1878	415,369	2,032,873	1,514,846
1879	266,769	2,233,496	1,419,956
1880	2,064,554	1,772,597	1,634,161
1881	608,733	1,983,476	1,908,988
1882	585,971	2,309,231	2,237,583
1883	1,673,819	2,651,040	2,541,205
1884	2,820,353	2,635,676	2,551,938
1885	1,274,376	2,749,711	2,624,243
1886	635,421	2,819,973	2,629,336
1887	907,673	3,152,650	2,840,748
1888	1,713,086	3,621,077	3,166,253
1889	2,623,141	3,513,064	3,167,543
1890	2,351,787	3,846,044	3,203,874
1891	1,022,382	3,949,264	3,181,888
1892	351,214	3,748,598	3,136,394
1893	299,081	3,288,630	3,262,506
1894	439,191	3,226,208	3,179,020
1895	327,605	3,184,448	3,129,450
1896	259,106	3,254,443	3,140,678
Total	$60,022,122	$65,909,380	$57,770,469

The Order-in-Council appointing the Commission to construct the Intercolonial was dated 11th December, 1868, and by July 1st, 1876, the entire line was opened to traffic at a total cost to the Dominion of $22,488,845.

Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., C.E., LL.D., was born at Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, Scotland, in the year 1827. When he left school at the age of fourteen he was articled as a student of surveying and engineering. In 1845 he sailed for Canada, and settled in Toronto, where he associated himself with the Mechanics' Institute, and in 1849 took a prominent part in founding the Canadian Institute. In 1852 he was appointed one of

the Engineering staff of the Northern Railway, then known as the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Road. In 1863 Mr. Fleming was sent to England to promote railway communication between the Red River and the Canadas. This project, however, fell through for a time. On his return, the subject of the Intercolonial Railway was brought forward, and three Engineers were to be chosen by the Imperial Government, the Canadas, and the Maritime Provinces respectively, for a preliminary survey. Mr. Fleming being nominated, he was unanimously appointed sole engineer. The appointment was made in a despatch dated October 17, 1863, to the Governor-General, in which the Duke of Newcastle made the following very complimentary remarks: "The character of Mr. Sandford Fleming whom, in your despatch No. 81 you mention as having been nominated by the Government of Canada to undertake the preliminary survey of the line of Intercolonial Railway, is so unexceptional, and the selection of him by the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is such a further convincing proof of his qualification for the office of Engineer for the line, that I am quite ready to avail myself of his services as the representative of the Imperial Government. Your Lordship will accordingly be pleased to appoint Mr. Fleming at once to the situation. It is agreeable to me to feel that by selecting Mr. Fleming as the combined representative of Her Majesty's Government and of the North American Provinces specially interested in this important subject, much delay has been avoided, and that the wishes of your Government for the immediate commencement of the survey have, as far as this appointment is concerned, been complied with."

While the Intercolonial Railway was still in the course of completion in 1871, Mr. Fleming was called upon to act as Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When that road was under way in 1880 certain complications arose and Mr. Fleming resigned. On his retirement he was elected Chancellor of Queen's University, Kingston, an office which, in 1897, he still holds. In 1882 he was presented with the freedom of the Kirkcaldy Burghs, and in 1884 received the Honorary degree of LL.D. from St. Andrew's University. In 1881 he went as Delegate from the Canadian Institute to the International Geographical Congress at Venice, and in 1884 represented the Dominion at the International Prime Meridian Conference at Washington, where his idea of a Prime Meridian for all nations was accepted. He undertook a special mission to Australia and England concerning the Pacific Cable in 1893, and was a special British Commissioner to Hawaii in 1894. He was created a C. M. G. in 1877, and in 1897, at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, was made a K.C.M.G. Sir Sandford Fleming published a valuable "History of the Intercolonial Railway," in 1876: "Old to New Westminster," in 1884; and numerous pamphlets upon the "Universal Time" question and the Pacific Cable and Fast Atlantic Steamship projects. In 1888 he was elected President of the Royal Society of Canada and has been for years a prominent member of the Imperial Federation League, and its successor, the British Empire League.

Sir Richard Broun, Bart., was born at Lochmaber, Dumfrieshire, Scotland, in 1801, and succeeded to the title in 1844. For some time prior to 1834 he was a resident of London and there, till his death in 1858, he was busily engaged in the projection of a number of schemes of a somewhat far-seeing and at times fantastic nature and in the compilation of various pamphlets, articles and letters regarding them. His chief idea—a little ahead of the age but for that all the more deserving of praise—was a plan for direct communication between Europe and Asia by way of the British North American possessions, and the systematic colonization of the vacant Crown Territories over which the railway would pass. Another was the formation of an Anglo Canadian Company which should in the far West rival the East India Company. He was also greatly interested in attempts to revive certain supposed privileges of the baronets, in connection with which he was from 1835 Honorary Secretary of the Committee of the Baronetage for Privileges. Sir Richard wrote several works on this subject. For some time he was engaged in an effort to revive the "Illustrious and sovereign order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem." In 1849 he rendered the country a very practical service

by his projection of "The London Necropolis and National Mausoleum," at Woking, in which connection also he wrote many articles.

The Hon. Edward Barron Chandler was born at Amherst, Nova Scotia, in 1800, and was educated there. In 1823 he was called to the Bar, and in the autumn of the same year became Judge of Probate and Clerk of the Peace for the County of Westmoreland, retaining these offices until 1862. In 1827 Mr. Chandler was elected to the New Brunswick Assembly, and sat for the constituency of Westmoreland from that year until 1836, when he was called to the Legislative Council. In 1833 he was Provincial Delegate to England to secure for the Province the control of the casual and territorial revenues—a grant which was not made, however, until 1837. One result of the mission was the separation in 1834 of the Executive Council from the Provincial Upper House, and the formal re-arrangement of the Legislative Council with nineteen members. In 1844 Mr. Chandler became an Executive Councillor, but resigned in the spring of the following year. He was a Delegate in 1850 to Toronto on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway, and in 1852 went to Halifax to confer with the members of the Nova Scotia Government on the same project. An agreement was made to build the road conjointly by the three Provinces, the line to run through the valley of the St. John. Later in the year Mr. Chandler, with Sir Francis Hincks, went to England to arrange a loan or guarantee from the Imperial Government. It was refused, however, on the ground that the road should be a military one and that it should not be via the valley of the St. John.

Mr. Chandler was much chagrined at this, but, nothing daunted, he accepted the offer of a contracting firm (Jackson & Co.) to build all the railways New Brunswick might require for certain subsidies. From this arrangement sprang the European and North American Line from St. John to Shediac. In 1854 Mr. Chandler went to Quebec to take part in proceedings regarding reciprocal trade relations with the United States. In the same year he went to Washington with Lord Elgin to finally arrange the terms of the Treaty, and in 1864 was an active member of the Charlottetown, P.E.I., Convention on the subject of the union of the Maritime Provinces. He was also a Delegate to the Quebec Conference upon Confederation in the same year. In 1866 he sailed for London to help in completing the terms of the greater union. In 1867 he was nominated a member of the Canadian Senate by Royal Proclamation, but declined the position. From 1867 to 1869 Mr. Chandler was a member of the Local Government of New Brunswick, but on being appointed in the latter year a Commissioner of the Intercolonial Railway, he resigned his seat on the Executive. In 1878 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, a position which he held until his death in 1880.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

BY

THOMAS C. KEEFER, C.E., C.M.G., F.R.S.C.

CANADA had scarcely completed her magnificent system of Canals when the rapid extension of American railways, projected in all directions over the great grain region lying between the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Lakes, warned her that a new and formidable rival had appeared; and that further and greater exertions would be required—not merely to enable her to continue a competitor for western trade with the whole United States, but to maintain her own proper status in comparison with the individual commonwealths of the Republic. Stretching for nearly one thousand miles along the frontier of a nation ten times more numerous—herself the chief representative on this continent of the first Empire in the world—the Province of Canada had imposed upon her duties and temptations far greater in proportion than those of the most important of the associated States commercially opposed to her.

Without a perennial seaport, and with her early trade restricted by Imperial navigation laws and customs regulations, she had no foreign commerce accumulating capital; and wanting this commerce and capital, and confined to her own market, as well as discouraged by the traditionary Colonial policy of the Mother Country, besides always being overstocked with the products of cheaper labour and capital—she could have no manufactures, and consequently no capital for investment in railways. Moreover, she did not possess that trade and travel which could make railways profitable, and thus invite external aid. But *noblesse oblige*, and the force of position made railways a necessity, if their construction could in any legitimate way be brought about. The more was this the case because it would have been impossible without them to have kept at home her most valuable population—the young vigourous, and ambitious natives, "to the manner born," while in sight of a people speaking the same language, and having abundant facilities for developing an almost unbounded fertility open in those days to all comers.

When Montreal, therefore, was arrested halfway in her single-handed attempt to push a railway to Portland, and even the Great Western, which had been years under contract, found itself unable to move, the Legislature on the 30th May, 1849, passed an Act by which the Province—Ontario and Quebec—guaranteed the interest on the sum required to complete any railway of seventy-five miles or more in length, of which one-half had already been laid by the proprietors. This Act, which was of material service to the Portland and Great Western Railways in their preliminary stages, was insufficient, and did not produce any commencement of the intermediate sections of the Trunk Line between Montreal and Hamilton. In 1851 a Bill was passed providing for the construction of a main trunk line, and restricting Provincial aid to the same. This Act of 1851 looked to possible aid from the Imperial Government, in the form of a guaranteed loan—an offer having previously been made by Earl Grey to assist the Colonies in that manner, to the extent required to construct a military line between Halifax and Quebec.

NOTE.—The substance of this article was written by Mr. Keefer in 1863 and published in a scarce but valuable work entitled "Eighty Years' Progress of British North America." He has now revised it and intimated to the Editor that while his view of the situation as it then was is unchanged, the situation itself has since been greatly altered through the extension of the Railway to Chicago—thus "making it really a trunk line." Nor would he apply some of the considerations of that time to the present system with its effective Lake connections. With these facts borne in mind the historical importance of the whole statement is greatly increased.

—*The Editor.*

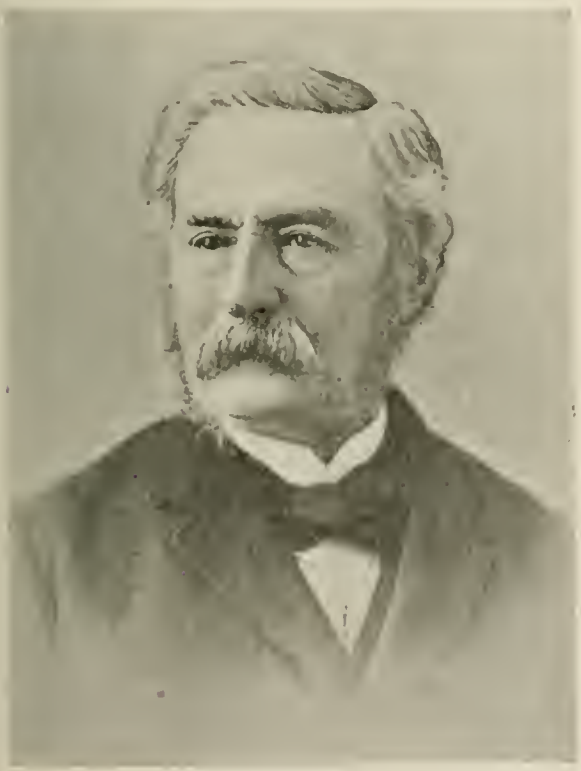
A proposition was to be made to extend this boon to the continuation between Quebec and Hamilton, in order that Canada as well as the Lower Colonies might be traversed by the road built with Imperial aid, and in this event the trunk line was to be undertaken by the Province as a public work, or so much of it as the Imperial guarantee might be obtained for. The Bill provided in the second place that if this guarantee were not obtained, the Province would undertake the work on her own credit, provided the municipalities would bear half the expense; and, as a last resource, if both these plans failed, the local companies, which had to be formed on the strength of the guarantee to attempt the different sections, were to be allowed to try their hand. This Bill also extended the Provincial guarantee to the principal as well as the interest on one-half the cost, and to this extent substituted Provincial debentures for railway bonds, while it allowed the aid to be issued when companies had expended half of the cost, including land, instead of completing half the length of their lines.

The Imperial Government having declined to aid the particular route demanded by the Colonists, no attempt was made by the Canadian envoy (Sir Francis Hincks) to carry out the second plan of the Bill of 1850—that is, to construct the Grand Trunk as a public work, in connection with the municipalities. This change of programme was in consequence of propositions made to him while in London by English contractors of great wealth and influence. It may be said in defence of this step, that the municipalities were not, like the Province, irrevocably committed; that uncertainty existed as to the co-operation of some of them, and that, in any event, time would be required fully to embark them in the scheme. On the other hand, it was charged that the Canadian envoy broke off negotiations with the Imperial Government at the instigation of the contractors—who had already been at the Colonial Office in the position of competitors with the Colonies for the privilege of controlling an expenditure of such magnitude, to be guaranteed by the British treasury. It was also believed that a powerful though indirect influence, wielded by these contractors, materially contributed to the adverse position assumed by the new Colonial Minister on a question to which the Imperial Government had, by his predecessor, been so far committed. The course of the Canadian envoy can only be defended on the assumption that refusal was inevitable, and that a proper appreciation of his position led him to anticipate it. No more unfavourable impression would probably have remained, had not his name subsequently appeared as the proposed recipient of a douceur from the contractors, in the shape of £50,000 of paid-up-stock in the capital of the Company, which, however, he repudiated when it was announced.

Previous to 1851, Canadian securities had no status of their own in England, the Canal loans having been negotiated under an Imperial guarantee. When Provincial bonds had no regular quotations, it is not surprising (however much so it may now appear) that as late as 1851, the bonds of the City of Montreal were sold in London at thirty per cent. discount. At the great Exhibition of 1851, Canada made her debut so favourably that the keen frequenters of Change Alley consented to chaperon the interesting stranger—confident that a good thing could be made out of so virgin a reputation—especially after the Imperial Government had a second time proposed to indorse for her. No machinery could be better devised for launching a doubtful project, such as was the Grand Trund Railway of Canada, viewed as a commercial undertaking, than that possessed by the colossal railway contractors, the modern and unique results of the railway era. Extensive operations, involving purchases of land from the nobility and gentry, and weekly payments of wages to the middle and lower classes over hundreds of miles of country; large orders to iron-masters, wood merchants, and engine and carriage builders, in all parts of the Kingdom; with banking transactions and sales of securities of the heaviest description in the capital itself; gathered around the eminent contractors a host of dependents and expectants, in and out of Parliament.

Although some opposition was experienced from the promoters of the local Canadian companies—who had borne the burden of the project hitherto, and now saw another about to reap its benefits; and from the few who clearly foresaw the cruel injury which would be inflicted on the innocent, and

the consequent responsibility of Canada, there was little difficulty in reconciling the Provincial Legislature and the municipalities to the abandonment of the joint Provincial and municipal plan of constructing the road. The latter were shown that they could now devote their means to local improvements; and to those required members of the Legislature who failed at once to perceive the great advantages to the country at large attendant upon the importation of so much English capital, the question was brought home individually in such a way that all scruples were removed. To



Thomas C. Keefer.

prepare the scheme for the large appetite of the London market, its proportions were extended from the 500 miles between Quebec and Hamilton, to upwards of 1,000 miles, extending from Lake Huron to the Atlantic; although provision had already been made for the former by the Great Western, and for the latter by the New York and Boston lines approaching Montreal. Amalgamations with existing lines in Canada and the lease of a foreign one, were made upon the most reckless and extravagant terms; and lastly, having whipped in the requisite financial indorsation in London, the scheme was successfully launched by the contractors most opportunely, just before the Crimean War.

As the prospectus showed a profitable dividend of eleven and a half per cent., the stock rose to a premium. For this premium a discount was substituted as soon as exertion was slackened by success—a condition which rapidly increased on the breaking out of the war and became hopelessly confirmed as soon as the London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow merchants read the postscripts of their Canadian mercantile correspondents. Nor could any subsequent effort of the Company, with the aid of all the great names now fairly harnessed in, drag the unwieldy vehicle out of the slough into which, apparently by its own dead weight, it so rapidly sank. This sudden depression, before any trial of the scheme had been made, was the natural result of that reflection which ought to have preceded its inception; and is important in itself, as proving that the English shareholders were either self-deceived or deceived by their own countrymen, the promoters in London, rather than by any importance which they attached to the action of Canada; because no practical demonstration was waited for to prove the real value of the stock. The fact that they did not wait for this proves by their own act that they were not warranted in believing the prospectus, although they have since founded a claim against Canada upon the faith they put in it. A little reflection was all that was required to make that preposterous document harmless; and we can hardly be held responsible for their exercise of that reflection a few weeks after, instead of at the time of its publication.

Notwithstanding this early disrepute of the stock, the character of the subscription list and wealth of the contractors carried on the work until 1855, when the Company came before the Canadian Parliament "in forma pauperis." This was repeated in 1856, when, for the first time, their contracts were submitted to public inspection. A grant of £900,000 sterling, was voted in 1855 to enable them to go on, and in 1856 the Province, which had hitherto stood in the position of a first mortgagee, to the extent of its advances

to the Company, gave up this position and went behind the shareholders in order that the latter might issue preference bonds to fill the vacated space, and because they complained that Canada ought not to exact her rights to their prejudice. The ordinary bond-holders, who, though they ranked after the Provincial mortgage, no doubt counted upon similar forbearance when the proper time arrived, and therefore felt themselves virtually first mortgagees, were effectually floored by this preference coup d'etat.

The inability of the Company to pay interest after 1857 was not only caused by want of receipts, but by their having bound themselves to pay greater rent for leased lines than they could earn from them, so that the productive sections could not certainly do more than pay this deficiency, and complete, equip and maintain the road. When thus virtually making the Company a present of over £3,000,000 sterling, the Legislature required them to expend £225,000 (or seven and a half per cent. of this amount) upon branch lines connecting with the main trunk line, a stipulation which the Company have described as one of the injuries inflicted upon them by the Canadians.

As section after section was opened, and no indications of the promised eleven and a half per cent. presented themselves, the difficulty was accounted for, first, by the want of western connections, then by the non-completion of the Victoria Bridge, and lastly, the want of rolling stock. The western connections were obtained by promoting a company to construct a line in Michigan at a cost of at least one-third more than was necessary, and then leasing it at eight per cent. upon this extravagant cost, after it had been demonstrated that it could not earn its own working expenses. The only possible explanation of such an extraordinary proceeding at so late a date in the history of the Company is, that the parties who furnished the money did so in good faith for the benefit of the whole enterprise, and that the work being situated in a foreign country, and constructed wholly on Grand Trunk account, they were entitled to protection. Also, as this last and indispensable link was the golden gate through which the treasures of the boundless west were to pour over the Grand Trunk, and produce eleven and a half per cent. dividends, eight per cent. on their outlay was but moderate compensation to the corporate benefactors.

The Victoria Bridge was completed, and then the want of rolling stock was the only reason assigned for the want of success; but when it was reminded that, by the Act of 1857, the conditions on which the Province surrendered her lien only remained in force while the Company "supply the said railway with sufficient plant, rolling stock and appliances to work the same efficiently," and "so long as they maintain and work the same regularly," it was discovered that no more rolling stock was necessary at present; and at the same time the rumoured threats of stopping the road, unless the postal subsidy were increased and capitalized, suddenly ceased altogether. When at last all efforts failed, the conviction forced itself on the hitherto infatuated proprietors that the anticipated traffic was not to be had upon any Canadian route at that time and amid current conditions.

A failure so magnificent, complete, and disastrous has naturally led to recriminations, and, forgetting the part played by Englishmen in the inception, and their almost exclusive execution and management of the undertaking, its British victims attempted reclamations on the Province, on the ground of the "moral responsibility" incurred in accepting the tempting offers made her. A very large proportion of such claimants were effectually disposed of by the fact that, having acquired their stock at something like one-fifth its cost to the real victims, and other securities at proportionate discounts, long after the fallacy of the prospectus was admitted, they could have no implied contract with Canada "moral" or otherwise. If we were bound to compensate, it could only be those who really put faith in us, and gave the first impulse to the railway, and not the bulls and bears of the stock exchange; perhaps the men who, having deceived their own countrymen afterwards bought back the depreciated securities, and then sought to intimidate Canadians—every one of whom has borne by taxation something more than a moral responsibility on account of the Grand Trunk.

Canadians did not originate this scheme, and, left alone, they would have closed the gap in their

Trunk line between Montreal and Hamilton without greater cost than they have contributed to the Grand Trunk, and without loss to any but themselves. This section was all that was necessary, in a national point of view, as it would have secured the connection of our chief seaports with the remote west. But a member of the British Parliament, representing the wealthiest firm of contractors in the world, crossed the Atlantic, applied to the Canadian Legislature for the necessary powers to bring out the gigantic scheme on the London market, and taught the inexperienced colonists how to take advantage of their position. The Governor-General (Lord Elgin) had prepared an elaborate statistical report, to accompany the prospectus, showing the progress and resources of the colony. It was not possible that a people ignorant of railways could resist such arguments or such temptations ; nor is it remarkable that, knowing the marvellous effects of railways elsewhere they should be unable to discriminate between the profitable and the unprofitable routes, especially when they were assured of success from such experienced and influential sources. Though they had just incurred a debt of millions for canals, which were not directly remunerative, they embarked in railways to a much greater extent, assuming obligations which, could they have foreseen the results, they would not have done, even though British capitalists had offered to invest two dollars to their one. But the Grand Trunk scheme embraced so large a proportion of the railway system of Canada, that its failure during the earlier days of its history deserves investigation. The causes may be found in the following considerations :

(1) We have seen that while private enterprise had taken up as intrinsically valuable, or supposed to be so, the railways leading from Montreal to Portland, Boston, and New York, and from Toronto and Niagara westward—the sections between Quebec and Toronto—the most prominent portions of the Grand Trunk, as prepared for the English market, were, though backed by a Provincial guarantee, left by the Canadians until the last, because it was felt that no railway could successfully compete with the existing navigation system. The English projectors thought otherwise because their railways had beaten their canals; but no real analogy existed in the case of either system in the two countries. British railways had a different traffic and climate, were better made and more cheaply worked, while their canals were but enlarged ditches compared with ours. The original Canadian Railway Companies were organized on the basis of *portage* roads working in connection with the navigation route besides forming a through line for general purposes; but the Grand Trunk vainly essayed competition with the water, and disdained all connection with it between Montreal and Lake Huron.

(2) While the Canadian envoy in May, 1852, (Sir F. Hincks) looked only to a line between Montreal and Hamilton, the English scheme provided for an extension of both ends of a central line, itself never regarded as a promising one—the extension as a whole being still more unpromising intrinsically than the centre. The promoters appear, in fact, to have counted upon a through traffic which should be more valuable than the local one. The weak point in the scheme was that these extensions connected points already connected by better routes, and between which no regular traffic existed, or was likely to arise. The Canadian railway route between Detroit and Boston, as compared with that via Albany, was an attempt to travel the arc of a circle (and a more arctic one at that) in competition with its chord. The scheme did not possess the elements of success, either as a whole or in its parts; the failure was, therefore, inevitable, and in proportion to the extension. The following statements, which show the receipts and exports by sea, via the St. Lawrence and the Grand Trunk Railway respectively, prove the hopelessness of the contest between the rail and the river, and the insignificance of the winter operations of the former, via Portland and Boston, in diverting exports from the latter :

Receipts of Western Grain and Flour at Montreal, 1862.

	By Water.	By G.T. Railway.	Total.	Per cent. by G.T.R.
Grain bus..	11,367,710	802,128	12,169,838	6.50
Flour bbls..	772,381	402,221	1,174,602	34.25

Exports Sea-ward of Grain and Flour from Montreal, 1862.

	By River St. Lawrence.	By G.T.R. via. Portland and Boston.	Total.	Per cent. by G.T.R.
Grain bus..	9,015 374	478.595	9,493,969	5·3
Flour bbl..	507,477	66,123	663,600	5.96

(3) The enterprise, unpromising as it always was to competent and disinterested observers, was loaded down with improvident leases of foreign American lines. The Portland railway was leased at 6 per cent. upon its cost, and required the expenditure of over a million and a half of dollars to make it workable; yet, with all the advantage of the Victoria Bridge and western connections, the Company were not able to earn more than two-thirds of the rent they agreed to pay. Nothing but the greatest infatuation could have led to the belief that such a road, with its heavy grades and curves, and a scanty local traffic, could, amid winter snows, do a through business to warrant the price paid for it. The lease of the Michigan line has already been noticed, and it was a much worse case, in that the Company had not only been unable to earn any portion of the eight per cent. rent, but had lost money in working the road.

(4) The purchase of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic line at cost, though the stock had been sold at fifty per cent. discount, was made on the assumption that it was complete as far as it went; but, like the Portland end of the same line, another million of dollars or more was required to put it in efficient order. Besides this unexpected outlay on the existing road between Montreal and Portland, Maine, about six millions of dollars were subsequently required to make up deficiencies in the contract provision for those portions of the line constructed under the Company's own auspices. Whatever allowance may be made for heated imaginations when estimating the prospective business of the road, and deluding themselves with the notion that it would, as a whole, earn dividends of eleven and a half per cent., when none of its parts had previously been considered as practicable without subsidies, the railway men of the prospectus must have known that this could not be done with three per cent. of sidings, and the limited number of locomotives and carriages provided by the contracts; and that the working expenses could not be kept down to forty per cent. of all the receipts which could be earned by such an equipment. The prospectus assured subscribers that the cost of the railway was defined by contracts, whereby "any apprehension of the capital being found insufficient is removed," and which "secured a first-class railway, including sidings, ample rolling stock, and every requisite essential to its perfect completion," while for the capital stated the proprietors are assured of a railway fully equipped and complete in every respect, and "free from any further charges whatever." The capital estimated by the prospectus was $47,500,000; the Company, in 1860, showed a balance sheet of $70,000,000; of this amount, about $56,000,000 is charged to capital account as the "cost of construction," the remainder is interest, rent, loss in working, etc., although eighty-five miles of the original road had not been constructed; and after expending millions in supplying omissions in the contracts and estimates, the working expenses, instead of forty, exceeded eighty per cent. of the gross receipts.

(5) Not only did the contracts fail to provide "every essential to the perfect completion of the road," but the provisions they did contain were either not enforced or so loosely complied with that the efficiency of the road was impaired, its working expenses increased, and all the available resources of the Company required to supply deficiency of ballast and sleepers, while leading to a destruction of rolling stock and property (fortunately unaccompanied by loss of life) which was unprecedented in the history of railways. No doubt the force of circumstances, in a great measure, compelled the Company to accept a road very much inferior to that originally intended. The English contractors had agreed to take two-thirds of their pay in stock and bonds, and when these became depreciated by the discredit of the Company, they were in for a loss in discounts which was largely increased by the inexperience of certain local agents of the contractors.

(6) It does not rest with the English public to charge upon Canada all the disastrous results of the original construction of the Grand Trunk. The prospectus was not prepared in the Province, nor did any member of her Government see it until it was issued. Canada was not a stockholder in the Company; but as the indorser for it, not of it, put four of her Ministers on a Board, composed of eighteen Directors, of whom six were in London and twelve in Canada, eight of the latter being really nominees of the English

contractors. The Canadians, as novices in railway matters, could not be censured if they even believed all they were told by the promoters of the railway; nor could they be worse than other people if they gave it a trial without believing in it; but there must have been many men, and many editors in London well versed in railways, not only English but American, who thoroughly appreciated the scheme as one originated and promoted for the money which could be made out of it. If these were silent, Englishmen must blame their own watchmen for not warning them. Had they sought the real merits of the scheme they would have found them in the discussions of the Canadian press and Parliament. These were of such a character as to relieve Canada of any "moral responsibility," and they contrast favourably with the intelligence or candour of the English press on the same subject. A proposition to attach the contracts to the prospectus was made, but voted down by the contractor's majority in the Canadian Legislature. Why, when this was seen, did not the English press call for the contracts when the prospectus appeared, and tell their readers whether the capital would be sufficient, and analyze the scheme with some degree of fulness? And why did they not show that the contractors could, through their appointment of the Company's engineer, solicitors, and Directors, give the subscribers any road they pleased, instead of the one described in the prospectus?

(7) Among the minor causes which heightened the early failure of the Grand Trunk, and deprived it of much of that sympathy of which it stood for years in need, were the general extravagance and blundering in its management, and the ridiculous presumption of some of the officials. In an enterprise of such magnitude, the salaries of its higher officials, no matter how liberal they were, would seem to have had little influence on results; and if these results were confined to the mere question of the difference in salaries they would be unimportant, particularly where the incumbents were worth what they cost. But, in the case under notice, the effect of princely salaries to chief officers was to establish a general scale of extravagance, and a delegation of duties and responsibilities, and to involve the Company in needless outlay and losses greater than all the salaries paid upon the line. The railway satrap sent out by the London Board, whose salary was only exceeded by that of the Governor-General, naturally considered himself the second person in the Province, and, as a consequence, the special Commissioner sent out from the same source received a salary equal to that of the President of the United States. The salary of this Commissioner is stated to have been $25,000, his charge for expenses $12,000, and the cost of his special trains $6,000, making a total of $43,000 on account of one year. If only half of this were true, it was sufficient to prevent Canadians increasing their own taxes in order to afford the Company of that day the means to continue such extravagance.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

BY

J. J. LANNING, formerly Assistant General Manager.

WHEN it is remembered that the reports issued by the large railway corporations of the continent each year, detailing the receipts and expenditure of vast sums of money, and recording the particulars of all important events and transactions occurring in connection with their respective companies during the twelve months, usually contain from twenty-five to fifty pages of closely printed matter, the reader will understand the difficulty experienced in recounting in anything like an intelligible form, in a paper of this kind, the history of the Grand Trunk Railway Company from its inception in 1852 up to the present time—a period of forty-five years. If reference be made to lines in existence prior to the building of the Grand Trunk, but now incorporated in that Company's system, we must go back to the year 1832, when the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway Company received its charter, bearing the Royal assent of William IV.

The problem of transportation of passenger and freight traffic by means of wheeled vehicles propelled by steam over two lines of rail had been only recently successfully demonstrated by Stephenson, and the news of its success had the effect of inducing the prominent men of Montreal to establish a line of railway running from a point as near to that city as practicable in the direction of New York, and the result was the construction of the railway under the above name, "Champlain and St. Lawrence," from Laprairie to St. John's, Que. The line was opened for traffic in 1836, being laid with wooden rails and worked by horse power during the first year of its existence. But one winter's experience satisfied the promoters that these two features of the undertaking would have to be improved upon by the substitution of something more substantial, and in the following year the "wooden flanges," as the rails were termed in the Act of Incorporation, were replaced by iron, and the horse supplanted by the more enduring steam-motor.

The line was shortly afterwards extended from St. John's to Rouses Point, N.Y.; and in connection with this it may not be out of place to mention that in an early edition of the "Biographical Directory of Railway Officials"—a semi-official publication—appears a sketch of the late Mr. Jay Gould's career in which it is stated that his first experience in railway work was as a surveyor in the location of this line. The political disturbances during the years 1837 and 1838, together with business depression, put a damper, however, on further Canadian railway construction, and there is no record of any railway charter being granted, or applied for, until 1845. In that year the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway Company obtained incorporation for the purpose of building a line from Portland, Maine, running west through that State, New Hampshire, and Vermont, to a connection at the international boundary with the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, also organized the same year.

The Great Western Railway Company was also incorporated in that year under the name of the "Hamilton and Sandwich Railway" for the purpose of securing connection between Hamilton and Detroit. In the following year, 1846, a Company was organized and incorporated known as the "Montreal and Lachine Railway Company," and the next year saw their line between the two points mentioned an accomplished fact. They also established a ferry service between Lachine and Caughnawaga in Quebec, and at the latter place connected with a short railway chartered as

NOTE.—This article was written by Mr. Lanning shortly before his regretted death in the summer of 1897, and is now published with the authority and approval of Mr. C. M. Hays, General-Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway System.—*The Editor.*

the "Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway"—running from Caughnawaga, opposite Lachine, in a south-easterly direction to the boundary line. Another important line known as the "Toronto, Simcoe, and Lake Huron," secured incorporation as a Company in 1849 and commenced the construction of a railway from Toronto northward to Collingwood. Its name was subsequently changed to "Ontario, Simcoe and Huron," and again to that of the "Northern Railway," being like all the other Companies just mentioned, finally merged in the Grand Trunk System.

On the 10th August, 1850, the Quebec and Richmond Railway Company was incorporated with power to construct a line from Richmond to Point Levis via Chaudiere Junction, and twelve months after that date the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company was granted authority to build between those points. On October 11th following, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Company's line was opened from Longueuil to Richmond, and the Champlain and St. Lawrence Company carried their road from Laprairie to St. Lambert in the early months of 1852. Charters were also obtained in 1852 for the construction of a railway from Chaudiere Junction to Trois Pistoles by the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada East; one from Montreal to Toronto (and this was really the parent stem) by the Grand Trunk Railway; and a third from Toronto to Hamilton by the Toronto and Hamilton Railway Company. In the meantime the principal lines under construction, viz., the Great Western, the Northern, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, were struggling under financial difficulties owing to the want of capital. Canada was then very young and but thinly populated. Owing to improvement in the inland navigation the cost of transportation had been materially lessened, but the closing of navigation during the winter months made it necessary on the part of the Government of the day to find a remedy, and it was deemed an important measure of public policy to secure access to the sea-board at all periods of the year.

It was believed that there would be sufficient Canadian traffic to maintain a line of railway connecting the principal cities and towns of the old Province of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec). Their policy being quite in accord with public opinion, the Government determined on aiding the Railway Companies, and an Act (12 Victoria Cap. 29-1849) was passed affording Government assistance in the shape of loans to railways of not less than 75 miles in length. The conditions of this Act were found to be in some respects unworkable and too onerous, and further legislation of a more liberal character was passed in 1851 (14 Victoria, Cap. 73). This Act was entitled "An Act to make provision for the construction of a main trunk line of railway throughout the whole length of this Province." In the first section of the Act it is declared that "Whereas it is of the highest importance to the progress and welfare of this Province that a Main Trunk line of railway should be made throughout the length thereof and from the eastern frontier thereof, through the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the City and port of Halifax, it is therefore expedient that every effort should be made to secure the construction of such railway," etc. Briefly the Act provided for three eventualities. 1st. The construction of an inter-colonial road from Halifax to Quebec, in conjunction with the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, on a loan under Imperial guarantee, or from funds advanced by the British Government. 2nd. That if the Imperial guarantee was obtained, the road should be continued as part of the Main Trunk line to Hamilton or some other point on the Great Western; but failing the Imperial guarantee the road was to be constructed jointly by the Province of Canada (now Ontario and Quebec) and the municipal corporations, which should subscribe for half the cost—the whole to be completed and managed as a Provincial public work. 3rd. If neither of these projects proved practicable, the work might be undertaken by chartered companies, which would be entitled to the Provincial aid in a guarantee extended from the interest to the principal on loans amounting to one-half of the cost of the railway.

It will be seen from this that the scheme was for a trunk line running from Sarnia to Halifax on British territory. New Brunswick, however, insisted on a branch line being built to Portland, Maine, but the Imperial authorities were not dis-

posed to view this with favour and absolutely refused to give any guarantee, if a foreign connection was in any way included in the proposals, or if the main line through New Brunswick was constructed on any other survey than that made by Major Robinson in 1848. At that period the Intercolonial railway as a grand highway to a winter seaport in British waters was a constant theme of discussion among the people of the three Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and of course gave much scope for serious consideration to their respective Governments. A line from Montreal to Portland was already under construction. Hence it was with much disappointment, if not chagrin, that the great majority of the people saw their hopes blighted for a time at least. There were innumerable conferences between Provincial Premiers, several missions to London and negotiations of a most intricate character, which it would be impossible to refer to here, even if desirable.

Suffice it to say that whilst in London, on one of these missions early in 1852, the late Sir Francis Hincks, at that time holding the position of Inspector-General—an office analogous to that of Finance Minister—learned that satisfactory financial arrangements for the building of that part of the line between Montreal and Toronto could be made with the firm of Messrs. Betts and Brassey, railway contractors. They had just completed extensive works in France and having a large quantity of unemployed plant, were ready to engage in constructing all the railways required in Canada. English capital to any amount that might be needed would be supplied, provided the works were entrusted to contractors who were known to and in the confidence of English capitalists. On the return of Sir Francis to Canada, he consulted his colleagues in the Cabinet, and the proposals of the contractors after being somewhat enlarged, were accepted by the Ministry. The lines to be constructed were those from Montreal to Hamilton—it having always been contemplated by the Government that the Great Western Railway, whose terminus was then at Hamilton, should be a portion of the Grand Trunk line to which the public aid was limited. When these proposals were embodied in a Bill incorporating the Grand Trunk Railway Company and introduced in Parliament during the session held in the autumn of 1852, they met with considerable opposition from the supporters of the Montreal and Kingston Railway Company, but finally carried on a division vote after being amended in some important respects.

The Provincial Government guarantee, instead of being for one-half the cost of the road, was limited to £3,000 stg. per mile and the contractors, instead of requiring a Canadian subscription of one-tenth of the capital, undertook to obtain the whole in England. Later in the Session a Bill was passed authorizing the amalgamation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company with the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, the Toronto and Guelph, the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada East, and the Quebec and Richmond Railway Company. On the 10th November in that year (1852) it received the Royal assent. It may be mentioned that the Toronto and Guelph Company had power to continue their line to Sarnia. By a supplementary agreement between the various companies dated 12th April 1853, the details of amalgamation were completed, a contract with Messrs. Peto, Brassey, and Betts for building the Victoria Bridge was made, and the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway from Portland, Maine, to the Canadian boundary line was leased for 999 years. The amalgamated lines formed 964 miles of railway. The capital was placed at £9,500,000 and the shares were for £25 each. Eighteen Directors were appointed, nine of whom were nominated by the Government in consideration of the Provincial guarantee and with the view of protecting the public interests. Four of these Government Directors were Cabinet Ministers, four were independent gentlemen of considerable influence, and the ninth was the Hon. John Ross, Solicitor General, who was appointed President in Canada. Six of the eighteen Directors were resident in London, England, and Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., acted for several years as Chairman of the London Board. The twelve Directors resident on this side of the Atlantic composed the Canadian Board, and thus equipped and constituted the Grand Trunk Railway started upon its career.

With the promises and the probabilities in the matter of dividends, set forth in the prospectus

issued by the Company in 1853, it would be manifestly unfair at this late date to deal in a critical spirit, and whatever truth there may have been in the remark made in 1864 by the late Mr. T. Storrow Brown—so well remembered as a stubborn opponent of the Company—to the effect that "he who would play the part of prophet before the fact, stands in slippery places, for coincidences and contingencies in the world's affairs of which the most far-seeing could never dream, often laugh to naught the wisest estimates of studious calculations," there appears but little reason or sense in the statements sometimes made upon this subject. The men of 1852 were engaged in the task of constructing the longest railway in the world through a sparsely-settled country with wages and material much higher than they are to-day. They were, to a great extent, working in the dark, and none but the most captious or critical at this date, (the experience of forty years having taught us all many valuable lessons) will wonder that the period of construction of the Grand Trunk line (say from 1853 to 1860) was one of great anxiety and financial difficulty to all concerned.

On July 22nd, 1853, No. 1 pier of the Victoria Bridge was commenced and in the same month the road from Longueuil (opposite Montreal) to Portland, Maine, was opened. Early in January, 1854, the main line of the Great Western Railway from Hamilton to Sandwich, commenced working as a separate concern, and remained independent until the 12th August, 1882. On the 27th November, 1854, traffic was started over the line from Richmond to Point Levis (opposite Quebec). Early in 1855 the Northern Railway Company commenced operating its line between Toronto and Collingwood. The 19th November following the Grand Trunk began traffic operations between Montreal and Brockville, and two weeks after that date business began on the piece of line from Chaudiere Junction (practically Quebec City) to St. Thomas, Quebec. The next important addition to the mileage took place on the 27th October, 1856, when the first passenger train ran through from Montreal to Toronto, and in three weeks from that date the road was opened through to Stratford. In 1857 it was deemed expedient to dispense with Government Directors, and that step was authorized by Act of Parliament. The Board was then re-organized, and the number of Directors fixed at fifteen instead of eighteen, ten of whom were to be resident in Canada, and five in England. Mr. S. P. Bidder had been appointed General Manager of the Company in 1853, and remained in that position until September, 1857, when he was succeeded by Mr. Thomas E. Blackwell as Managing Director—Mr. Walter Shanly occupying the position of Chief Engineer and General Manager.

On the 28th June, 1858, the line from Goderich

Walter Shanly.

to Fort Erie was opened, and that from Stratford to St. Mary's on the 27th September, while the Great Western line from Hamilton to Toronto, with that Company's Sarnia branch, were ready for traffic in December of the same year. In November of the following year, 1859, a very important connecting link between the Canadian line and the United States roads centering in Detroit was completed from Port Huron to that city, and the Rivière-du-Loup line was almost finished. On the 12th December the Victoria

Bridge was opened for traffic, and on the 17th of the same month the first passenger train passed through. So much has been recently written and said about this great undertaking that it would seem superfluous to refer to it here, more especially as it is, at the moment of writing, being reconstructed as an open lattice bridge, the tubular feature of the work being removed. Suffice it to say that the workmen engaged in removing the stone walls at each of the entrances to the tube are assured beyond a doubt that the builders of the bridge did their work in the most solid and lasting manner.

At the end of the decade (1859) the Company had completed a large system of railways, extending literally throughout the whole Province of Canada, from the waters of Lake Huron to Rivière-du-Loup on the St. Lawrence, 125 miles below Quebec, and also to the Atlantic sea-board at Portland, Maine, a total of 951 miles. Its authorized capital had increased to £11,462,846. Its receipts for 1859 were a little over £500,000, and expenses £453,000. About this time the Province of Canada postponed its claim to priority of interest on its advance of £3,111,500, thus lifting, for a time, the financial cloud which hung over the operations of the Company. It ought to be mentioned that the entire line was of the five foot six inch gauge and land was, in all cases, provided for a double track, and in several of the large structures the foundations and the masonry of the abutments were put in for a double line. In 1860, on the 25th May, the Prince of Wales officially opened the Victoria Bridge, and on the 2nd July the line from Chaudiere Junction to Rivière-du-Loup was opened for business. The Government agreed to waive the condition compelling the Company to extend the line from Rivière-du-Loup to Trois Pistoles.

The long continued commercial depression extending over the United States and Canada put a stop to the further construction of railways from 1860 to 1870, and told heavily on the existing lines. When, therefore, Mr. Blackwell retired from the management and Mr. Charles John Brydges took charge of the Grand Trunk in 1862, the Directors found it necessary to re-arrange the Company's finances and staff organization. The legal domicile and seat of management was fixed in London and the number of Directors reduced from fifteen to twelve, seven to reside in England, the five in Canada to constitute a Committee of the Board for local, financial, and other purposes. A betterment of the Postal Service arrangements with the Government was secured. An improvement in train service and the renewal and repair of the road were effected and were productive of marked and admitted results.

The civil war in the United States had, at that time, presented features of magnitude forbidding all chance of early peace—a serious obstacle to the development of trade and traffic, and involving complications, commercial and political, which hampered the operations of the Company until 1865. At the beginning of 1864 they purchased the Montreal and Champlain lines running from Montreal in the direction of the New York State Line. On the 29th of June in that year the Company had its first sad experience in the matter of accidents. An emigrant train passing over the bridge at Beloeil, Quebec, went through an open draw and down into the Richelieu River, causing great loss of life amongst the Polish and German immigrants on board. On August 1st, 1864, the line known as the "Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway" became part of the Grand Trunk System. This brought them to Fort Erie, opposite the City of Buffalo, U.S.A., and the work of building the International Bridge between the two places was soon after put in hand. The Company suffered severely during these years from the loss on American currency, not less than $2,000,000 being charged off on that account during the seven years ending December 31st, 1868. In 1866 alone the amount lost in this way was $380,000, or nearly enough to pay the full year's interest on the second and third preference stocks.

No sooner had the war ended than the Company's operations were disturbed at frontier points by Fenian raids and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States, which totally demoralized the international traffic of the road. The Hon. John Ross resigned the Presidency of the Company in 1862, and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward W. Watkin, who for many years ranked amongst the prominent railway men of England. Sir Edward

did good work for the Company during his term of office, and effected many important improvements. He resigned in 1868, and was succeeded by Mr. Richard Potter, who had been on the Board for some time. In 1870 the construction of the Intercolonial Line to a connection with the Grand Trunk at Rivière-du-Loup was being pushed forward with vigour, and Mr. Brydges was one of the three Commissioners appointed by the Government to control that work. In that year also the sleeping-car arrangements were placed in charge of the Pullman Palace Car

Charles J. Brydges.

Company, and have so remained to the present time. The question of a change of gauge from the then existing five foot six inch width to that of the standard, four feet eight inches, of the United States was raised, and the Board decided to fall into line with the other roads without delay. The Grand Trunk cannot be said to have been exceptional in the matter of gauge, for at that time the Erie Railway was of a six-foot gauge.

On the 18th of November, 1872, the tracks of the Grand Trunk Company between Sarnia and Fort Erie were narrowed, and on October 4th, 1873, the second section between Stratford and Montreal was changed. Some misunderstanding having arisen between the Board and the Managing Director, Mr. Brydges, regarding the estimates for this work, the latter gentleman retired in April, 1874, and was succeeded by the late Sir Joseph Hickson, then Secretary-Treasurer of the Company in Canada. His first act was to complete the change of gauge, and the third and last section—that between Montreal, Portland and Revière-du-Loup—was successfully narrowed between September 26th and 28th, 1874. The line from Port Huron to Detroit was originally constructed on the standard, or four foot eight and one-half inch gauge, and the operation just recorded brought the Grand Trunk Road into uninterrupted connection with the American lines east and west of the system. Additional cars and locomotives were purchased, and the International Bridge at Fort Erie was opened in the summer of 1874.

All these advantages secured placed the Company in a strong position to compete for through all-rail business, and the Michigan Central, then an independent Company, handled all the Grand Trunk traffic between Detroit and Chicago. This, however, aroused the jealousy of rival American interests, and in 1878, the Michigan Central was secured by Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt. It was at once determined to secure a route to Chicago owned by the Grand Trunk, and the first step in that direction was the sale of the branch from Chaudiere Junction to Rivière-du-Loup to the Dominion Government, with the proceeds of which several pieces of railway already constructed between Port Huron and Chicago were purchased. After great delay, caused by harassing litigation, as well as by physical obstructions, the line now known as the Chicago and Grand Trunk was opened from Port Huron to Chicago on 8th April, 1880, when the first through passenger train in regular service passed over it. The task of securing an entrance into large cities for new lines is one of the difficult problems which railway managers have occasionally to solve, but the solution is not made easier by the additional fact of having to construct or secure over 300 miles of road preparatory to the entrance. The Legislative and municipal

enactments, decrees, charters, deeds, etc., in this connection fill several volumes in the Company's records.

In January, 1881, the Grand Trunk commenced the operation of the line running from Lenox to Pontiac, and ultimately extended to Jackson, Michigan, with a view of doing business with Toledo, Ohio. During the year it also strengthened its position in the district between Montreal and the New York State Line. In April, 1882, the Midland Company's system in Central Ontario became incorporated in that of the Grand Trunk, and the Great Western Railway Company amalgamated with the latter on the 12th August following. Both of these amalgamations were considered desirable in view of the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, not then long in existence, had determined to depart from their original intention of confining their operations to a line between Eastern Canada and Vancouver, and to enter the field for a share of the business originating in the western peninsula of Ontario. In taking over the Great Western Line, the Grand Trunk had also to take the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railway, which was one of its affiliations.

The work of crossing trains over the St. Clair River between Point Edward and Fort Gratiot by means of large ferry boats adapted for carrying cars was at times obstructed by the large number of lake boats passing up and down that rapid stream, and in winter the operation of these car-ferry boats was attended with considerable risk owing to the running ice. The feasibility of a tunnel under the river a short distance below the town of Sarnia was considered and finally decided upon. Evil prophets there were then, just as there are to-day in connection with the re-construction of the Victoria Bridge, who cried "disaster" and "failure"; but the same skill and good judgment that stilled the voice of jealousy and mistrust in the successful completion of the great sub-marine tunnel in September, 1891, will undoubtedly re-assert itself in the completion of the work over the St. Lawrence River. The Interstate Commerce Act, passed by the U.S. Congress, took effect on April 5th, 1887, and to a certain extent hampered the operations of the leading Companies in the United States. The Grand Trunk running, as it does, through seven States of the Union (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont in the east, New York State at several points, and Michigan, Indiana and Illinois in the west) had to comply with the requirements of the Act.

In February, 1888, the Northern and North Western lines were fused in the Grand Trunk system, and in a few months after the "Toledo, Saginaw, and Muskegon" and the "United States and Canada" lines were taken over. The last subsidiary road incorporated in the Company's

Sir Joseph Hickson.

system under Sir Joseph Hickson's management was that running from Durand to Saginaw, Mich. This took place in October, 1890. On the 29th December following that gentleman laid down the cares of office after having piloted the Company safely through the rocks and shoals of seventeen years, and the Board in accepting his resignation expressed its sense and appreciation of the eminent services he had rendered and of his devotion to the interests of the concern during his term of service. He took a warm interest

in the Company's welfare up to the time of his death in January, 1897. He was succeeded in the management in January, 1891, by Mr. Lewis J. Seargeant, formerly Traffic Manager of the Company. In April, 1893, the consolidation of fourteen different lines with the parent Company was effected, thus dispensing with that number of Boards of Directors, Annual Meetings, etc.

Early in 1895 a large number of the shareholders desiring a change in the policy of the Board tested the question by a vote in the month of May. The result was the resignation of Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, as President, and the election of a new Board with Sir Charles Rivers-Wilson as President. In December following Mr. Seargeant was called to London to take a seat at the Board there, and was succeeded by the present General Manager, Charles M. Hays, on the 1st January, 1896. The policy of the Board of Directors since May, 1895, has been one of friendly intercourse with rival as well as connecting lines, in proof of which it may be stated that joint arrangements for running powers over various portions of the line have been made with the New York Central (Adirondack), the Canadian Pacific and the Wabash Railway Companies. The Grand Trunk is well equipped with all the accessories such as express, telegraph and telephone services; cartage delivery, elevators, grain warehouses, cattle yards and ice-houses. Traffic can be carried without trans-shipment from Chicago, or points west to the wharves at Montreal or Portland, alongside ocean steamers, and the advantage secured in the construction of long stretches of double track enabling fast time to be made by both express and freight trains is apparent. That the line is popular in the eastern and western States is evidenced by the fact that when legislation has been sought at Washington with the object of cancelling the bonding and sealing privileges of the Canadian Companies, the most strenuous protests have been made against any interference with the Grand Trunk by the mercantile communities of Chicago and Boston through their Boards of Trade. It is the desire and aim of the present Board and Management to make the road equally popular in Canada whilst making it remunerative to those financially interested in it, and this object it is hoped will be secured by a continuance of that co-operation so freely given by the Company's employès to the Canadian Executive in the past.

That the Company is not unmindful of the welfare of those who enter its service is apparent in the existence of Insurance and Superannuation Funds for the benefit of such employes as may become disabled, or the families of those who die, as also for affording a means of support to such as have grown old in its service. A supplemental advantage was secured in the Company's Act of Parliament (1896) by the authority given to the Management to grant pensions in cases not covered by the two funds already mentioned. Comfortable reading-rooms are also located at the principal stations on the system for the convenience of its officers and employès.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY—EDITOR'S NOTES

The Promoters of the Railway. The following were the names and positions publicly announced in 1853 in connection with the inception and control of the Grand Trunk Railway:

Directors in London. Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P.; and George Carr Glyn, Esq., M.P., Agents of the Province of Canada, and Directors of the Company on behalf of the Canadian Government; Henry Wollaston Blake, Esq.; Robert M'Calmont, Esq.; Kirkman Daniel Hodgson, Esq.; Alderman W. Thompson, M.P.

Directors in Canada. The Hon. John Ross, Member of the Legislative Council, Solicitor-General for Upper Canada, President; The Hon. Francis Hincks, M.P.P., Inspector-General; The Hon. E. P. Taché, M.L.C., Receiver-General; The Hon. James Morris, M.L.C., Postmaster-General; The Hon. Malcolm Cameron, M.P.P., President of the Executive Council; The Hon. R. E. Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council; The Hon. Peter McGill, M.L.C., President of the Bank of Montreal; George Crawford, Esq., M.P.P., Brock-

ville; Benjamin Holmes, Esq., Vice-President of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway Company; W. H. Ponton, Esq., Mayor of Belleville; W. Rhodes, Esq., Quebec; E. F. Whittemore, Esq., Toronto.

Bankers in London. Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co., and Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co.

Engineer-in-Chief. Alexander McKenzie Ross, Esq.

Assistant Engineer. Samuel Keefer, Esq.

Secretary in Canada. C. P. Roney, Esq.

Solicitors in England. Messrs. Swift and Wagstaff, 30, Great George Street, Westminster.

Solicitors in Canada. G. E. Cartier, Esq., M.P.P., Montreal; John Bell, Esq., Belleville.

The Grand Trunk Prospectus. The Prospectus of the Grand Trunk Railway Company issued in London, England, on or about April 12th, 1853, was a somewhat famous document. About its terms much financial and historic controversy has raged. It is therefore given here in full, with the exception of the List of Directors and officials, which may be read in the preceding Note exactly as they appeared in the Prospectus:

"The Government and Legislature of Canada have, by various Acts, incorporated several companies for the construction of different sections of the Main Trunk Line of Railway throughout the Province, and Acts of the Canadian Parliament have also been passed authorizing the amalgamation of all the companies whose rail ways intersect or join the Main Trunk Railway with the Grand Trunk Railway Company, so as to form one company, under the name of the 'Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada.' Arrangements are accordingly in progress for a fusion of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada East, the Quebec and Richmond Railway Company, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway Company, the Grand Junction Railway Company, and the Toronto and Guelph Railway Company, with the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, forming together 964 miles of railway (including a bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal, which will be constructed under the superintendence of Robert Stephenson, Esq., M.P., and A. M. Ross), with a combined capital of nine million, five hundred thousand pounds; and for a lease in perpetuity of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway from the point of its junction with the Grand Trunk Railway to the City of Portland, 148 miles, whereby access is obtained to the Atlantic at one of the natural harbours of the western continent.

The capital is £9,500,000, made up as follows:

Amount already raised in shares, and spent on works of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, and Quebec and Richmond Railways	£683,400
Amount already raised on bonds	733,000
	£1,416,400
Reserved in shares and debentures for the shareholders in the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, and Quebec and Richmond Railways, on the amalgamation, and for the bondholders of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway Company	837,600
	£2,254,000
Leaving	£7,246,000

This amount will be created and apportioned as follows:

Stock in 144,920 shares of £25 each	£3,623,000
Debentures of £100 each, payable in twenty-five years, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly, in London, and convertible into shares on or before the first day of Janury, 1863, at the option of the holder	£1,811,500
And debentures convertible into bonds of the Provincial Government, of £100 each, payable in twenty years, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly in London	£1,811,500
	£7,246,000

Of these 144,920 shares, it is proposed now to issue one-half viz.: £1,811,500 in shares, and the same amount in debentures, the other half having been agreed to be taken by the contractors, who, however, engage to give to the holders of such shares, on the 1st July, 1854 (twelve months

after the anticipated opening of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic section of the railway), the option of taking, in equal proportions, two-thirds of such remaining moiety; that is to say, every holder of thirty such shares will, on the 1st July, 1854, be entitled to claim twenty shares more at par, together with an equal amount of debentures, also at par. Such additional shares and debentures to bear interest at six per cent. from the said 1st July, 1854. £200 of debentures (one-half of each description) will be issued at par with each £200 of shares. By the law granting the Provincial aid, it is provided that the bonds of the Province shall be issued as the works advance. These bonds will, therefore, be held in trust to be delivered *pro rata* to the holders of the convertible debentures.

Interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, from the completion of the amalgamation until the entire works are finished, will be paid half-yearly in London, in sterling, on the account from time to time paid upon each share. The dividends, as declared, will also be payable in sterling, in London. The first payment in respect of the shares and debentures will take place on allotment as follows, viz.: £5 on each share, and 20 per cent. on each debenture, to be paid at the Company's bankers in London, Liverpool, or Canada. The remainder will be called up by instalments, not exceeding £2 10s. per share, and 10 per cent. per debenture, at intervals of not less than four months between each call, and the first call will not be made until the expiration of six months from the date of allotment. Subscribers will, however, have the privilege of anticipating the calls upon the debentures, receiving 6 per cent. interest on the amount paid up in advance. The description and objects of the Grand Trunk Railway are fully set forth in the appendix to which especial reference is craved. The more prominent points there are:

1. The completeness of the system of railway, engrossing as it does the traffic of Canada and the State of Maine, and precluding injurious competion.

2. The large amount of Government guarantee and Canadian capital invested, being two millions, eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.

3. The fact that 250 miles of the railway are now open for traffic, to be increased to 390 miles by the close of the present year.

4. The execution of the whole remaining works being in the hands of most experienced contractors; the eminent English firm of Messrs. Peto, Brassey, Betts and Jackson, having undertaken six-sevenths thereof, including the St. Lawrence Bridge.

5. The cost of the railway being actually defined by the contracts already made, whereby any apprehension of the capital being found insufficient is removed.

In the appendix will also be found the data for the following summary of probable revenue:

On 1,112 miles, at an average of about £25 per mile per week	£1,479,660	
Deduct working expenses, 40 per cent.	591,864	
		£887,796
Interest on debenture debt, £4,635,200	278,100	
Rental of Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway	60,000	
		338,100
Thus showing a profit on the share capital, £4,864,800, of nearly 11½ per cent.		549,696

The contributions which the Provincial Government engaged itself to make towards the completion of these undertakings was the loan of Provincial debentures payable in 25 years, bearing 6 per cent. interest, to be advanced as the works should progress, namely:

Toronto to Montreal	345 miles
Quebec to Trois Pistoles	153 "
	498 miles
At £3,000 per mile	£1,494,000
St. Lawrence and Atlantic	67,500
Quebec and Richmond	250,000
Total	£1,811,500"

The Company and the Canadian Government. No study of the Grand Trunk Railway would be complete without a consideration of the following documents connected with the early

relationship of the Company with the Canadian Government. They consist of letters passing between Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Hincks, as Inspector-General of Canada, and on behalf of the Government, and Mr. William Jackson, M.P., of London, England, on behalf of the Company. The first is written by Mr. Hincks from Morley's Hotel, London, on May 20th, 1852, and is as follows:

"Having reference to our several personal communications I now beg to submit, in writing, the arrangements under which it appears to me that the Grand Trunk Line of railroad between Montreal and Hamilton can be constructed.

Firstly. I understand that certain parties, including Mr. Peto, M.P., Mr. Brassey, Mr. Betts, and yourself, are prepared to construct the above mentioned railway, estimating their profits in doing so on the same scale as they have estimated them in their contracts for various lines of railway in England and on the continent of Europe.

Secondly. If the terms of such contract be agreed to, I propose that the funds necessary for the construction of the line should be raised in the following manner, viz.: One-tenth of the amount shall be taken by the contractors in stock of the Company, and credit given for the same in the account for construction; one-tenth shall be taken in stock by private individuals in Canada, or by municipal corporations, or by the Government of Canada. In case such stocks should be subscribed for by Government or by corporations, their bonds, at twenty years' date, bearing six per cent. interest, to be taken at par by the said contractors. Three-tenths of the amount shall be provided by the issue of the bonds of the Company, bearing six per cent. interest, and payable twenty years after date, which bonds the said contractors will take in payment at par. The remaining one-half of the amount to be raised by the issue of the bonds of the Company or Companies, guaranteed by the Province of Canada, and bearing six per cent.—under the terms of the Canadian Railway Guarantee Act.

Thirdly. The said contractors shall send out, with as little delay as possible, to Canada, competent engineers to examine the surveys of the line already made, to complete them if deficient, and to prepare the necessary working plans and estimates of the cost of construction of the whole line. On the completion of the estimates, they, together with the plans, shall be submitted with a tender for the construction of the works to two engineers, one to be appointed by the Railway Commissioners of Canada, and one by the contractors; and in case either or both of such engineers should decide that such tender is too high, and that the said contractors shall be unwilling to reduce the same to an amount deemed reasonable by such engineer or engineers, then the said plans shall become the property of the Company, who shall pay, on delivery of the same, such expenses, including the cost of travelling, as the said engineers shall deem reasonable.

Fourthly. In the event of the contract being agreed upon, the Railway Commissioners shall be authorized to employ, at the cost of the Company, such superintending engineers as they may think necessary, with a view to the interests of the Government and Company, at the cost of the Company, and the preliminary charges already incurred on behalf of the Company, in engineering and obtaining plans, shall be charged as part of the cost of the road.

Fifthly. It is understood that the cost of land shall be paid out of the portion of the stock of the Company subscribed for by individuals or municipalities, or the Government of Canada.

If you and your friends are disposed to construct the Trunk Road in Canada on the terms above mentioned, I am prepared on behalf of the Government of Canada, to agree to the engineers being sent out with as little delay as possible."

To this communication Mr. Jackson replied on the same day as follows:

"On behalf of Messrs. Peto, Brassey, Betts and myself, and any other parties who may be associated with us, I agree to your proposals for the construction of a railway from Montreal to Hamilton, contained in your letter to me of this day's date, subject to the following modifications:

Firstly. That direct Government bonds, five-tenths (5-10ths) of the capital, shall be given in lieu of the Company's bonds guaranteed by the Government. The option of taking one or the other to rest with us.

Secondly. That the bonds of the Company shall bear seven per cent. interest, so as to enable them to compete in the money market with similar bonds issued by railway corporations in the United States, and which are now offering in the market. We shall be prepared to pass to the credit of the Company any surplus which these seven per cent. bonds may produce beyond par."

Mr. Hincks promptly replied to these suggestions in the following manner:

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day agreeing, on behalf of Messrs. Peto, Brassey, Betts and yourself, to construct the Montreal and Hamilton Railway in Canada, on the terms suggested in my letter of this day's date, with certain modifications. I am certain that no objection will be made to the issue of direct bonds of the Government, provided such bonds are negotiated with Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., and Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co., the agents of the Province, to whom the Canadian Government is bound not to allow its bonds to be issued th ough other parties. I do not apprehend that any difficulty will be raised to the second proposal with reference to the rate of interest, it being understood that if the six per cent. bonds can be negotiated at par, you will endeavour to do so. With reference to another point mentioned in conversation, I beg to say that if no companies be formed, or if any difficulty should occur with them the Government of Canada will be responsible for the cost of survey, in case, under the agreement, it has to be re-imbursed. While I assume the responsibility of agreeing to this, you, of course, understand that the other portions of the scheme must be concurred in by the Government; but my utmost support shall be given to the plan as now arranged."

It is interesting in this connection to note the names of the chief original stockholders in the Company as published in a Report to the Canadian Legislative Assembly—28th April, 1855:

G. Carr Glyn, E. W. Mills and S. L. R. Glyn	3016	shares
K. D. Hodgson	1336	"
William Jackson, M.P.	500	"
Francis Mills	1960	"
Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart	5976	"
J. W. Swift	1192	"

At £25 a share this represented a total of £349,500, or $1,747,500, in the hands of half a dozen persons.

Sir Francis Hincks and the Grand Trunk. Sir Francis Hincks had much to do with the railway development of British America as he also did with its banking and financial systems. In the volume of Reminiscences published by him in 1884 there are a number of important historical documents connected with his long public career. Not the least valuable is the following letter (dated Montreal, December 23rd, 1875), giving a sketch from his own pen of the origin of the Grand Trunk Railway by the Canadian politician who had, perhaps, the most to do with it:

"In fulfilment of my recent promise, I proceed to lay before the public a statement of the facts relating to the organization of the Grand Trunk Railway, which, I am bound in charity to believe, are wholly unknown to its present President, Mr. Richard Potter. Before doing so, I desire to explain that I have no sympathy with those writers who have from time to time assailed the motives of the original projectors of that Company, who, I am persuaded, acted in perfect good faith in recommending to the British public an investment which I deeply regret has turned out so disastrous. What I maintain is that successive Canadian Governments and Parliaments have, with almost unexampled liberality, done all that lay in their power to mitigate a calamity for which they were in no way responsible. Without further preface, I shall proceed to my narrative. When, in the beginning of the year 1848, I accepted the office, analogous to that of Finance Minister, in the Administration formed by my lamented friend, the late Sir Louis Lafontaine, the several Canadian railway companies, viz., the Great Western, the Northern and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, were labouring under great difficulties, owing to want of capital to construct their projected lines. The cost of transport had been materially lessened by the improvement of our inland navigation; but as, during several months of the year, that navigation was closed, it was deemed an important measure of public

policy to secure access to the sea-board at all periods of the year.

It was believed that there would be sufficient Canadian traffic to support a railway connecting the principal cities and towns of the old Province of Canada. Acting in accordance with public opinion, the Government determined on assisting the railway companies, and an Act was passed (12 Vic., Cap. 29, 1849) for affording Government assistance in the form of loans to railways of seventy-five miles in length. The conditions of this Act were found to be too stringent, and further legislation of a more liberal character was under the consideration of the Legislature in June, 1851, when a deputation from the Maritime Provinces, consisting of the Hon. Joseph Howe, then leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, and the Hon. E. B. Chandler, of New Brunswick, visited Toronto to invite the co-operation of Canada in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which had already been surveyed by officers of the Royal Engineers on the joint application of the three Provinces, and which the Imperial Government had offered to aid by a guarantee.

Although the line in question had comparatively little interest for the population west of Montreal, the Delegates met with a cordial reception, and the result of their mission was an agreement between the three Governments to recommend to the respective Legislatures to provide for the joint construction of a railway between Halifax and Montreal on the line known as Major Robinson's, each Province to bear one-third of the cost, but New Brunswick to receive an Imperial guarantee for the line known as "The European" between the bend of the Peticodiac and the frontier of the State of Maine. The policy of the Government was sustained by Parliament, and was defined in the Act of 1851 (14 Vic., Cap. 73) which provided for assistance to the Intercolonial Railway, and, while limiting future aid to a main trunk line, increased the facilities of companies desiring to avail themselves of such aid. During Mr. Howe's visit he was entertained at a public dinner in Toronto, presided over by the Mayor, and attended by members of Parliament of both political parties. The Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin, was a guest on the occasion, and in his presence Mr. Howe read a letter from Messrs. Betts & Brassey addressed to himself, in which they offered to construct such Canadian railways as might be required. An agent of the same contractors, the late Mr. C. D. Archibald, of London, arrived about the same time with similar proposals. We were informed in substance that the eminent railway contractors already referred to having completed extensive works in France, and having a large quantity of unemployed plant, would readily engage in constructing all the railroads required in Canada, and that English capital to any amount that might be needed would be supplied, provided the works were intrusted to contractors who were known to and in the confidence of the English capitalists. I may observe that during the Session of 1851 Parliament granted charters to Companies to construct railroads between Toronto and Kingston, and Kingston and Montreal, which were reserved for the Royal assent in order to keep the control of future action in the hands of the Government.

After the close of the Session of 1851 a complete reconstruction of the Cabinet took place consequent on the retirement from public life of Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin. The Earl of Elgin, then Governor-General, honoured me by taking my advice as to its reconstruction, which was followed by a dissolution of Parliament and the removal of the seat of Government from Toronto to Quebec. During the occurrence of the above important changes, information was received that Mr. Howe had misconceived the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and that no Imperial aid would be given to the European line in which the people of New Brunswick were chiefly interested. The consequence of this refusal was the withdrawal of New Brunswick from the arrangement agreed to in June at Toronto. In this emergency I proceeded, in January, 1852, with two of my colleagues—the Hon. E. P. Taché and the Hon. John Young—to Fredericton and Halifax, to re-open negotiations regarding the Intercolonial Railway. New Brunswick had positively refused to aid in the construction of the Northern line unless provision were likewise made for a branch line to the frontier of the United States. Nova Scotia had always

been in favour of the Northern line. The result of the Canadian mission was that, after a protracted negotiation at Halifax, it was agreed that Canada should bear one-third of the cost to Quebec, instead of to Montreal; that Nova Scotia should bear three-twelfths instead of one-third, and New Brunswick five-twelths. These concessions were made to obtain the concurrence of Nova Scotia to the valley of St. John line, which was the only one on which the three Provinces could agree, owing to the influence of the southern representatives in the Legislature of New Brunswick.

It was further agreed that a delegate from each Province should sail for England on the 4th of March following to support the policy of the three Governments, and accordingly I sailed on the day appointed, Mr. Chandler following me a fortnight later. Mr. Howe, after six weeks' delay, found himself unable to join us. On my arrival in England, I learned that a new Government had been formed under the late Earl of Derby, and that Sir John Pakington had succeeded Earl Grey as Secretary of State for the Colonies. I shall state as briefly as possible the result of the negotiations with the Imperial Government, which have been much misunderstood in Canada. It was well known that the Imperial Government had strong objections to the valley of St. John line, which was the only one on which the three Provinces could agree. There was some reason to hope that Earl Grey would have given way to the urgent representations of the Delegates, but during an interview with which Mr. Chandler and myself were honoured by the Earl of Derby and Sir John Pakington, we had no difficulty in perceiving that the bias of both those statesmen was against our proposition, though a promise of further consideration was given. On the evening of the day of this interview, a conversation took place in the House of Commons, which led Mr. Chandler and myself to apprehend protracted delay, and as I had already been six weeks in England, and was most anxious to return to the discharge of my important duties, and as I had learned from several reliable sources that there was no doubt what the decision would be, I resolved to wait for an answer no longer than another fortnight, the single question for decision being whether the guarantee would be extended to the Valley of St. John line.

The answer of the Imperial Government was precisely what I expected, viz., that the Imperial guarantee would be given only to the Northern, or Major Robinson's line. It was after the termination of this negotiation that the same railway contractors who had twelve months previously made offers to Mr. Howe and to the Canadian Government through Mr. Archibald, renewed them to me, and I had reason to believe that an

Sir John Pakington, First Lord Hampton.

agreement with them would inspire confidence and secure the support of capitalists. It was at this time that the Quebec & Richmond Railway Co. entered into a contract with the same contractors for the construction of their line, and the President of that Company, the late Mr. Le Mesurier, of Quebec, stated in evidence before the Railway Committee in 1852 that their agent, Wm. Chapman, Esq., now Chief Commissioner of the Trust & Loan Company at Toronto, had only been enabled to get the stock taken from

the confidence reposed in the contractors. The extent of aid to be given by Canada had been fixed by Act of Parliament before any negotiations were commenced, but it was deemed insufficient, and after repeated conversation it was stipulated by the contractors and agreed to by me that one-tenth of the requisite capital should be supplied either by private or municipal, or, failing both, Government subscription to the stock. The estimates were to be submitted to Engineers, and the surveys and plans were to be paid for by the Government in case of non-agreement with the contractors. It must be borne in mind that at this time the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railway was in the course of construction, and that the Quebec & Richmond Hill had been contracted for by the same parties with a private company. The lines to be constructed under the new arrangement were those from Montreal to Hamilton, it having always been contemplated by the Government that the Great Western Railway, whose terminus was then at Hamilton, should be a portion of the Grand Trunk Line to which the public aid was limited.

During the Session of the Canadian Parliament in the autumn of 1852 it appeared that there would be a formidable opposition to the Government policy. The Royal assent having been given to the charters passed during the previous Session, the requisite amount of stock was subscribed for the line between Montreal and Kingston, and a Board of Directors was appointed, whose President resisted the passage of the new charter for the Grand Trunk Company. I refer to this because the result of the strong opposition to the scheme of the English contractors was an important modification of the original terms. The guarantee instead of being for one-half of the cost of the road, was limited to £3,000 sterling per mile, and the contractors, instead of requiring a Canadian subscription of one-tenth of the capital undertook to obtain the whole in England. Notwithstanding these concessions to public opinion in Canada, the preamble of the Bill was resisted by the Montreal and Kingston Company, and only carried on a division. A Bill was also carried, authorizing the creation of a company to construct a line to Trois Pistoles. Later in the Session a Bill was passed authorizing the amalgamation of the Grand Trunk Company with other companies; and it was provided that the Government, in consideration of the guarantee, should nominate one-half of the Directors, with the view of protecting the public interests. The extent of the liability of the Government was, I need scarcely observe, strictly defined and clearly understood.

After the close of the Session the new companies were organized, and contracts were entered into with the English contractors. About the same time a Canadian contracting company was organized, consisting of Messrs. C. S. Gzowski, D. L. McPherson, L. H. Holton and A. T. Galt, under the style of Gzowski & Co., and this firm entered into a contract with a Company chartered to construct a railroad from Toronto to Guelph, with power to extend to Sarnia. The Toronto and Guelph Company was represented in England by Mr. Alexander Gillespie, an eminent Canadian merchant of London. Before the close of the Session of 1852 the necessity of a bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal had been generally admitted, and, as it seemed hardly possible to provide for its construction, either by a separate company, or by any single railway company, it was proposed to the Government to sanction the amalgamation scheme, and as no additional guarantee was demanded, a ready assent was given. When the Grand Trunk Company was organized nine Government Directors were appointed, four of whom were Cabinet Ministers, four independent gentlemen of considerable influence, and the ninth was the Hon. John Ross, the Solicitor-General, who was appointed President through the influence of the English contractors who held the control of the stock. The representatives of the several Companies soon after proceeded to England, where the scheme of amalgamation was discussed and finally adopted. It in no way altered the position of the Province of Canada. The amount of guarantee had been strictly limited, and there seemed to be no just ground for interfering with the action of the really responsible parties. It is worthy of notice that during the discussions on the subject of amalgamation in Canada, it was not suggested that the Toronto and Guelph line should be included. It was after the commence-

ment of the negotiations in London that, in consequence of the hostility of the Great Western Company to the scheme, it was deemed expedient to amalgamate with the Toronto and Guelph Company, and to extend their line to Sarnia. The Great Western Company had previously obtained the control of the line between Hamilton and Toronto.

The Grand Trunk prospectus was issued in London after the representatives of five different companies, three of which were not under Government control, had agreed on a scheme of amalgamation which included the construction of the Victoria Bridge. The Government of Canada was not consulted about the details of the amalgamation scheme, and Mr. Ross, the Solicitor-General, acted as President of the Grand Trunk Company, and in concert with those who had assumed the responsibility of procuring the subscriptions to the stock. It appears by the evidence of Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Galt before the Committee of 1857, that he himself, Messrs. Peto & Co., Messrs. Glyn and Baring, Mr. A. M. Ross, the Chief Engineer, the Hon. John Ross, the Hon. George Pemberton, Captain Rhodes and Mr. Forsyth were engaged in the preparation of the prospectus. In reply to a question, Mr. Galt stated that Messrs. Peto & Co. "were the parties whom everyone regarded as responsible for the carrying out of the enterprise." There could have been no misconception as to the position of the Government of Canada with regard to the scheme. It was clearly understood by all the parties concerned that the contracts included the charge for interest and for all expenses of engineering and management during the period of construction, and that the payments were to be made to the contractors not in cash, but in various descriptions of securities which they were bound to take, but which they offered to the public. Among these were the Canadian Government bonds for £3,000 a mile over the recognized Grand Trunk road. Having completed my narrative of the transactions which took place, I shall proceed to advert to Mr. Potter's allegations in his petition to the Quebec Legislature and in his letter to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.

Referring to the prospectus, Mr. Potter declares that it was issued under the auspices of gentlemen holding the highest offices in the Government, and describes "the Chief Ministers of the Crown" as "the Canadian promoters of the line." Can it for one moment be believed that the original subscribers to the stock of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were misled as to the interest which the Canadian Government took in the enterprise? If so, most assuredly they were not misled by the prospectus. The document announced that "the Government and Legislature had incorporated several companies for the construction of the main trunk line of railway throughout the Province," and that "Acts have also been passed authorizing the amalgamation of those companies so as to form one company, under the name of the Grand Trunk Company of Canada," and it distinctly explained how the required capital was to be raised, and the extent of the Government aid in the form of bonds bearing six per cent. interest. The very fact that the London Directors were gentlemen of the highest standing is conclusive against Mr. Potter's allegation that the chief Ministers of the Crown in Canada were "the promoters of the line." Had they been so, an announcement to that effect would certainly have been made in the prospectus.

I have already explained that the amalgamation scheme was never brought under the consideration of the Canadian Government, nor was the prospectus ever seen by a member of that Government until after the Company had been fully organized. Mr. Potter styles the lease of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway "the most onerous of the bargains made by the Company in the leased lines," and he asserts that it was made "by the Canadian promoters of the line, who were the chief Ministers of the Crown." On behalf of the Ministers of the Crown of that period I emphatically deny that we ever suggested such a lease, or ever heard of its being contemplated until the arrangement was made in London by the responsible promoters of the Company. I as strongly deny Mr. Potter's allegation that "the disastrous mistake" of building the line on "an exceptional gauge" is to be imputed to the Ministers of the Crown. That gauge was originally established by the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Company chartered by the Legislature of Maine,

and no doubt with the view of diverting Canadian traffic from Boston and New York to Portland. It was adopted by the St. Lawrence and Atlantic at a time when the Government had no right to interfere, but it would have been easy for the Grand Trunk Company to have changed the gauge at a comparatively trifling expense. Why, it may be asked, was this not done? It is within my own knowledge that all the responsible English promoters including the engineers, decided in favour of the broad gauge, and by doing so led the Government to compel the Great Western and the Northern to adopt the gauge as a condition of obtaining the guarantee. Those Companies may have some right to complain, but assuredly the Grand Trunk has none.

I may remark here that not only the Chief Engineer who directed the whole expenditure, but all the officers, were appointed by the English Board, which has always held the entire management of the Company's affairs. As to the terms of the prospectus with reference to competition and profits, I have to observe that, as already shown, no statement in that document was submitted to or sanctioned by any member of the Government. I shall, however, offer some remarks on both points. It was alleged in the prospectus that "the completeness of the system engrossing the traffic of Canada and the State of Maine precluded injurious competition," and this assertion in a prospectus is deemed by Mr. Potter sufficient ground for appealing to a Canadian Legislature to refuse any kind of assistance, even a charter, if I am not mistaken, to any line of railroad that may compete for any portion of the Grand Trunk traffic. The Grand Trunk Railroad has suffered, no doubt, from competition, but most assuredly the competition with which it has had to contend was never contemplated by the Government which Mr. Potter asserts was the promoter of the enterprise, and which certainly endeavoured to render it assistance. The chief competition has been in the territory west of Toronto, and for a traffic between the Detroit and Niagara rivers. I unhesitatingly assert that no member of the Canadian Government in 1852 ever contemplated rendering aid of any kind to such a traffic. There has likewise been a competition between the Detroit River and Portland via the Grand Trunk, and similar objective points and other ports on the Atlantic sea-board situated some 200 miles nearer. I do not desire, nor have I space to enter into the question of through traffic, but I desire simply to declare that the Grand Trunk Railway was not promoted so far as the guarantee may be deemed a promotion, with any view to such through traffic as I have indicated. I am not aware that up to this time there has been any competition in the State of Maine within the legitimate territory of the Grand Trunk, nor has there been any in Canada. In short, I see no ground for imputing to the framers of the prospectus any error of judgment, although I am persuaded that they never could have meant to convey such an idea as that a territory lying on the opposite sides of such rivers as the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa was to be precluded from having railroad accommodation, lest it should lead to partial competition with one or more sections of the Grand Trunk.

With regard to profits, while I am ready to admit that the Grand Trunk prospectus held out expectations of a very brilliant character, I must likewise maintain that it enabled investors to judge for themselves as to the correctness of the estimate. The working expenses were estimated at 40 per cent., and I have a vivid recollection, after the lapse of nearly twenty-three years, of the impression made on the minds of those who first read the prospectus in Canada. For my own part, I had no practical experience of railway management, but I felt convinced that in a country like Canada, where the expenses of keeping the track open in winter would necessarily be large, the estimate for working expenses was much too low. I was given to understand at the time that the English railway contractors ascribed the high working expenses on the American roads to the inferiority of their construction, and felt assured that they could be kept down to the estimate given in the prospectus. Had the working expenses been put at 60 instead of 40 per cent., the estimated profit would have been a little over 5 instead of $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If I am not mistaken, the actual working expenses are considerably above 70 per cent. The rates of freight I need scarcely observe are very much less now than at the time when the prospectus was issued,

and of course the percentage of working expenses is much higher.

I trust that I have made it clear that English railway contractors, enjoying, and I believe deservedly enjoying, the confidence of English capitalists, spontaneously sought the privilege of constructing our railroads; that they, and they alone, are responsible for "the disastrous mistake" of the gauge, that they and not the Government sought amalgamation with a Company established to compete with the Great Western, then part of the Grand Trunk line, as laid out by the Government; and that by adopting that policy they were the first to countenance competing lines. I ought to state in conclusion that I am persuaded that all the parties to the original amalgamation scheme acted in perfect good faith, which was clearly manifested by the amount of stock taken and held by them. The English contractors, as is well known, had such confidence in the enterprise that they voluntarily relieved the Canadian contractors of an amount of stock which the latter would otherwise have had to assume. I will offer one more suggestion with reference to competition. It is wholly impossible to protect monopolies on this continent, and even if Canada were to favour such a policy, the competition of the United States lines, to which Mr. Potter never alludes, would injure the Grand Trunk more than any likely to be constructed in Canada. In point of fact the Canada Southern, a line which has been most strongly opposed both by the Grand Trunk and the Great Western, will, in my opinion, when its connection shall have been completed, draw more traffic from its southern than from its northern competitors. I have to apologize for the length of this communication, but I trust that the subject will be deemed of sufficient importance to justify the intrusion."

Summary of Grand Trunk Expenditure. In his volume sketching historically the Railways of Canada, Mr. J. M. Trout compiled, in 1871, a short and valuable statement of the expenditure and general financial position of the Grand Trunk Railway. According to his figures, the capital expenditure on the different divisions and over the whole property of that road up to 31st December, 1861, was as follows:

Eastern Division. (362 miles.) Engineering, £112,574 13s. 11d.; Works and Permanent Way, £2,637,970 15s. 11d.; Stations, Buildings and Offices, £236,872 1s. 2d.; Miscellaneous Stock, £14,441 10s. 5d.; Electric Telegraph, £6,304 11s. 6d.; General Expenses, £186,081 1s. 11d.—£3,194,244 14s. 10d.

Central Division. (333 miles.) Engineering, £76,735 15s. 5d.; Works and Permanent Way, £2,949,451 4s. 3d.; Stations, Buildings and Offices, £346,894 4s. 11d.; Miscellaneous Stock, £6,725 17s. 8d.; Electric Telegraph, £5,041 6s. 10d.; General Expenses, £150,221 8s. 3d.—£3,535,059 17s. 4d.

Western Division. (190 miles.) Engineering, £45,291 9s. 10d.; Works and Permanent Way, £1,558,311 0s. 5d.; Stations, Buildings and Offices, £143,723 17s. 10d.; Miscellaneous Stock, £5,089 11s. 6d.; Electric Telegraph, £2,789 15s. 5d.; General Expenses, £31,015 12s. 3d.; Compensation to Contractors, £25,000—£1,811,221 7s. 3d.

Portland (U.S.) Division, Leased Line. (149 miles.) Engineering, £2,209 7s. 9d.; Works and Permanent Way, £193,764 1s. 11d.; Stations, Buildings and Offices, £74,586 12s. 3d.; Miscellaneous Stock, £1,464 15s. 3d.; Electric Telegraph, £1,945 7s. 5d.; General Expenses, £24,378 6s. 0d.; Rolling Stock, £33,236 14s. 7d.; Lands in Portland Division, £1,575 7s. 2d.—£333,160 12s. 4d.

Sundries, including an expenditure of £1,019,791 3s. 11d. upon Rolling Stock, are given as follows: Expended on Works, etc., Detroit Line, £4,353 18s. 0d. Three Rivers and Arthabaska Branch (Advances), £108,762 8s. 10d. Aid to Subsidiary Lines, C. W., £67,350. Port Hope Railway Junction, £824 14s. 1d. St. Lawrence and Champlain Junction, £349 15s. 8d. Montreal Extension Survey, £216 3s. 1d. Intercolonial Railway, £588 17s. 11d. Expended on Steam Ferry Boats, Wharves and Barges, £58,957 15s. 4d. Buildings, etc., at Sarnia, with Survey, £9,631 11s. 4d. Subscriptions to St. Lawrence Warehouse and Dock Company, £25,273 16s. 6d. Discount on Sale of Stocks and Debentures, etc., £422,550 12s. 6d. Less Premium on Sale of Debentures, £67,950 16s. 0d. Expenses of London Office, £24,386 15s. 11d. Victoria Bridge (two miles), £1,356,020 13s. 6d. Lands and Land Damages, £45,692 6s. 9d. The total expenditure

to the end of 1861 was therefore as given in the following table:

	£	s.	d.
Expenditure on 1,034 miles.....	12,086,388	1	1
Additional Expenditure to 30th June, 1870.....	6,654,541	16	3
Total Expenditure.....	18,740,929	17	4

The Hon. John Ross, Senator of Canada, who was so actively connected with the organization and construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, was born in the County of Antrim, Ireland, on the 10th March, 1818, and at the age of three months embarked at Belfast with his parents for Quebec. Young Ross remained under the care of his uncle at Brockville until he was three years of age. His education was derived chiefly from the district school, and he seems to have been noted for the ease and expedition with which he despatched his lessons. At the age of sixteen he became a student-at-law, and upon attaining his majority, in 1839, was called to the Bar. In a short time he became noted as a practitioner in the courts, and in 1850 was made a Q.C. His political career, extending over many years, forms a considerable chapter in the history of Canada. In 1852 Mr. Ross was sent to England to complete the contracts for the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway. He afterwards held office as the first President of the Company. With the aid of Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. T. Galt, who was also one of its early Directors, and others who were earnest in their desire to promote to the utmost the interests of the country so far as they were capable of expansion by the comparatively new science of comprehensive and rapid inter-communication, Mr. Ross took a prominent part in securing the construction of the Victoria Bridge, one of the wonders of the engineering art, and, to the honour of Canada, without a rival in the world for many years. Returning to Canada in 1853, Mr. Ross received the appointment of Attorney-General (after holding the Solicitor-Generalship from November, 1851), and in the following year was elected Speaker of the Legislative Council. In 1858 he was appointed Receiver-General, and on his resignation from that office he became, a few days later, in August of the same year, President of the Executive Council, a position which he retained until his practical retirement from official public life in 1862. He continued to be a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada—to which he had been first appointed in 1848—until Confederation, when he was made one of the first Senators of the Dominion. He died on January 31st, 1871. His life was a comparatively short one, but it was full of enterprise, endeavour and good work. A monument to his memory may be seen in St. James' Cemetery, Toronto; but his most enduring monument will be found

The Hon. John Ross, Senator of Canada.

in the great public undertakings with which his name is so intimately associated, and which, despite mistakes of omission and commission, have been so necessary to the development of the Dominion.

The Grand Trunk and Canadian Waterways. The rivalry of waterways and railways has always been a real and important issue in Canada. In the earlier days, policy and practicability seemed to point to the ultimate triumph of the great

water routes extending from the centre of the continent in Canada to the ocean, and to meet this theory many thought that the passing expenditure upon railways should have been to some extent diverted towards canals and other waterways. From it the canal system arose, and with it the Grand Trunk Railway for a time had to contend. On November 21, 1860, the Canadian Legislature appointed three Commissioners —John Langton, Quebec, J. Lewis Grant, Toronto, and Touissant Trudeau, of Quebec—to enquire into the financial position and management of the Railway. In their Report they deal at length with the situation as it then appeared: Sessional Papers No. 17, Volume 4, 1860. The following extract is of value:

"For more than one-half of its length the Grand Trunk runs parallel to the grandest water communication in the world. This is a fact which cannot be ignored, and upon which the prosperity of Canada and of all interests connected with it, mainly depends. As long as the St. Lawrence flows from the western lakes to the ocean, at certain seasons of the year, and for bulky articles of which the exports of America principally consist, the water must continue to carry them at rates which would be ruinous to a railway. It is useless to fight against nature—we must accept it and endeavour to turn it to the best account. Yet from the inception of the Grand Trunk down to the present time the policy has been to run in competition with the water—to regard it as an enemy rather than as a most efficient ally. With the exception of Toronto, there is not a point from one end of the road to the other where the object has not been, and we believe avowedly, to render communication with the water difficult and inconvenient, to run for more than 300 miles within a mile or two at the most of the navigation, and yet to have no points where the two routes come in contact or can interchange traffic.

A line of rails a mile from the lake shore forms no impediment to the produce of the interior, which seeks a cheap mode of transport, reaching the Lake; but it effectually prevents the Railway from supplying the shipping, or from receiving from it such traffic as the greater rapidity of the rail may induce to prefer that mode of conveyance. Even in Montreal, the principal centre of Canadian trade, where the ocean shipping comes in immediate contact with two lines of inland navigation, the railway has placed itself in a position where it cannot communicate with any of the three. It sought to avoid the water in the hopes of keeping everything to itself, and the consequence is that according to the evidence of Mr. Heward (Ques. 141), wheat in a car at Point St. Charles is worth 5 cents a bushel less than the same wheat would have been on board a propellor in the Lachine Canal, a quarter of a mile off; and as Mr. Heward says that the elevator can unload from the barges per hour what it would take two days and a half to unload from the cars, we arrived at this startling fact—that, in consequence of the deficient accommodation and remote situation of the principal station on the road, wheat intended to be shipped at Montreal is as far advanced, both as far as time and cost are concerned, when lying at Toronto, as it is when it has arrived at Point St. Charles. Under these circumstances it is a matter of small surprise that the railway is not able to compete successfully with the water.

It is not only the water and the facilities for trade that it affords, which the Grand Trunk has avoided; it seems systematically to have placed itself beyond the reach of the business of almost every town which it passes. On the whole length of the line from Sarnia to Montreal, it is only at Guelph and Toronto that the station is in proximity to the town. Even at such an important point as Detroit, U.S.A., the Junction is at temporary sheds, three miles west of the city, and we are informed by Mr. Hopper, one of the conductors, that from the inconvenience of the connection, passengers from the west are with difficulty made to understand that they should not go on to Detroit, to which place they are booked. Whatever may have been the cause of this, whether the desire of the contractors to obtain the station ground at less cost or an expectation of drawing the town around the station—it has exercised a most injurious effect upon the business of the road. Mr. Shanly in his evidence (Ques. 38) speaks of the necessity for erecting sheds at several stations, as from want of storage room the country produce is taken across the track to

adjoining ports. This is a necessary consequence of the location of the stations, and entails an expense upon the Company of providing storage. It is at Montreal that this evil is the most conspicuous, where it has been carefully estimated that no less a sum than $100,000 has been expended during the past season in cartage alone between the station and the city; but to a minor extent it characterizes the whole road. If the Grand Trunk is ever to realize the expectations of its promoters it is an evil which must be remedied at a heavy cost.

This attempt to isolate itself from channels of trade already existing, especially from the navigation, appears to us to be the radical defect in the policy of the Grand Trunk. In the interest of Canada and in its own interests, which are inseparable from those of the Province, it should have laid itself out to run in connection with the water, and not in opposition to it. It should have supplied the water with what the water could carry cheapest, and have been ready to receive from the navigation what the rail could carry most expeditiously. From Sarnia to Toronto, much traffic from the west, especially in preserved meats, where speed is an object, would have sought the rail—perhaps to go through, perhaps to take the water or some other channel as cheapest or as leading more directly to its destination. If it will pay the Northern Railway to take freight from Lake Huron to Toronto by Collingwood, it would pay to take it via Sarnia; but the present discriminative rates are such as to act almost as a prohibition. The rate on a barrel of flour from Sarnia to Toronto, 169 miles, is 35 cents, or rather more than 2 cents per ton per mile, whilst the Company would take it through Detroit to Portland, 854 miles, or even Boston, for 70 cents, or at considerably less than 1 cent per ton per mile."

Walter Shanly, C.E., ex-M.P., has been one of the most distinguished of Canadian Civil Engineers and greatly esteemed for his personal qualities and achievements during his long career in British North America. He was born at the family seat, "The Abbey," Stradbally, Queen's County, Ireland, in 1817. His father emigrated to Canada with his family in 1836, and settled in the county of Middlesex. The son had already received a good classical and professional education and soon found employment as an engineer. From 1843 to 1858 he was Resident Engineer on the Beauharnois and Welland Canals. He was also Engineer of the Ottawa and Prescott Railway from 1851 to 1854, and of the Western Division of the Grand Trunk Railway from Toronto to Sarnia, in 1851-1857. He directed the Ottawa and French River surveys from 1856 to 1858, and was General Traffic Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway from 1858 to 1862. On his retirement from this position a number of the chief officers of the Company entertained him at dinner at the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal, and presented the following Address:

"We, the undersigned officers and men in the service of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, deeply regret that you have thought fit to retire from the high and important office of General Traffic Manager; and it is only in deference to your express desire, that we adopt this simple and unostentatious method of recording the sentiments of affection and esteem with which we regard you. We feel that the character of the man we address demands that we abstain from a single expression which could be considered either adulatory or exaggerated. It is most gratifying to us to know that, although no longer connected with the Company, your interest in the welfare and success of this great Province line will remain unabated. We beg to express our grateful sense of the kindness and consideration which you have invariably shown to all who have been employed under you; and with mingled feelings of admiration and regret we tender you this very inadequate offering, in testimony of our sincere respect and regard."

The Address was handsomely bound in morocco and silver, and was inscribed as being presented on behalf of 3,000 men of the Grand Trunk Railway Company.

Mr. Shanly was followed in the management of the Grand Trunk by Mr. C. J. Brydges, and at the general election in 1863 he was elected for the South Riding of Grenville, which he continued to represent until 1872. He then retired into private life until 1885 when he was again returned for the Riding by acclamation and held his seat

until 1891. He aalwys supported the Conservative party though not taking a prominent part in debates. Mr. Shanly was President of the Mechanics Bank of Montreal and a Director of several commercial companies. One of the greatest achievements of his professional career was the construction of the Hoosac Mountain Tunnel, Massachusetts, in which he was assisted by his brother, Mr. Frank Shanly, C.E. of Toronto.

Capital of the Railway in 1858. The following statement of the share and debenture capital of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada was presented to the Annual Meeting of Shareholders at Toronto and Montreal in 1858:

Share Capital.	Amount Authorized.	Amount Un-issued.	Capital 1858.
Canadian Shares	£683,400	£60,700	£622,700
Grand Trunk (A Series)	1,811,500	20 300	1,791,200
" (B Series)	1,811,500	943,800	867,700
Originally reserved for Canada	558,400	558,400	.....
	£4,864,800	£1,583,200	£3,281,600
Debenture Capital.			
St. Lawrence and Atlantic Bonds	£233,000	.....	£233,000
Quebec and Richmond Bonds	100,000	.....	100,000
Grand Trunk (A Series) Bonds	905,800	.....	905,800
Grand Trunk (B Series) Bonds	905,800	.....	905,800
Grand Trunk Preference Bonds	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000
Grand Trunk 7 per cent. Bonds	1,500,000	.....	1,500,000
Originally reserved for Canada	279,200	279.200	.....
	£10,788,600	£1,862,400	£8,920,200
Deduct from share capital issued, and add to unissued, the amount of Consolidated Stock cancelled by the late 7 per cent. debenture conversion, namely	.....	£500,000	£500,000
	£10,788,600	£2,362,400	£9,426,200

The Financial History of the Grand Trunk. The financial record of the Grand Trunk Railway was elaborately handled by Mr. Charles J. Brydges, then Manager of the Road, in an official communication addressed to Mr. Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada, dated 13th April, 1875—and which was in part as follows:

"The accounts to the 31st December, 1862, subsequently submitted to the shareholders, showed that to date there had been expended £12,000,000, of which £3,112,500 had been provided by the Government of Canada. At the same time a further sum of upwards of £3,000,000 was charged to capital for interest paid to bond and shareholders during the construction of the works, but not one farthing of this amount was ever expended upon the Railway. The only money raised and spent upon the Railway since 1862 was as follows:

Equipment Bonds, under Act of 1862	£ 500,000
2nd Equipment Bonds, authorized in 1867	500,000
Proceeds of £7,500,000 of shares placed at 19 per cent. realizing in cash	1,425,000
Proceeds of £650,000 of debenture stock, under Act of 1874, and issued at about 12 per cent. discount, say	575,000
Total	£3,000,000

The above is the total amount of new capital raised and spent upon the Railway since 1862, only £1,500,000 of which is a liability upon the Company for interest, and the balance was taken simply as a lottery.

The real capital of the Company is therefore to-day, for cash actually expended, £15,000,000 instead of £37,000,000, and of the smaller amount £3,112,500 or upwards of 20 per cent., is provided free of all present cost to the Company by Canada. How far the course pursued by the Grand Trunk Company will affect the future position of the loan may become a very serious and important question. The accounts of the Company for the year 1862 show that they earned a profit from the working of the Railway of upwards of £150,000. The accounts for the year 1874 show that the profit earned had increased to upwards of £460,000, so that the profit in fourteen years had increased in a much larger ratio than the new capital raised and expended.

It is necessary now to consider what the real cost of the Railway has been in cash. Beginning at the west, the contract for building the line from Detroit to Port Huron was £420,000. This

included iron rails, stone and iron bridges, and large station buildings and docks at Detroit and Port Huron. This for 60 miles was £7,000 a mile. The line from Toronto to Sarnia, opposite Port Huron, was called 172 miles, and cost £1,375,000, or nearly £7,500 a mile. This included iron rails, stone and iron bridges, rolling stock, station buildings, and 18 months' interest during construction. The London branch cost for 22 miles, £8,000 a mile, or £176,000. These three lines, aggregating 254 miles, were constructed by Canadian contractors, who never complained that the foregoing sums did not leave them a fair profit on their work.

The next section, from Toronto to Montreal, 333 miles, was built by Peto & Co., at a contract price of £8,000 a mile. It was not such heavy work as the line from Toronto to Sarnia, and it is a fact that the Canadian contractors who built the western sections of 254 miles offered Peto & Co. £1,000 a mile for their contract, which was refused. It is hardly fair after that, and the fact that the contract was for £500 a mile more than the western sections, to talk of the Company having anything to do with any loss which the English contractors may have stated they sustained. The line from Richmond to Quebec was contracted for and built at £8,000 a mile for 96 miles. The Rivière du Loup line cost £8,000 a mile for 118 miles. The Three Rivers line cost £210,000 for 35 miles. The line from Montreal to Portland, 292 miles, was built by local companies, and was assumed and leased by the Grand Trunk Company. The real cost was less than £8,000 a mile. For the lease of the Portland line the Grand Trunk Company assumed very onerous terms, amounting to a rent charge of £105,000 a year.

The Company also leased the Buffalo and Lake Huron line, 161 miles long, the actual cash cost of which did not reach £7,000 a mile, or £1,127,000, for which the Grand Trunk now pay a rental of £166,000 a year, or 6 per cent on its cash cost. The Company also lease the Champlain lines, 83 miles long, which cost about £6,000 a mile, or a total of about £500,000, for which a rent is now paid of about £25,000 a year, or about 5 per cent. on its cost. The Galt branch was also purchased, and has cost, for 13 miles, about £50,000. The Company has also built the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, at a cost of £1,400,000; also the International Bridge at Buffalo, at a cost of less than £300,000. It has provided additional rolling stock, ballasting signals, stations, sidings, and other facilities, at a cost of about £1,500,000. And it has changed its gauge at a cost of about £1,000,000. From the foregoing statements, its cost can be accurately stated as follows:

Detroit Line, 60 miles	£ 420,000
Sarnia and Toronto, 172 miles	1,375,000
London Branch, 22 miles	176,000
Toronto and Montreal, 333 miles	2,664,000
Richmond and Quebec, 96 miles	768,000
Rivière du Loup Line, 118 miles	944,000
Three Rivers' Line, 35 miles	210,000
Portland Line, 292 miles	2,336,000
Buffalo Line, 161 miles	1,127,000
Champlain Line, 83 miles	500,000
Galt Branch, 13 miles	50,000
Victoria Bridge, 2 miles	1,400,000
International Bridge	300,000
Additional Rolling Stock, Sidings, etc.	1,500,000
Change of Gauge	1,000,000
	£14,770,000

This sum of £14,770,000 is the actual cost to the Company, including eighteen months' average interest paid by the contractors during its construction, of the entire line between Rivière du Loup and Detroit. The total length now operated is 1,387 miles, so that the average cash cost per mile is not quite £11,000. That this is correct is proved by the fact that the average cost of the present mileage of 798 miles of the Great Western Railway (including all its branches, as in the case of the Grand Trunk), is not quite £11,000 a mile, with its gauge changed, a superabundant supply of rolling stock and sidings, and its entire line nearly all relaid with steel rails. The cost of the Intercolonial Railway, built by the Government of Canada, with stone and iron bridges throughout, steel rails, and in every respect the best built road upon the continent of America, will be about £8,500 a mile. The real cash cost of the Grand Trunk Railway is therefore more than represented by the sum above named of nearly £15,000,000. It could be built in first-class shape to-day for less than that

amount. Of the actual cost of £14,770,000, £3,112,500 was advanced to the Company by the Government, leaving the actual cash outlay of the proprietors of the Company as £11,657,500, or, in round figures, say £12,000,000."

Sir Joseph Hickson, President of the Grand Trunk Railway, was born at Otterburn, Northumberland, England, in the year 1830, and received his education in his native county. He was yet a lad when he entered the service of the North-Eastern Railway of England, in which he gained his first knowledge of railway operations—destined to stand him in such good stead in after years. After being some time with this Company, he left to fill a position of trust on the Maryport and Carlisle Railway, in which he served with credit till 1851, when he went to Manchester and took service with the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, in which his promotion was very rapid. Ten years afterwards he became assistant to the General Manager of the Road, and while in this position attracted the attention of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Watkin, then Commissioner, and afterwards Chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. Mr. Watkin was even at that time one of the railway magnates of the day. Mr. Hickson was by him appointed to the important position of chief accountant of the Grand Trunk in December, 1861, and accordingly left England for Canada in January, 1862, coming to Montreal, where he continued to reside until his death. His career from that date was one of uninterrupted personal success. He soon became secretary and treasurer of the Company, and this position he filled until the resignation of Mr. C. J. Brydges as Managing Director of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1874, when he succeeded him in the post of General Manager of the system.

In his new position, Mr. Hickson found himself restricted by external control, but within the limitations of his power he speedily made his policy felt. One of his first acts was to sell to the Federal Government the line between Point Levis and Rivière du Loup, and with the proceeds of this he changed the old gauge to that of the American lines—four feet eight and a half inches—and effected the connection between Sarnia and Chicago. This was considered a good stroke of policy at the time, because it opened up a new field of effort and enterprise to the Company and marked the beginning of that policy of affiliation and connection which resulted, before Sir Joseph threw down the reins of office, in an immense system, embracing five thousand miles of track in the United States and Canada. As General Manager he continued until 1890, when he retired from the arduous position after receiving early in that year the honour of knighthood at the hands of Her Majesty in recognition of the ability he had displayed in the management of a great Canadian railway, and for the valuable services he had rendered to this country in the way of developing its industries and resources. During the period of Sir Joseph Hickson's management, the Grand Trunk Railway made rapid strides, forming connections that were of infinite value, not only to the Company itself, but to Canada at large. The most marked of these was the establishment of a direct line to Chicago wholly under Grand Trunk control. By this masterstroke of policy, the best paying portion of freight carried by the Grand Trunk Railway was secured, at the same time giving to the Canadian steamship Companies some of the most valuable freight which they carry across the Atlantic. This extension to Chicago, on which the astute manager had had his eye for years, gave to the Grand Trunk a direct interest in the American system of railways. Under his charge, the mileage of the Grand Trunk system increased from 1,383 miles to 3,487, which fact speaks volumes for the enterprising spirit of its manager. That great engineering undertaking, the St. Clair tunnel, owes much to Sir Joseph Hickson. There were many obstacles in the way of this latter undertaking, enough to daunt any ordinary man, but Sir Joseph, who had already discerned the great advantages which would arise from the rapid transit of the St. Clair River, cared but little for obstacles. They were made, he thought, for the purpose of being surmounted, and surmount them he did. The tunnel was completed in 1890 at a cost of three million dollars. When in 1881, Sir Joseph Hickson paid a visit to England, the Company presented him with a service of gold and silver plate, to the value of £2,500, as a token of the esteem in which his services were held by

the shareholders. He was a Justice of the Peace for Montreal, and was interested in several banking, manufacturing and industrial enterprises, being a Director of some of them. He was appointed by the Dominion Government President of the Royal Commission on the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Sir Joseph Hickson never identified himself with any political party, the good of the country at large and his own business being all he cared for. As a prominent citizen of Montreal, and one who took an unostentatious part in everything that has tended for the advancement of the city and the citizens, his loss was greatly felt when death came in January, 1897.

Presidents and Officials of the Road. The Directors of the Grand Trunk Railway Company elected in London at the annual meeting in 1897 included Sir Charles Rivers-Wilson, G.C.M.G., C.B., President of the Company, and Mr. Joseph Price, Vice-President, together with Messrs. George Allen, George Von Chauvin, Alexander Hubbard, John Alan Clutton-Brock, Lewis J. Seargeant, Colonel Frederick Firebrace, R.E., Sir Henry Mather Jackson, Bart., Mr. Alfred W. Smithers, Lord Welby of Allington, G.C.B., and Sir W. Lawrence Young, Bart. The Chairmen of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada have been as follows:

Appointment.	Name.
1853.....	The Hon. John Ross, M.L.C.
1862.....	Sir Edward W. Watkin, Bart.
1869.....	Mr. Richard Potter.
1876.....	Sir Henry W. Tyler, M.P.
1895.....	Sir C. Rivers-Wilson, G.C.M.G.

Of the men connected with the history of the Road many interesting notes may be found in Myles Pennington's compilation entitled "Railways and other Ways"—a collection of facts drawn from many years of personal railway experience and published in 1894 in Toronto. The Earl of Elgin, then Governor-General, Sir Francis Hincks, Sir Alexander T. Galt, Sir George E. Cartier, the Hon. John Young, the Hon. James Ferrier, Sir Casimer Gzowski, and the Engineers—T. C. Keefer, C.M.G., and Walter Shanly—were all connected with the Railway, directly or indirectly. Of many others who might be mentioned Mr. Benjamin Holmes, M.P.P., of Montreal, was one of the most active in its organization and became its first Vice-President. He was well known as a former General Manager of the Bank of Montreal, was a man of great determination of character, an energetic public speaker, and one who took a prominent part in Parliamentary elections. A less pleasing matter was his advocacy of annexation to the United States in 1849. He continued in office as Vice-President for some years, and on retiring was appointed Collector of Customs for the Port of Montreal—an office which he retained until his death. Mr. Pennington tells us concerning this latter event that on going into the Collector's office one day he found Mr. Holmes sitting in his chair with pen in hand and an unfinished manuscript before him—he had died at his post.

Charles John Brydges was born near London, England, in 1827, and began work at fifteen years of age as clerk in a merchant's office. A year later he secured appointment to a junior clerkship in the office of the London and South Western Railway Company, and ten years afterwards had risen to the post of Assistant Secretary. In 1852 he was appointed Managing Director of the Great Western Railway of Canada, which was just nearing completion. He came to Canada in 1853, and took up his residence in Hamilton, the headquarters of the Company, where he showed great skill and tact in his appointment and management of those under him. In 1854 the whole Great Western Railway, from Suspension Bridge to Windsor, was completed, and was immediately crowned with success, the dividend in the third year being eight per cent. Many friends of the Company favoured the building of a southern branch along Lake Erie. This proposal, though sustained by the Directors in England, Mr. Brydges firmly and successfully resisted. There was a long and bitter struggle over the question, and numerous virulent attacks were made upon the management of the line as a result.

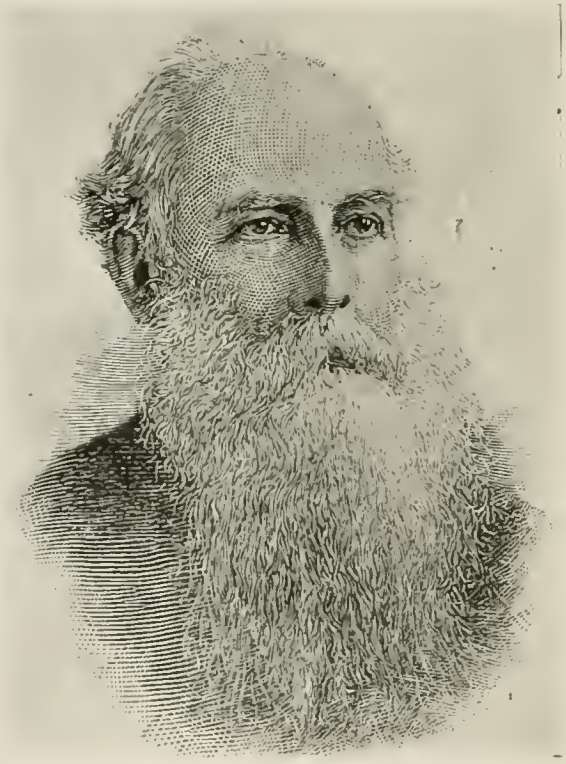
A Committee was finally sent out from England to investigate the matter. Their report, though not sustaining the complaints made against the General Manager, was considered so unfair as to

be rejected, and Mr. Brydges was sustained by a large majority in England, and when he returned to Canada was tendered a banquet by his admirers. During this time also his powers as a writer were frequently tested, and in this direction he displayed the same tact and ability as in his personal management. The amalgamation of the Great Western and Grand Trunk Companies next became the topic of discussion, and this Mr. Brydges favoured, as well as Mr. Watkin, of the Grand Trunk. In 1861, the amalgamation proposals received the approval of the two Companies in a preliminary agreement, and from this time until September, 1862, Mr. Brydges managed both lines. Eventually, however, the arrangements fell through, and he resigned the Great Western position and remained as Managing Director of the Grand Trunk. This post he held until 1874. The amalgamation of the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railways with the Grand Trunk was finally effected with the sanction of the Canadian Parliament in 1866. The leasing of the Buffalo Suspension Bridge by the Grand Trunk Railway was another of the bold projects by which Mr. Brydges endeavoured to place his Company in the front rank amongst the railway enterprises of the continent. He was one of the four Commissioners appointed in 1868 to superintend the construction of the Intercolonial Railway—the Government road from Levis, P.Q., to the Atlantic seaboard. In 1879 Mr. Brydges became Land Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company at Winnipeg. He died in 1889.

Thomas Coltrin Keefer, C.E., C.M.G., was born at Thorold, Ontario, in 1821. He was educated at Upper Canada College during 1833-1838, and in the latter year commenced to practise the profession of Engineering on the Erie Canal in New York State. Later on he became division Engineer of the "Welland Canal, and in 1845 was appointed Chief Engineer of the Ottawa River Works. When these were finished in 1848, the position was of course abolished, and during the following year Mr. Keefer was employed in writing the "Philosophy of Railroads," which was afterwards translated into French. He also, at this time, won the prize offered by Lord Elgin for the best Essay on "The Influence of the Canals of Canada on her Agriculture." In 1850 he again entered the Government service in connection with the surveys for the navigation of the rapids of the St. Lawrence above Montreal and the connection by rail or canal of the St. Lawrence and the St. John Rivers by way of Lake Temiscouta. During the following winter he was sent to Boston to assist the United States Consul at St. John, N.B., in his first report in relation to a Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, and two years later he was called to New York for a similar purpose. In 1851 Mr. Keefer was appointed to make the preliminary surveys for the Grand Trunk Railway and for the Railway Bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal. As the winner of the prize Essay on Canals he was named by Lord Elgin one of the Canadian Commissioners for the first International Exhibition at London in 1851. During the same year he gave evidence before Parliament in favour of the gauge of New York and New England as the proper one for Canadian railways, and this ultimately led to the abandonment of the Canadian gauge.

Two eminent American engineers had in 1846 reported upon the question of bridging the St. Lawrence at Montreal above the city, and their plan would have required a very long super-structure and have involved a considerable *detour* to reach the Portland Railway. In his Report upon the subject Mr. Keefer chose the narrower site at Point St. Charles and proposed to shorten the super-structure by half a mile of solid embankment at each end. He also advocated raising the bridge over the navigable channel and approaching this with an ascending grade from either shore. The bridge was finally constructed on the principle laid down in Mr. Keefer's Report. In 1853 he was appointed Engineer to the Montreal Harbour Commissioners and has also constructed water works for the cities of Montreal, Hamilton and Ottawa, and has been consulted with respect to those at Quebec, Toronto, Halifax, St. Catharines, London and Dartmouth, N.S. He has also filled the position of Chief Engineer to many railways in Upper and Lower Canada, and has been engaged in harbour and bridge engineering in several Provinces. Immediately after Canada had extinguished the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company in the

North-West, Mr. Keefer commenced a series of letters in the press to prove that this step fully committed the country to a Canadian Pacific Railway, and during the following year (1870) he brought about a Convention of Municipalities in the Ottawa Valley to discuss the proposed Canada Central Railway, at which he said that if Confederation was to be extended across the Continent a continuous railway on Canadian soil was indispensable, and he "sincerely believed the enterprise they were met to consider was the beginning of a Canadian Pacific Railway." Mr.



Sir Henry W. Tyler.

Keefer was appointed a Canadian Executive Commissioner at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 and was named a member of the International Jury for Architecture and Engineering, while one of the higher grades of the Legion of Honour was conferred on him. He was created a C.M.G. by the Queen in the same year. He was one of the most active promoters of the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers in 1887, and was afterwards its President. In 1888 he was elected President of the American Society of Civil Engineers and was chosen a Member of the Royal Society of Canada in 1891. In 1895 he was appointed a member of the International Commission on Deeper Waterways between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic.

Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, ex-M.P., was born in London, England, in 1827, and was educated at the Military Academy, Woolwich. He entered the Royal Engineers as Lieutenant in 1844, became Captain in 1853, and in the same year was appointed an Inspector of Railways. In 1867 he withdrew from the Royal Engineers, and in 1870 was appointed Chief Inspector of Railways. As Chairman of the English Channel Tunnel Commission, he signed in 1874, with his colleagues, a formal convention for building a tunnel under the Straits of Dover, connecting France with England. This scheme, which he advocated for years with great earnestness, did not, however, come to anything as a result of the strenuous opposition offered on national and patriotic grounds. In 1877 he resigned the position of Chief Inspector of Railways, and sat in the House of Commons for Harwich from 1880 to 1885. From the latter date until 1892 he represented Great Yarmouth. He was President of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada for nineteen years, from 1876 to 1895, and was one of the chief promoters of the St. Clair tunnel. He was specially employed at one time to inspect the railway ports of Italy, and he was also employed to report on the best means and route for promoting Eastern communications. He was knighted in 1877 for his services to the railway interests of England, and partly, perhaps, because of his position as President of the Grand Trunk.

Sir Samuel Morton Peto, Bart., was born at Woking, Surrey, in 1809. He was apprenticed for seven years to his uncle, who was a builder, and at his death, in 1830, the apprenticeship having expired, he succeeded to the business in partnership with another nephew. They constructed many buildings of importance and railway works. In 1845 the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Peto retaining the railway contracts and his partner the building contracts. Among the works taken over by him were a large portion of the South Eastern Railway, the Eastern Counties

Railway and the London and South-Western Railway. He also, in 1854, constructed the Norwegian Grand Trunk Line and the Royal Danish Line, and upon the opening of the latter he received from the King of Denmark the Order of the Dannebrog. In 1846 E. L. Betts had been taken into partnership, and together they constructed many important English lines. In connection with Thomas Brassey they executed lines of railway in Australia, the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, including the Victoria Bridge, and others. During the Crimean War, Mr. Peto undertook the construction of a line of railway from Balaklava to the entrenchments, and in return for this service to the State he received a patent of baronetcy in 1855. Bloomsbury Chapel was built for the Baptists at his personal expense. He entered Parliament as Liberal Member for Norwich in 1847, and again in 1852, and retired in 1854. From 1859 to 1865 he represented Finsbury, and from 1865 to 1868 was Member for Bristol. In the latter year he retired, owing to the unfortunate bankruptcy of his firm, from which Mr. Brassey had previously withdrawn. He was the author of "Taxation, its Levy and Expenditure," and the "Resources and Prospects of America." For some time he lived at Eastcote House, Pinner, and then at Blackhurst, Tunbridge Wells, where he died in 1889.

The Grand Trunk and the St. Clair Tunnel. The St. Clair River connecting Lakes Huron and St. Clair is a most fickle river, with a current whose strength and action is always varying in accordance with the direction of the wind, and in such a way as to make its navigation very uncertain. This is especially the case in winter when ice is liable to be driven down from Lake Huron and to cause serious obstruction. Hence the need of the tunnel which now takes the place of the flying ferries, steam tugs and car barges which used to be the medium of communication between the Grand Trunk on the Canadian and American sides of the river. The Railway can now run its cars straight through to Chicago without any break or interruption by means of the St. Clair Tunnel connecting Sarnia in Ontario with Port Huron in the State of Michigan. When it is remembered that the River St. Clair in its deepest spot is forty feet, and its width about half a mile, and that it forms the channel through which three great lakes—Huron, Michigan and Superior—empty their surplus waters into Lake Erie, it will be seen that the enterprise of boring and constructing the tunnel was one of a serious nature, and that its successful completion and operation confers signal honour upon Mr. Joseph Hobson, its Chief Engineer. The responsibility attaching to such a project was of course very great, and it remains a lasting monument to the President, Sir Henry W. Tyler, and to the General Manager, Sir Joseph Hickson, who jointly inaugurated and provided the means for carrying out a work of much value to both Canada and the United States.

The St. Clair Tunnel Company was formed, and in the autumn of 1886 operations were begun by sinking test shafts on both sides of the river to a depth of ninety-two feet on the American side and ninety-eight feet on the Canadian side. The shafts were four by eight feet, built of pine timbers one foot square, with a solid stay across the centre. At the bottom, drifts were extended under the river at right angles to the shafts, on the Canadian to a distance of a hundred and fifty feet, and on the American side of thirty feet. The Company decided to build under the river first from huge shafts on each shore. The work was commenced in 1888. The shafts were twenty-three feet in diameter, with brick walls two feet six inches in thickness. The walls were built on a cast-iron circular shoe with a knife edge, which kept sinking as the excavation was going on below, and the bricks were built above. The whole mass of brick was to sink gradually with its own weight into the excavation. The work, however, did not produce the results anticipated, and several failures occurred. The plan was changed, and it was decided to drive the tubes through from the extremities. The machinery, plant, and equipment were moved one thousand eight hundred feet inland on the American side and one thousand nine hundred feet on the Canadian shore. Two great spoon-shaped excavations were made, one at each shore, and operations on these cuttings began in January, 1889. The tunnel was completed in 1890, at a cost of nearly three million dollars. Its length

is 6,026 feet, of which 2,290 feet are under the water and the remainder under dry land. The length of the tunnel under dry land on the Canadian side is 1,994 feet, on the American side 1,716 feet. The tunnel was opened for traffic in1891, and, as a specimen of engineering skill, it ranks among the great scientific achievements of the century.

The Grand Trunk and the Victoria Bridge. When some years before the commencement of the Victoria Bridge, the Hon. John Young, of Montreal, first conceived the idea of bridging the St. Lawrence, his project was received with ridicule, and generally considered impossible. However, by perseverance he finally gained his point, and orders were issued by the Engineer of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway to make the necessary surveys, plans and estimates. After the formation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company in 1852 a minute survey was again made, and from this survey the first site for the bridge was chosen, starting from Point St. Charles and crossing at right angles to the axis of the river. The contractors for the building of the bridge were Messrs. Peto, Brassey, Betts & Company, and the plans were supplied by Messrs. George Stephenson and A. M. Ross, while Mr. James Hodges superintended the work. All the iron came from England, each piece marked for its place, the stone mostly from Pointe Claire. It was erected in strong tubular form, resting on heavy stone abutments calculated to withstand the spring ice crushes. Owing to the ice in the river, the whole of the temporary staying in the earlier part of the work had to be removed, and construction carried on from May till November only. In 1858 the Grand Trunk Railway Company found that the Victoria Bridge was so necessary to their traffic that they offered a bonus of $300,000 to the contractors if the work could be finished a year earlier than had been promised. By a great effort this was done, and on the 17th of December, 1859, the bridge was open for traffic. The formal opening did not take place till the following year, when the Prince of Wales was present. The estimated cost of the work was $7,000,000. This was afterwards reduced to $6,500,000, including the bonus of $300,000 for completing it a year in advance of the time specified. This contract price may be placed under the following heads:

First. The approaches and abutments, which together extended to 3,000 feet in length, amounted in the estimate to	$1,000,000
Second. The masonry forming the piers, which occupied the intervening space of 7,000 feet between the abutments, including all dams and appliances for their erection	4,000,000
Third. The wrought-iron tubular superstructure, 7,000 feet in length, which amounted to about $285.70 per lineal foot	2,000,000
Total	$7,000,000

The following interesting details of the Bridge —the greatest of the kind in the world at that time and for many years—are extracted from "A Glance at Victoria Bridge and the Men who Built It," by Mr. Charles Legge, C.E., of Montreal:

First stone, No. 1 Pier, laid 20th July, 1854.
First passenger train passed over 17th December, 1859.
Total length of bridge, 9,184 feet lineal.
Number of spans, 25—or 24 of 242 feet, and one of 330 feet.
Height from surface of water to under side of centre tube, 60 feet.
Height from bed of river to top of centre tube, 108 feet.
Greatest depth of water, 22 feet.
General rapidity of current, seven miles an hour.
Cubic feet of masonry, 3,000,000.
Cubic feet of timber, in temporary work, 2,250,000.
Cubic yards of clay used in puddling dams, 146,000.
Tons of iron in tubes, say, 8,250.
Number of rivets, 2,500,000.
Length of abutments, 242 feet each.
Length of north approach, 1,344 feet.
Length of south approach, 1,033 feet.

The force of men employed in construction during the summer of 1858 (the working season extending from the middle of May to the middle of November) was made up of 500 sailors on 72 barges and six steamboats, 450 men in the stone quarries, and 2,090 men on the works.

The Prince of Wales and the Bridge. The opening of the Victoria Bridge by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on May 25th, 1860, was an interesting and important event. The Royal party arrived at the Bridge station at about one o'clock and were met by the Hon. John Ross, President of the Executive Council of Canada and President of the Grand Trunk Railway; Mr. T. E. Blackwell, Vice-President of the Railway, and various Members of the Executive Council of the Canadas. Mr. Ross presented His Royal Highness with the following Address:

"The Directors of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada beg leave to offer to Your Royal Highness a respectful welcome to the Province. The Canadian Parliament has made the completion of the Victoria Bridge the occasion on which to invite our most gracious Sovereign to visit her Canadian possessions; and, in welcoming Your Royal Highness to Canada as her representative, they have referred, with just pride, to this great work as evidence of the results achieved through the union of British capital and skill with Canadian enterprise and progress. The Victoria Bridge, as Your Royal Highness is aware, has been constructed in the face of the greatest engineering difficulties. It is the connecting link of eleven hundred miles of railway, extending from the extreme western limits of Canada, nearly to its eastern boundary, and also affording an outlet to Provincial trade to the Atlantic when the rigour of our climate closes the natural channel by the St. Lawrence.

This great national highway has been carried through by a vast outlay of British capital fostered by the most wise policy and generous aid of the Canadian Parliament; and as now completed, will develop and promote not only the interchange of commerce and intercourse between the various districts of this widely-extended Province, but will also secure to it a large share of the rapidly-increasing trade of the West. Canada now possesses a complete system of railway communication, combined with an internal navigation of unrivalled extent; and, in your future progress in the West, Your Royal Highness will observe the best evidence of the wisdom and energy which have thus been applied to the development of the resources of this great Province.

The Directors have now to express their profound gratitude to their most gracious Sovereign, and to Your Royal Highness for your consideration in honouring this enterprise with your presence; and they pray that Your Royal Highness will now be pleased finally to inaugurate the completion of the Victoria Bridge, and thus to permit the greatest engineering work of modern days to be associated with the auspicious occasion of the first visit of the Heir Apparent of the Throne to Her Majesty's loyal Province of Canada."

To this Address the Prince made the following appropriate reply:

"It is with mingled feelings of gratification at the duty which I am called upon to undertake and admiration of the magnificent spectacle of successful science which is before me, that I proceed to comply with your invitation, and, in the name of the Queen, to inaugurate a work as unsurpassed by the grandeur of Egypt or Rome as it is unrivalled by the inventive genius of these days of ever-active enterprise. I regret that the great man whose name is now doubly enrolled in that page of my country's history in which its worthies are inscribed, has not lived to see this day. I regret that ill-health prevents the presence of another who laboured with him to plan and execute this vast design; but to them, and to the eminent firm and those employed by them in carrying out the works, no less than to your countrymen whose energetic exertions first gave birth to the scheme of which this Bridge is the consummation, the thanks of the great community of North America are due.

Your Sovereign has testified her appreciation of the magnitude and importance of the enterprise, by deputing me to come so far to commemorate on the spot, on her behalf, the completion of a monument of engineering skill, which will henceforth bear her name, and convey to future generations another proof in addition to the many which exist of the successful industry of the great people committed by Providence to her rule. May this ceremony be auspicious to all concerned. May the Railway and this Bridge, which is its connecting link, realize all the expectations of its promoters, and continue throughout the great future of this Province a source of permanent and ever-increasing prosperity."

Amongst those present on the occasion were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of St. Germans, the Governor-General (Sir Edmund W. Head), Admiral Milne, Major (afterwards Sir C. C.) Teesdale, Lord Lyons, British Ambassador at Washington, Commodore Seymour, Dr. Fulford, Bishop of Montreal, Dr. Mathieson, the Hon. John Young, Sir Allan McNab, Mr. Walter Shanly, Sir William Logan and Sir Henry Smith. In connection with the reference of the Prince of Wales to the Engineers of the Victoria Bridge, it is important to note that much credit is due to Mr. T. C. Keefer and Mr. A. M. Ross as well as to Mr. Stephenson. In his "Railways and Other Ways," Mr. Myles Pennington, who was connected officially with the Grand Trunk for many years, says that Mr. Ross had been associated with various railways and other public works in England before he came to Canada on behalf of the English capitalists in 1852. On his arrival at Quebec, he had met the late Hon. John Young, Chief Commissioner of Public Works. It was then that Mr. Young pointed out to Mr. Ross the importance to the proposed railway of bridging the St. Lawrence. The two gentlemen afterwards went to Montreal to inspect the locality for a bridge, and Mr. Ross suggested an "iron tubular bridge," and returned to England in the autumn of 1852, carrying with him certain soundings and plans of the bridge. In August, 1853, a complimentary dinner was given to Robert Stephenson at Montreal. On that occasion he said: "I cannot sit down without referring to the all-important subject of a bridge over your magnificent river. Abundance of information was brought to me in England by my esteemed friend Ross during the last visit he paid to that country, so that I was able to get a good notion of what the bridge was to be before I came out here. The first idea was certainly rather startling. I had been here twenty-five years before, and the St. Lawrence seemed to me like the sea, and I certainly never thought of bridging it. . . . I assure you I appreciate your kindness most amply, and one of the proudest days of my life will be that when I am called on to confer with the engineers of the Grand Trunk Railway on bridging the St. Lawrence."

It will thus be seen that, while Robert Stephenson was the consulting engineer for the great work, to Alexander M. Ross must be given much credit in the carrying out of the undertaking. According to Mr. Pennington, the latter had great ability, but was a man of few words and of a rather sombre disposition, although when among friends he could throw off this reserve and be as cheerful as any one. Mr. James Hodges, the bridge builder for the contractors, seems to have acted in thorough harmony with Mr. Ross, and they spent many hundreds of days and nights in discussing the "ways and means" of carrying out the gigantic undertaking. Robert Stephenson died before the Bridge was opened, and a relative of his attempted to detract from the well-earned fame of Mr. Ross in this connection. The Hon. John Young came nobly to the front in his defence, but the mischief was done, and the attack seems to have had so painful an effect upon the mind of Mr. Ross as to have been one of the main causes of his death shortly afterwards.

Mr. Pennington, perhaps, is hardly fair to the Canadian designer. While Mr. Ross had so much to do with the practical engineering work of the Bridge, there seems no doubt that Mr. Keefer was the originator of the design upon which it was constructed. This fact, however, need not detract from the value of the former's personal labours, nor does it limit the importance of Mr. Stephenson's professional advice and experience.

The story may be briefly told. In 1846 the Hon. Mr. Young had obtained surveys of the St. Lawrence, in order to see if it were possible to erect a bridge. The surveys were carried on by engineers of experience, but one of them reported that the scheme of bridging the river at Point St. Charles was impracticable. At the same time he reported the feasibility of building a bridge over Nun's Island. In 1851, Mr. Young obtained another survey of the St. Lawrence for the same purpose, conducted by Mr. Thomas C. Keefer, whose talents were even then well known in the Province. The result of this survey was given in a Report published immediately afterwards, in which Mr. Keefer demonstrated the practicability of erecting the bridge in the place where it now stands. The plans on which the bridge should be constructed were also laid down. It was recommended that it should be a solid rail-

way bridge, and that it should be erected high over navigation, instead of having drawbridges. A certain distance was to intervene between the piers. It was to be for railway traffic alone; and lastly, and what was of greatest importance, solid approaches should be constructed to diminish the waterway, and to guard against the crush of ice. The bridge was afterwards constructed mainly upon the lines of this Report, although, through changes which took place in the management of the Grand Trunk Railway, the undertaking was transferred to English hands, and the work was placed in charge of other persons. The Company practically acknowledged Mr. Keefer's claims, as they paid him a certain sum for his Report, and also for his services, while in various American railway journals credit was given to him upon several occasions in the same connection.

Mr. T. C. Keefer and the Victoria Bridge. In connection with the claims of Mr. T. C. Keefer, C.M.G., to a share in the credit of designing the Victoria Bridge, the following letter re-published in the Toronto *Globe* of December 29th, 1859, and addressed to the Hamilton *Spectator* on December 26th, is of historical value:

"Sir: In your notice of the Victoria Bridge in to-day's paper, some of the statements respecting my connection with the work are more unqualified than I could wish them to be. My location of the bridge was not precisely where it now stands, but a little lower down. The subsequent alteration, which did not involve any principle, was made by another Canadian engineer, Mr. Samuel Keefer, after the contract had been executed. Point St. Charles, being the nearest point above the harbour and the most convenient to the city, is the site which would, at first, naturally suggest itself to any engineer as the place for the bridge, and but little importance would have been attached to the question of location had it not been for the fact that two American engineers of high standing had previously located bridge lines higher up the river, upon Nun's Island; and one of them had expressed the opinion that any attempt to bridge the river at Point St. Charles would, in consequence of the action of the ice, be attended with great risk, if not prove a total failure. I took a different view, and a great part of my Report is taken up in demonstrating that the danger was more apparent than real, and in endeavouring to prove that a b idge at Point St. Charles could successfully resist the ice. My reasoning was sustained by Mr. Stephenson, and the bridge was placed upon the forbidden territory.

I did not fix the bridge at the present high level (which is about 55 feet above high water over a part of the channel), but at a higher one, because I did not suppose any encroachment upon the navigation would be permitted. This was before the Grand Trunk era, and I had underestimated the strength of railway influence in our Parliament and Executive. The other specifications of my plan in your article—as to the solid approaches, exclusion of common travel, and distance between piers—are correct. But there is an error in the type, where I am made to say that the bridge should be of iron if it be undertaken as a "natural" work. It should be national. In addition to these four distinctive features of my plan, which with the site, were adopted by Mr. Stephenson, my Report also showed the inapplicability of the suspension principle to this place. There was at that time a strong but indiscriminate feeling in favour of suspension bridges, as, by affording wider spans, offering less obstruction to the ice; and this principle was then about to go into operation for railway purposes at Niagara. To this day opinions are divided upon this point, many believing, after the successful working at Niagara, that greater safety for the structure and greater economy would have been attained by adopting the suspension principle for the Victoria Bridge, without reflecting that while this plan is on all grounds the most suitable for the peculiar conditions at Niagara, it would have been the most unsuitable and expensive (even if practicable) at Montreal.

The lamented death of Stephenson has deprived me of that final and explicit acknowledgment of my labours which would have been given had he lived. In a letter, the publication of which was authorized by him, it is stated that the data on which his calculations were made were chiefly supplied by me. On more than one occasion since 1853, in his reports and speeches,

he has alluded to my Report in flattering terms. Upon this testimony, and the text of my Report, which speaks for itself, I am content my claim should rest.

(Signed) THOMAS C. KEEFER."

An English View of the Grand Trunk. In dealing with the life of Mr. Thomas Brassey, who had so important a share in the building of the Road, Sir Arthur Helps (1872) wrote an interesting account of its origin and construction from which the following extracts may be taken:

"The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was one of the most important undertakings in which Mr. Brassey was ever concerned. This railway supplies a means of inter-communication through the valley of the St. Lawrence during the whole of the year, an advantage which, owing to the river being frozen over for at least six months annually, had previously been enjoyed only during the summer. Even during this season when the navigation is open, the means of transport, by water, are imperfect. Sea-going vessels, of 700 to 800 tons burden, could proceed safely as far as Lake Ontario; but the limited dimensions of the Welland Canal make it necessary that the produce from Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior should be conveyed to Lake Ontario in smaller vessels not exceeding 300 tons burden. The Grand Trunk Railway was intended to obviate the necessity for this transhipment of cargo.

The first conception of this vast undertaking is due to the Honourable Francis Hincks, and the Honourable John Ross who was for some time the Speaker of the Canadian House of Assembly. During the summer of 1852, at the request of the Provincial Government of Canada, Messrs. Peto, Brassey, and Betts undertook an examination of that country, with a view to the development of a complete system of railways. The execution of this task was entrusted to Mr. William Jackson (who was afterwards associated with the contractors in their undertaking) and to Mr. Alexander Ross as Civil Engineer. With the information thus obtained, a complete scheme for the Grand Trunk system of railways, including the Victoria Bridge, was prepared and introduced to the public under the auspices of Mr. Thomas Baring and Mr. George Carr Glyn, the Agents in England for Canada.

Mr. Robert Stephenson subsequently acted as Consulting Engineer to the Company, Mr. Alexander Ross being the Company's Engineer for the whole undertaking. Mr. Ross designed all the important works of art; the rest of the engineering being done by the contractors under him; the agents carrying out their work without any superior control. The railway was divided into four districts, the agents in command of these districts being on an equal footing with one another. They were in the habit of having consultations; but were not placed under the authority of any Engineer-in-Chief. Mr. Rowan, professionally educated as a civil engineer, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Reikie, and Mr. Tait were the respective agents.

In considering the difficulties which attend any railway enterprise, the first thing to be noticed is the nature of the ground through which the railway has to pass. Another difficulty, however, may be occasioned by the nature of the adjacent country. In the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, this second difficulty must have been very great, when it is remembered that the conditions of the country through which the railway had to pass were such that a third of it passed through cultivated ground, and the other two-thirds through forests. It may easily be imagined what difficulties this created in the way of housing men, procuring provisions, and bringing these provisions within reach for daily consumption."

Thomas Brassey was born in 1805 near Aldford, in Cheshire, England, and was educated at Chester until the age of sixteen, when he was articled to Mr. Lawton, a land surveyor and agent, who afterwards took him into partnership, and established him as the head of a branch business at Birkenhead. He received his first railway contract in 1834, the Penkridge Viaduct between Stafford and Wolverhampton, on the completion of which he was engaged by Mr. Locke to help him on the London and Southampton Railway. From that time Mr. Locke endeavoured to secure his co-operation in all the large undertakings he had in hand. In 1847 Mr. Brassey constructed

the Great Northern Railway, one of his most important enterprises. On the completion of this, a subscription of £2,000 was raised, with which sum full-length portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Brassey were painted and presented to them, besides a handsome silver-gilt shield which was exhibited in the Exhibition of 1851. From 1850 to 1853 he was engaged in building railways in Italy, the chief of which were the Turin and Novara Railways, the Turin and Susa, the Buffalora Extension Railway, etc. He was next engaged, in conjunction with Messrs. Betts & Peto in the contract for the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, which was begun in 1852, Mr. Robert Stephenson being Consulting Engineer to the Company, and Mr. Alexander M. Ross the Company's Engineer for the whole undertaking. In 1853 he paid a visit to Canada in order to look over the field of operations. Among his other works may be mentioned the Crimean Railway, 1854, in conjunction with Messrs. Betts & Peto, the Victoria Docks, London, the East London Railway, various Danish railways, the Argentine Railway, for which he was chief engineer, and certain Moldavian and Indian railways. The last contract upon which he was engaged was the Wolverhampton and Walsall Railway. Mr. Brassey accumulated enormous wealth, and was said to have died worth some £7,000,000. His eldest son, Lord Brassey, is now (1897) Governor of Victoria, Australia. For fuller particulars, the "Life and Labours of Mr. Brassey," by Sir Arthur Helps, published in 1872, may be consulted.

History of the Great Western Railway. Although the Great Western Railway has since 1882 been a part of the Grand Trunk System, it was for many years one of the most important roads in Canada. A very early effort was made to build it. On the 6th March, 1834, an Act passed the Canadian Legislature which incorporated the London and Gore Railroad Company. Among the incorporators were Allan Napier (afterwards Sir A. N.) McNab, George J. Goodhue, Edward Allan Talbot, and seventy other more or less prominent men of that time. Power was given in the Charter to construct a "single or double track, wooden or iron railroad," from London to Burlington Bay, and also to the navigable waters of the River Thames and Lake Huron, and "to employ thereon either the force of steam or the power of animals, or any mechanical or other power." The capital was fixed at $400,000 (£100,000 Halifax Currency), in 8,000 shares of $50 each; and, in the event of the continuation to Lake Huron, the capital might be doubled. The time for the completion of the road was limited to twelve years.

Nothing was done under the powers granted by this Act. In 1845, when it was about to lapse, an Act was passed reviving the Act of 1834, with amendments. One of these amendments was to change the name to "The Great Western Railway Company." Power was taken to build the line to some point on the Niagara River; the capital was increased to $6,000,000, in 60,000 shares of $100 each; and the time allowed for the completion of the line was extended to twenty years. According to Mr. J. M. Trout's "History of Canadian Railways," (1871) of the capital thus authorized 55,000 shares were promptly subscribed in England, and only 5,000 shares in Canada. This led to the passage of an Act in the following year (1846) "for the purpose of affording just and proper protection to the English shareholders." This Act provided for the appointment of a Committee not to exceed eleven persons, residents of London, England, with very large powers of regulating the management of the Company's affairs. In 1849 this Act was repealed, and British and Canadian shareholders were placed on the same footing; the number of Directors being increased from seven to eleven.

The spirit of speculation which prevailed from 1853 to 1856 was a source of embarrassment and expense to this and every other Company constructing lines in the Province. This state of things was to be attributed chiefly to the railways. So great was the demand for labour, live stock, timber, and materials of all kinds by the competition which existed, that prices increased 30, 40, and 50 per cent. Contractors who had undertaken to build sections of the Railway at low estimates failed, one after another, and the works had to be re-let at advanced figures. As in the case of nearly all the railways, the original estimates fell far short of the actual cost. It was found in 1854 that an estimate made by the Com-

pany's Engineer in 1852 for the main line was about a million and a half of dollars under the mark. A single instance will illustrate how this could occur. The cost of land was put down in the estimates at $60,000, whereas the amount actually expended under this head was $700.000. The share capital was raised under the authority of five different Acts of the Legislature. The dates of these Acts, with the amount of capital authorized to be raised were as follows

	Shares.	Amount.
8 Vic. Cap. 86, March 29th, 1845.....	60,000	$6,000,000
16 Vic. Cap. 99, April 22nd, 1853.....	20 0 0	2,000,000
18 and 19 Vic. Cap. 176, May 19th, 1855	60,000	6,000,000
16 Vic. Cap. 44, Nov. 10th, 1852..... ..	18,000	1,800,000
16 Vic. Cap. 101, April 22nd, 1853.....	20,000	2.000,000
	178,000	$17,800,000
G. W. Amendment Act, 22 Vic. Cap. 116, of 16th August, 1858.....		8 000,000
Total capital.....		$25,800,000

The sum of $3,850,000 (£770,000 sterling) was advanced by the Government under the provisions of the Main Trunk Guarantee Act. It was provided that this loan was to pay six per cent. interest, and that three per cent. was to be annually set apart as a sinking fund. This large amount of public money was not hopelessly sunk as in the case of the advances to the Grand Trunk and Northern, as large sums were afterwards repaid. In October, 1857, the Directors were authorized to advance the sum of $750,000 to the Detroit and Milwaukee Railway, to help that Line out of certain difficulties into which it had fallen. The Directors, in reporting in favour of this advance, said that they had "caused a careful examination to be made into the statements furnished by that Company as to its affairs and accounts, and the result of a complete and thorough investigation showed that the sum of $750,000 would be sufficient to meet the claims of the secured creditors, and leave enough to open the Line and provide rolling stock." The loan was accordingly made, secured by a mortgage in favour of C. J. Brydges, T. Reynolds and H. C. R. Becher, three of the Canadian Directors. Under the conditions of this mortgage, the entire control of the affairs of the Detroit and Milwaukee was placed in the hands of Directors to be nominated from time to time by the Great Western Company. Arrangements were then made for the completion of the Detroit and Milwaukee Line to Grand Rapids and through to Lake Michigan. It was opened for through traffic in September, 1858. Most favourable results to the revenue of the Great Western were expected to follow from this transaction. A further sum of $500,000 was afterwards loaned on the same terms as the first amount.

Proceedings were taken in 1860 to foreclose the two mortgages held by the Great Western on the Detroit and Milwaukee Line, and on the 10th April of that year, Mr. C. J. Brydges was appointed Receiver. These proceedings were taken with a view to protect the interests of the Great Western, and to provide for the efficient working of the line till some desirable arrangement could be made. On the 6th August, however, a decree of sale was granted by the Court of Chancery of Michigan, U.S., and on 4th October the railway was put up for sale at Detroit, and purchased by Messrs. Grey & Reynolds for the nominal sum of $1,000,000 as joint trustees for a new company to be formed, on certain conditions to be carried out before June, 1861. After consultation between the Great Western Directors and Mr. Brydges, who went to England for the purpose, certain proposals were made for the settlement of the difficulty.

They did not, however, meet with the unanimous acceptance of the creditors, and a suit was commenced by the Commercial Bank of Canada against the Detroit and Milwaukee Railway (to which suit the Great Western was made a party) to recover the sum of £250,000, being an advance made by the Bank to the Detroit Company—which the former institution believed to be a part of the Great Western Railway. The case was tried at Kingston before a jury and afterwards at Toronto, and being decided in each instance against the Great Western it was taken to the Court of Error and Appeal, and ultimately to the Imperial Privy Council. Meantime the overdue interest on the loan of £250,000 had increased to more than half the amount of the principal, being in September, 1863, £150,000. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was delivered on the 27th July, confirming that of the Canadian Court of Error and Appeal and dismissing the Appeal with costs against the Bank. An arrange-

ment was finally arrived at, the main principle of which was that all claims against the Great Western Company were withdrawn, the Detroit and Milwaukee Company agreeing to set aside a moderate annual sinking fund to liquidate the claim of the Bank, and in the meantime to issue its bonds in satisfaction of this and other claims.

In 1858 the Great Western in common with other lines suffered from a serious falling off in its traffic. It was less as compared with 1857 by 13 per cent., and that of leading American lines showed a decrease ranging from 14 to 25 per cent. In the halfyear ending July, 1859, no dividend at all was paid. The earnings for the first half of four successive years fell off in the remarkable manner shown by these figures:

Earnings in first half of 1856.....	$1,169,592
Earnings in first half of 1857.....	1,065,720
Earnings in first half of 1858.....	854,608
Earnings in first half of 1859.....	725,904

In 1869 an arrangement was made with the Government of the Dominion respecting the extinguishment of the Company's indebtedness to the Government. It was agreed that the principal with accrued interest to the 1st January, 1869, should be commuted for the sum of £668,815 7s. 0d., payable in annual instalments, the unliquidated balance, year by year, to bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent., per annum, instead of 6 per cent. as before. This was regarded by the Directors as being equal to a reduction in the debt of £180,000. One of the conditions of the bargain was a payment in cash of £100,000 on the 1st February, 1869, which was complied with. For the purpose of raising the necessary money to carry out this arrangement an issue of preferred stock was made to the amount of $5,090,000 bearing interest at 5 per cent. at the rate of 80 per cent. of its nominal value. From this time until its amalgamation with the Grand Trunk the Road struggled to hold its own in the competition of the period, although not always with success. In 1882 the amalgamation of the two rival roads took place. At a meeting in London of Directors of the Grand Trunk Railway on March 30th in that year Sir Henry Tyler, the President, made the following announcement:

"They were doubtless aware that a new movement had sprung up on the part of the Great Western shareholders to bring about a fusion of the two Companies. They (the Directors) had had nothing to do in starting the movement. In the past they had something to do with similar movements, and they had urged some years ago that it was of the greatest importance that the two railways should be brought together. They had not changed their mind. It was exceedingly important at one time that the Great Western should work harmoniously with them, but for the last year or two, they had come to the conclusion that they could do work independently of them, and therefore, they had not now the same object in seeking an alliance. In the last two or three years the relative positions of the two Companies had very materially altered. The Grank Trunk had acquired a very much better position than formerly—a much better position than the Great Western. They thought they would go on improving, and that it would not be advisable to hurry matters on. They had fairly considered how much they could afford to give to the Great Western Company, and if any arrangement was to be brought about between the two Companies, they (the Directors) thought it would be better that the terms they proposed should be publicly laid before their shareholders. He had had an agreement drawn up, and when the matter was discussed a few years ago, they were not as strong as they were to-day, and they could not offer to give anything like the premium usually given. The only proportion they could give was 70 per cent. and 30 per cent. That was more than they had last year. Of course, the preference stock of the Great Western would take rank before their ordinary stock, and get its full dividend in any case. With regard to the ordinary stock of the Great Western, they proposed to give a minimum of three per cent., and the ordinary stock would go before the preference stock. They could save £200,000 every year by the new arrangement, but the Great Western would not be entitled to ask for any proportion of that amount. They could afford to give them 3 per cent., which would be a fair rate. The Grand Trunk would not suffer if they were to give the Great Western three per cent. dividend on the ordinary stock, and giving it before their preference stock. Such a course would make their dividend more secure in the future than it ever had been in the past. He would propose that this arrangement should take effect as soon as the Great Western handed over their lines, say from the 30th of June or the 31st December, 1883. Of course they would have to take the matter before the Legislature of Canada. Therefore, the agreement could not come into effect before the middle or the end of next year. He hoped, in conclusion, that

the progress the Company had made would be maintained, and that they would see more advantages to the Grand Trunk system as the result of this undertaking."

Public opinion in Canada was somewhat divided upon the matter, many thinking that the amalgamation meant monopoly and higher rates. The Toronto *Globe* on April 3rd, 1882, declared it to be well known that "the Grand Trunk Company has for years been striving to bring about some such arrangement, and also that the Great Western has not for years past been paying any considerable dividend, and it has been on the cards for some time that unless an independent eastern connection could be secured, it would ultimately be forced to succumb. A few months ago an attempt was made to get out of the difficulty by means of an amalgamation of the Great Western, the Credit Valley, and the Toronto, Grey and Bruce lines with the projected Ontario and Quebec to Perth, and there to obtain connection with the Canadian Pacific. Whether this movement would have succeeded or not had no hostile influence been exerted to prevent its success, may be a matter of opinion, but there can be no doubt that it has had the effect of making the Grand Trunk Company more desirous than ever of obtaining control of the Western, so as to take over its traffic on the one hand, and prevent, if possible, the construction of a dangerous rival on the other." The Deed of Fusion was dated May 25th, 1882, and was accepted by the Grand Trunk Directors and Proprietors in London on June 29th, and by those of the Great Western on August 10th.

The Northern Railway and the Grand Trunk. The Toronto, Sarnia and Lake Huron Railway Company was chartered (12 Vic., Cap. 196) on August 29th, 1849, with a capital of £500,000, in £5 shares. The road was to run from the City of Toronto to some point on the southerly shore of Lake Huron, touching at the town of Barrie on the way. The survey was to be carried out within three years, and the road to be completed within ten years. The Company was authorized to raise the amount of the stock either by subscription or by lottery, but the whole amount of the proceeds was to be devoted to the purposes of the railway. The lottery scheme was never put into practice. By 13 and 14 Vic., Cap. 131, the title was changed to the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railroad Company, and in 1858 the name was again changed to "The Northern Railway of Canada." Toronto was, after the passing of the 13 and 14 Vic., Cap. 131, no longer necessarily the starting point. Authority was given to commence the road at any point on Lake Ontario, west of the Township of Darlington. Mr. J. M. Trout, in his volume upon Canadian Railways (Toronto, 1871) states that authority was given to the Company to construct a branch line to the eastern shore of Lake Huron, not further south than the southerly limit of the township of Saugeen, and to construct at such point a harbour and other necessary works; to increase the stock to £750,000 and to borrow a further sum of £300,000.

The length of the road in 1870 was ninety-four miles, besides sidings which extended to something like fifteen miles. There were besides a few miles of double track. The minimum radius of curvature was 1,432 feet, and the maximum grade going north, sixty feet; going south, fifty-two feet eight inches. The first section of the road, from Toronto to Aurora, thirty miles, was opened to the public on the 16th May, 1853; the next section to Bradford, on the 13th June, 1853; the third section to Barrie, on the 11th October, 1853; the branch to Belle Ewart, a mile and a half, on the 3rd May, 1854; and before the end of that year the whole line was open for traffic. The first sections were opened before the ballasting was done, and the work was afterwards performed when the road was in operation. With a view of controlling the navigation of Lake Simcoe, the Directors purchased the steamer *Morning* and the wharves at Orillia and Bradford, and afterwards built the steamer *J. C. Morrison*.

The original contract with Storey & Company for construction was for £579,175 5s. 0d., and a supplementary contract for locomotive work, general rolling stock, way station service, terminal depot service, harbour service and steamboat service brought the amount up to £702,568 1s. 3d., Halifax currency. Mr. Brunel, C.E., estimated the revenue at £136,000, giving a net revenue of £68,000, equal to eight per cent. on the entire cost of the road,

wharves and harbours. The Company received from the Government, in the shape of guarantee, £475,000 sterling, and it paid the interest on the Government bonds issued on its behalf, up to 1st January, 1856, the original capital account being open. At first the Province had a first lien on the whole of the Company's line of railway from the City of Toronto to Collingwood harbour on Lake Huron, and "all the ground belonging to the said Company, enclosed or to be enclosed, and lying between the said termini, together with all the station houses, wharves, store houses, engine houses and other buildings thereon erected." Default in the payment of interest on the Government bonds was first made in the amount that became due after the 1st January, 1856.

When Mr. F. W. Cumberland became Managing Director in 1859, he changed the whole policy on which the road had been worked. Large gross receipts, if they left no profit, had no charm in his eyes. He found the through traffic had been carried on at a loss; at a loss so great that in the previous year it had more than eaten up all the profits of the local traffic. He informed the proprietors of his intention, and warned them not to be alarmed if they found a considerable decrease in the gross revenue. He intended to do none but paying business; to touch nothing that did not leave a profit. How this policy succeeded the following facts will show. In 1858 there had been a positive loss on the whole business; in 1859, under the new policy, the total receipts showed a decline of nearly twenty thousand dollars; but this diminished revenue brought with it a profit of about fifty-nine thousand dollars. The working expenses still bore a very large proportion to the revenne, over 82 per cent. This item underwent a constant reduction, till in 1870 it was only a fraction over 58 per cent. Every possible encouragement was given to the development of local traffic, and sidings were put in wherever there was promise of business to warrant it.

In 1876 the Northern Railway became the subject of political and parliamentary controversy through its financial connection with the Government, and the final result was the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into its affairs. The Report was made on April 21st, 1877—Journal House of Commons, Volume II, 1877—and was, in part, as follows:

"The Select Committee appointed to enquire into and report upon the allegations in the report and evidence of the Commission on the Northern Railway Company, as to the application of moneys payable to the Government, and also to make a searching enquiry into the accounts of the Northern Railway and Northern Extension Railway, so as to complete the enquiry begun and left unfinished by the Commission, have the honour to report that, as far as the time at our disposal would admit, we have examined the books and accounts of the Northern Railway, and the Northern Extension Railway, and have examined a number of witnesses upon certain entries in the said accounts, whose evidence is herewith reported.

Before proceeding to report upon any entries in the said accounts, your Committee think it proper to give a brief history of the debt due to the Government by the Northern Railway. In 1853 and 1854, the Government made advances to the Northern Railway to the extent of £475-000 sterling, which advances stood in the position of a first lien upon the road. No portion of either principal or interest was paid until 1860, when a re-organization of the Company took place, and by an Order-in-Council passed in 1859, and confirmed by the Act of 1860, the bonded debt of the Company was granted priority both in payment of interest and security over the Government lien, excepting only about £9,000 of mortgage bonds. By this Act also the Government became the possessor of a £50,000 second preference bond in part payment of interest, then due on the Government lien. The debt of the Company then ranked as follows:

First preference bonds.....	£250,000 sterling
Second " "	283,900 "
Government lien.....	475,000 "

And remained in this state until 1868, when, owing to the representation that the largely increased traffic of the road had overcome its carrying power, an Act was passed authorizing an issue of third preference bonds to the extent of £150,000 sterling, which was also granted priority over the Government lien. Of this amount

£50,000, denominated Class A, was to be expended in the construction of elevators and the increase and extension of the rolling stock and other equipment works and appliances of the railway. Of the remaining £100,000 of bonds, denominated Class B., £50,000 was to be paid over to the Receiver-General on account of arrears of interest then due, and the remaining £50,000 sterling was to be issued to the holders of arrears of interest debentures of the Company, which had been issued for unpaid interest on the original bonds of the road.

The Class A bonds were disposed of by the Company at 60 per cent., with the exception of a small amount which brought 65 per cent. The £50,000 was issued to the holders of arrears of interest debentures, but so far as your Committee can learn, the bonds were never handed over to the Receiver-General for arrears of interest on the Government lien, nor has any interest ever been paid thereon, notwithstanding the fact that the interest has been regularly paid upon the Class A bonds, and also upon £50,000 of Class B bonds, issued to arrears of interest debenture holders. The practical effect of this arrangement was, that to enable the Railway to obtain about £30,000 of cash, a permanent annual charge of £6,000 sterling was placed ahead of the Government lien. Since 1865 the interest has been paid upon all the bonds, with the exception of the third preference B bonds, which should have been handed to the Receiver-General; any surplus revenues which may have existed belonged to the Government as applicable first to the payment of interest on the said B bonds, and afterwards to the lien.

The debt remained in this state until 1872, when the Northern Railway leased the Northern Extension Railway, which lease was confirmed by an Act of the Dominion Parliament in 1872. An examination of this lease discloses the fact that arrangements were made whereby the interest on debentures to be issued by the Northern Extension was to be paid by the Northern Railway, and charged 'in the nature of a rental upon the earnings of the line of railway of the lessees, and to be recognized and included in the working expenses thereof.' As it appears that £177,600 of debentures and improvement mortgage bonds were issued, the effect of this Act was to place the interest on this amount, being about £10,000 sterling per annum, ahead not only of the Government lien, but also of all of the Northern Railway preference bonds, inasmuch as the interest on these debentures and bonds was to be chargeable to working expenses, which were a first charge upon the revenues of the Company by the Act of 1868, but it does not appear in evidence that this arrangement resulted prejudicially to the Government claim. This was the state of the debt until late in 1876, when the Government lien was extinguished by the payment of £100,000 sterling, together with over £2,000 sterling of interest thereon, and also £13,500 sterling, being arrears of interest on second preference bonds. This leaves the Government still the owner of £50,000 sterling of second preference bonds, and also entitled to £50,000 sterling of third preference B bonds, and the interest thereon."

In 1879 the Northern Railway took over the Hamilton and North-Western line, and in 1888 the amalgamation of both with the Grand Trunk took place. What immediately preceded this event was described in Sir Henry Tyler's statement to the shareholders and Directors of his Road on February 23rd in the last-named year.

"He stated" (Toronto *Globe*, March 7th), "that in 1879, when he was in Canada, the Hamilton and North-Western Railway was about to be opened for traffic, and Mr. Hickson and he were then negotiating with certain parties connected with it as to the possibility of making it part of the Grand Trunk system. At the end of 1879 the Hamilton Company made an agreement with the Northern Company for a union for twenty-one years. Those two companies had been worked together since, more or less harmoniously, but from time to time there had been certain differences between them. Other proposals had since been made with the object of bringing about a union of the three companies, and at length the other parties had been found not only willing but anxious for it. Since the agreement had been signed there had been surprising unanimity of opinion, not only among the Grand Trunk, the Northern, the Hamilton and the Great Western proprietors, but also in the Dominion, as to the advantages of the union. They had received proxies representing 2,075 votes and $6,000,000 of stock in favour of the proposals, while only one proxy had been received against them. The advantages of the union to the Grand Trunk

Company were these—a free and increased interchange of traffic at Toronto and other places between the three systems; an exchange of traffic between the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk systems on what, he hoped, might be beneficial terms to both companies, with a very important connection at Nipissing Junction, which led by the Canadian Pacific Line to Sault Ste. Marie (a very important port), and which also led to Winnipeg and to the Pacific coast. . . . The agreement now submitted really took the form of a new Act for the united Company which would comprise 4,000 miles of railway with a capital of £54,000,000. As to the actual terms of the fusion, the Northern and Hamilton Companies have in the past paid their own fixed charges, so that there was no liability with respect to those charges. The preference stocks of the two companies amounted to £320,000 (of which £74,500 belonged to the Grand Trunk Company), and those stocks would be entitled to a dividend equal to that paid on the Grand Trunk first preference stock up to three per cent., and to a further dividend equal to that paid on the Grand Trunk second preference stock up to three per cent. They would be able to save that out of the conversion of the securities. The ordinary stocks of the Northern and Hamilton Companies would be put on exactly the same footing as that of the Grand Trunk Company."

The final Deed of Union had been already signed when this speech was made (January 24th) by Mr. Joseph Hickson, of the Grand Trunk, the Hon. Frank Smith, of the Northern, and Mr. John Proctor, of the Hamilton Line.

Frederick Chase Capreol was born in Hertfordshire, England, in 1803. He first came to Canada in 1828, to assist in arranging the affairs of the old North-West Fur Company, and, having fulfilled his part of the business, returned to England in 1830. Three years afterwards he again came to Canada and settled in Toronto, where he embarked in business as a commission merchant. This he gave up on becoming connected with the Northern Railway.

The story of Mr. Capreol's share in an undertaking afterwards carried on and completed by Mr. F. W. Cumberland is told in Mr. J. Ross Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto," published in 1894. His first scheme was to raise the necessary funds by means of a lottery, the proceeds of the tickets to be used in the purchase of 100,000 acres of land along the projected line of the road, the profit from the land to pay the expenses of construction. This plan was viewed with distrust by some, and condemned as immoral by others, and as a consequence it fell through. Defeated in his first attempt, he did not, however, despair, but simply changed his course, and set to work to organize a Company. A Bill granting a charter for the road was drawn up and passed by the Legislature, but the Governor-General reserved it for Imperial approval. This was obtained by means of a personal visit of Mr. Capreol to England. The energetic organizer, upon his return, lost no time in making arrangements with C. Storey & Co., New York contractors, for the construction of the road. On August 29th, 1849, the Royal assent to the Bill authorizing its construction was received, and Mr. Capreol ordered a handsome silver spade and an ornamental oak wheelbarrow for the first ceremony, which Lady Elgin had consented to perform. But in this he himself took no part. On his return from England, Mr. Capreol had been appointed Manager of the road and styled "father of the undertaking," but in face of the benefit which thus promised to result to Canada, and especially to Toronto, the honour of sharing in the public inauguration of the undertaking was taken away from him by the Directors, who, for reasons apparently personal, relieved him of his position a few days before the event. "At this time the whole Board which dismissed him so cavalierly had only £37 10s. at stake in the enterprise, while Mr. Capreol had spent out of his private means £12,350. To recompense him for this outlay, he was voted by the Directors bonds to the amount of £11,000, and besides this sum he never received a dollar from the Company till about ten years ago, when an annuity of $1,200 per year was granted him, which lapsed at the time of his death. A good deal of sympathy was elicited on Mr. Capreol's behalf in consequence of his unhandsome treatment by the Directors; the journals of the day censured them severely; the prominent men of Toronto, the Board of Trade and individuals sent petitions, numerously signed, for his reinstatement, but all to no purpose."

In 1861 he succeeded in getting a Bill through the Legislature authorizing him to sell certain lands by lottery, and with the money to erect a

large cotton factory. This Bill received the Queen's assent, but Mr. Capreol's attention having been drawn into another channel in the meantime the project was dropped. His new scheme was the construction of a canal to make direct communication between Lakes Huron and Ontario—the idea being to shorten the distance by water between the territories of the great west and the seaboard about five hundred miles and thus open connection with Lakes Michigan and Superior and facilitate the passage of emigrants to the Hudson's Bay territories, the Red River and Saskatchewan districts, besides eventually forming an important link in a chain of communication between Europe, the East Indies and China through British North America. The London papers devoted considerable attention to the plan of the proposed canal which was named the "Lake Huron and Ontario Ship Canal." Ground for it was broken September 17, 1866, and officers of the Company were appointed in Toronto. The project, however, for various reasons, was never carried through to completion. Mr. Capreol died on October 12th, 1886.

Receipts and Expenses of the Northern. An official statement of the receipts and working expenses of the Northern Railway of Canada from 1858 to 1876 was published in the Journals of the House of Commons (Appendix No. 5, 1877) as follows:

Year.	Gross Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Per Cent.	Net Revenue.
1858	£53,847	£53,851	.....	.....
1859	49,391	40,987	82.98	£14,918
1860	68,511	53,593	78.22	14,918
1861	84,555	57,400	67.88	27,155
1862	83,583	61,840	73.98	21,748
1863	83,549	44,905	54.07	38,641
1864	96,013	50,166	52.25	45,847
1865	104,126	56,700	55.88	47,426
1866	105,385	63,510	60.26	41,875
1867	115,350	68,396	59.29	46,954
1868	113,028	69,019	61.06	44,009
1869	137,892	69,459	50.37	68,433
1870	150,733	87,558	58.08	63,175
1871	159,760	94,791	59.33	64,969
1872	183,857	108,597	59.06	75,260
1873	185,303	121,237	65 42	64,060
1874	184,129	117,226	63,66	66,903
1875	152,999	97,389	63.64	65,610
1876	161,260	93,400	57.81	67,860

In 1858 and previously the working expenses had exceeded the gross earnings, and a floating debt had accumulated to the extent of £64,448 sterling (or $313,218).

Lieut.-Colonel Frederick William Cumberland was born in London, England, in 1820. He was educated at the Collegiate School, Dublin, and King's College, London. On his graduation, he was apprenticed for five years to a Civil Engineer, and at the end of this apprenticeship, in 1844, was employed as Assistant Engineer on the London and Birmingham Railway, and later in the year was appointed to the Engineering Department of the Admiralty in the dockyard at Chatham. From 1845 to 1847 he assisted in editing "The Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers," and was transferred to Portsmouth on the completion of the Chatham works. In the autumn of 1847 he emigrated to Toronto, where he at once attained prominence as an architect and railway constructor. In 1848 he was appointed Engineer for the County of York, and in 1851 was sent to England as Secretary of the Provincial Industrial Commission and Canadian Commissioner at the International Exhibition in London.

As Chief Engineer, he undertook the superintendence of the construction of the Ontario, Simcoe, and Huron Railway in 1852, and of this road he afterwards became Managing Director. He resigned the position of Chief Engineer in 1854, and engaged actively in architectural work. He, or the firm of Cumberland & Storm, designed the plans of St. James' Cathedral, the Normal School, Osgoode Hall, and the University of Toronto. A bronze monument has been erected at Allandale in honour of his work on the Northern Railway. In 1861, at the time of the Trent affair, Mr. Cumberland organized, in Toronto, the regiment known as the Royal Grenadiers, and became its first colonel. He retained command until 1864, when he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General. During the Fenian Raid in 1866 he had charge of the railway service. He was one of the founders and Vice-President of the Canadian Institute, and for two years acted as President of St. George's Society and President of the Mechanics' Institute, Toronto.

In 1867 he represented Algoma in the Ontario Legislature, and in 1871 was elected to the Dominion House. He was a member of the Senates of the University of Toronto and Trinity College; a member of the Synod of the Church of England, and a Director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. At the time of his death, in 1881, Lieut.-Colonel Cumberland was also President of the Toronto Cricket Club and of the Ontario Jockey Club.

In Mr. George M. Rose's "Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography" may be found a lengthy description of his connection with the Northern Railway. According to this account the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway had become bankrupt in 1858, and having fallen into a condition of dilapidation was ordered by the Government to be closed, as being unsafe for the public use. "Having been appointed its Vice-President, Mr. Cumberland saw an opportunity for exercising his talents in the working of railways, for which his experience in England had so peculiarly fitted him. Fully acquainted with every section of the country through which it passed, having faith in its future, and rare preciseness as to its ultimate success, he devised a scheme for the re-organization of the Company. Armed with new legislation for its absorption, and the creation of the Northern Railway of Canada, he visited England, and by his enthusiasm and personal influence, induced the English investors to double their previous investment, in order to save that which otherwise would have been irretrievably lost. He returned in 1859 as its Managing Director. Here began a connection which endured with fidelity on both sides for twenty-two years, until, with his death, in 1881, was terminated his term of service. He reconstructed the railway, and, casting aside the through business, devoted every energy to the nurture and growth of the local interests of the district, and the economical and efficient working of the line.

In the first year of management, although the total earnings were $21,657 less than those of the previous year, the Company made a profit of $58,859 instead of suffering a loss. The same policy was consistently followed throughout. The strongest inducements were held out to lumbermen to develop the timber lands along the line, mills were encouraged, and stations opened at every point which showed any demand. His constant efforts were directed to the creation of branch lines, which should tap the newly developing country and bring their traffic to the main stem. In this view he projected and constructed, under other companies, the North Grey, the Penetanguishene, and Muskoka branches, and just before his death, completed the organization for the construction of the Callendar branch, by which Toronto and the Province of Ontario are now united to the Canadian Pacific. These subsidiary lines were all afterwards amalgamated into the one Company, and remain as evidence of his desire to give railway advantages to the district which his Company served. From a gross earning of $240,044 in 1859, he advanced the revenues of his Company to $1,289,507 in 1881. A persuasive speaker, and of great force of character, his personality pervaded all enterprises to which he devoted himself, and thus he made his railway fill a larger space in the public eye than perhaps its mileage or earnings, in comparison with other Canadian railways, deserved. When the Hamilton and North-Western Railway was constructed, in direct opposition to the Northern, it was thought that the day of his influence was gone, but with great patience and fertility of resource he waited his time, and his astonished opponents woke up one morning to find that just as they had completed their new line it had passed into his hands. From this time on opposition ceased, and people began to find that while faithful to his Company he was earnest in his endeavours to advance their mutual interests."

The British Investor and the Grand Trunk. During the year 1875 a controversy took place in the columns of the London *Times* which brought out much information upon the history and position of Canadian railways, and especially the Grand Trunk. In several of its "Money Articles" that paper had reflected somewhat severely upon Canadian railway investments, and the result was a letter dated April 13th from Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P.—who then acted as Agent-General for Canada—in the following terms:

"Sir,—As the remarks which have appeared in the Money Article of several recent issues of the

Times have relations to the general interests of the Canadian Government and people, far more wide than those therein directly adverted to, I must ask you in all fairness to permit me, as the representative of Canada, to offer a few words in remonstrance against the tone and bearing of those remarks. I should have asked this opportunity at an earlier date, but that I have been seriously indisposed. As my concern with the subject is only in relation to its general bearings, I am sure that your courtesy will permit me to withdraw it from the financial corner of your newspaper into your other columns. The immediate subject or cause of the animadversions which the writer of the Money Article has made upon Canada was, I believe, the prospect of an appeal to the British public for funds on behalf of the railway to connect Montreal and Ottawa, which, as it was alleged, would simply be a fatuous rival of the Grand Trunk Railway.

It is not my business, nor am I personally interested, to enter into that controversy; but I desire to point out to you that what has been virtually laid down in the *Times*, and requires to be either explicitly defended or withdrawn, is in effect this: that because the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways have not paid, and are not paying, anything like proper interest or dividends on their immense capital, any other schemes which may be held or proved to compete with them, however superior their advantages, ought to be discarded by British investors. And I also understand that a second principle of a far more perilous and general character is insisted upon by you, viz., that it is an immoral thing for the Government of the Dominion, or for any of the Provincial Governments, to sanction or to aid any schemes which are likely to be injurious to the interests of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways.

If these principles are not to be deduced from the words of your Money Article, I am in serious error, and I shall be very glad if it should turn out that I have placed a wrong interpretation upon them. In the meantime, on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, whose good faith, honour and responsibility, have been deliberately attacked in your columns, I have to ask the public to enquire for itself on behalf of what enterprises, and on what responsibility, they are asked to visit Canada with this drastic punishment. The injured tone adopted in your journal would justify ignorant persons in supposing that the people and Government of Canada had concocted gigantic railway schemes which they had presented to the British public; and that now, indifferent to the interests of those who had been half ruined by these schemes, they were preparing to establish other enterprises which would throw them into the background.

But, sir, I ask that the public will first enquire: Where were these vast schemes originated? Who built and equipped these railways? Who were the contractors and the engineers? How much per mile did these railways cost? And, at the same time, let the question be asked and answered: How much have railways managed and financed in Canada, and now paying large dividends, cost per mile in comparison? Let the question also be asked: How much of all the vast sums of money expended on these enterprises has reached and benefitted Canada, and how much has remained in England? And, again, how much from first to last has the Government of Canada itself advanced and expended in the effort to make these railways a property equally advantageous to Canadian and to English interests? When these questions have been answered, if it should prove that the unfortunate shareholders, in whose interests I have no doubt that you are conscientiously writing, have less to complain of Canadian Governments and Canadian people than of other persons, to me unknown, it will at least be only just that the responsibility for the misfortunes attending these schemes should rest upon the proper persons.

As regards the uncalled-for attack upon the honour of the Canadian Government, contained in the direct charge published in your Money Article of the 6th of April, I am obliged to give it an unqualified contradiction. You say, without reference to locality and necessity, 'No amount of argument can, we should hope, lead sensible people in this country to put more money into railway projects in the Canadian Dominion, for not only is there no traffic for such railways, but, supposing there were, their owners are exposed to the constant danger that a Dominion Parliament may grant a

subsidy for a competitive railway to run half a mile off. In this way the Canada Southern has been built to the ruin of the proprietors of the Canada Great Western.' With all respect, I am obliged to say that this charge is ridiculous as it is unfounded. The geography of the Dominion is open to any school boy, and though they run parallel and near each other, it would be interesting to know at what point the Canada Southern and the Great Western come within half a mile of each other. In the second place, the Canada Southern never received any subsidy from either Dominion or Provincial Governments.

In conclusion, I have but one question to ask. I appeal to you to know whether you are prepared deliberately to insist that all other enterprises in the Dominion of Canada, developing, as it now is, with unparalleled rapidity, are to rest in abeyance; are to be discountenanced by the people and Government of Canada; and are not, however promising, to be aided by the capitalists of England until the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways are paying interest on their bonds and dividends on their capital."

The *Times* replied to this letter on April 15th in its financial columns as follows:

"At the lowest estimate this country has lent Canada £38,000,000 for railway purposes, only about £10,000,000 of which yields any return. Thus the Grand Trunk Railway, on which nearly £30,000,000 has been spent altogether, five-sixths of it being English money, pays nothing on about £20,000,000, and paid only 2½ per cent. last time on its first preference stock. The Great Western of Canada, to which this country has given eight odd millions out of nine odd, pays nothing now on five of that eight. The Canada Southern is in default on its bonds; the Midland as well; while the Prescott and Ottawa—the railway with which the Northern Colonization line is partly to compete—was sold some time ago to pay for its rails—its capital and bonded debt being thus clean wiped out. So with the small lines that run up to Lake Huron, and towards Georgian Bay with a view to draw the western American traffic to Canada, and away from Chicago and Milwaukee; most, if not all of them have been disastrous to their owners. Some of these lines paid formerly better than now; but, as our correspondent points out, reckless disregard of existing interests in the planning of competing lines, has brought them to the verge of bankruptcy. Surely, with such a state of things, while three-fourths of the English capital spent on Canada is unproductive, it cannot be expected that we shall go on lending to all comers, asking no questions."

But the strongest presentation of the case for the British investors and in opposition to the proposals for new lines of railway was contained in a letter written on April 13th by Mr. Richard Potter, President of the Grand Trunk Railway, and published a few days later in the *Times*—reading as follows:

"Sir,—The letter of Mr. Jenkins, Agent-General for Canada, in your columns of this morning, requires in many of its statements correction and elucidation, which will not be without value to those who are solicited to invest their capital in the bonds of newly-chartered and largely-subsidized Canadian railways. The greater portion of these lines compete, directly or indirectly, with the existing lines now in operation, and the new schemes are subject to the same conditions of climate, river competition, and incidents of traffic as the existing railways. 'There are about 4,000 miles of railways open and at work in the Dominion of Canada, a mileage greatly in excess of the proportion which exists in England relatively to population and to the industrial products of the two countries.

Beginning with the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, now an integral part of the Dominion, all the railways there, except the Windsor and Annapolis, were constructed by the Provincial Governments before Confederation. They connect Halifax through the Pictou coalfields with St. John by means of a section of the Intercolonial, and the Intercolonial gives a complete railway communication between the Maritime Provinces through Moncton, Newcastle, Bathurst, and the Bay of Chaleur with the St. Lawrence, and to a junction with the Grand Trunk Railway at Rivière du Loup, in the Province of Quebec. The Windsor and Annapolis Company is a total wreck of British capital, and Mr. Brydges, Chief Commissioner of the Intercolonial and General Manager of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Railways, in the month of October last, when I was in Canada, presented to the Dominion Government an able, elaborate, and exhaustive report, in which he showed that the working of the Nova Scotia and New Bruns-

wick Railways left a large annual loss to be met by public taxation; that is to say, the expenses in operating these lines considerably exceeded the gross traffic receipts.

The Intercolonial itself, it is universally acknowledged in Canada, cannot be kept open during the whole year without a heavy loss. I have been over the whole of that line with the engineers and contractors, and have examined various estimates and calculations of the annual loss to be met by taxation, which it will cost the Dominion, or the contractors, if the working be let by tender, to work that railway, ranging from £50,000 to £100,000 per annum. At Rivière du Loup, on the St. Lawrence, the Grand Trunk of Canada commences its course, and at present alone occupies the district to Quebec, Montreal, and Prescott. To borrow Mr. Jenkins' language, this railway was 'managed and financed' during its inception and construction, and for years after its first opening it was also worked, by the Canadian Board, nominated originally by the Prime Minister of Canada, with a Committee in London to raise and remit the funds.

The Grand Trunk was largely subsidized by Canada to the extent of three millions sterling, and in the first instance, only a loan, this subsidy was ultimately, by the liberality of Canada, converted into a free gift. In addition to this subsidy of £3,000,000, English bondholders and shareholders contributed £9,000,000 more, and the contractors, Messrs. Brassey, Peto & Betts, left behind them in Canada a loss of £1,000,000 on its construction. For years after its opening, the Grand Trunk did not pay its working expenses, and Mr. Jenkins will be good enough to note that to a bondholder cheap construction avails little where gross receipts are less than working cost. Probably he does not know that cheap construction always means, in the end, dear maintenance and excessive renewals. Even after a growth of fifteen years, the Grand Trunk of Canada, uncompeted with along its whole line from Rivière du Loup to Quebec, Montreal and Toronto, has only yielded for the first time in its history interest out of revenue upon its original bonds and capital of £12,000,000 (or of £13,000,000, including the contractors' contribution of £1,000,000) a sum of £80,000 in the year 1874, or about sufficient at six per cent. to pay the interest on £1,300,000, and this notwithstanding that an additional £4,000,000 fresh capital has been spent since 1869 in changing the exceptional gauge, in steeling, ballasting, and completing the line, and in providing an entirely fresh rolling stock equipment.

The severe conditions of Canadian climate and traffic, and the competition of a bankrupt and subsidized line, the Canada Southern, threaten in 1875 to lessen, if not extinguish, this inadequate pittance of £80,000—net result on a capital of £12,000,000 or £13,000,000. Proceeding westward from Montreal, Canada is supplied with another railway constructed with English capital—the Prescott and Ottawa. That, like the Grand Trunk, has proved a total loss to its original proprietors, and is now working barely able to make both ends meet, and to provide adequately for the maintenance and renewal of its permanent way and rolling stock. In the same direction westward, the next Canadian railway is the Brockville and Ottawa, also constructed with English capital. The eminent firm of Bolckow, Vaughan & Co., who supplied the iron rails, and received in payment the bonds of this Company, were compelled, owing to default of the bonds, to take possession of the line, and they have recently sold it, at a heavy loss, to Canadian owners. It has been reconstructed, and is now called the Canada Central.

Immediately west of the Brockville and Ottawa comes the Midland of Canada, another railway originally built with English capital. Years ago the Midland of Canada was also reconstructed and re-christened, its original capital wiped out, and upon an issue of fresh bonds so recently as the year 1873 default has been made and the interest thereon funded. The Midland connects the Grand Trunk from Cobourg and Port Hope with the Georgian Bay. Next to the Midland of Canada is the Northern of Canada, from Toronto to Collingwood on the Georgian Bay, and the original share capital of this has also been wiped out by a Reconstruction Act. The present condition of the Great Western of Canada, well located in Western Canada for both local and through traffic, is well known to the English public; the results of the working for the year 1874 show

a large deficiency in providing the interest on the bonded debt, and the prospects of the current year, so far as it has gone, according to the published returns, indicate results less favourable than for 1874. The history of the Buffalo and Lake Huron, also in Western Canada, which is now a part of the Grand Trunk Railway west of Toronto, on which a very large amount of English capital has been expended, is as disastrous as the history of the Grand Trunk or the Great Western. There are in Western Canada two other small lines belonging to English capitalists, the Welland and the Erie and Niagara, and they are more complete wrecks than any of the preceding companies.

In this enumeration of Canadian railways I believe I have exhausted very nearly the whole of the 4,000 miles now in operation. There are certain branch lines, the Wellington, Grey and Bruce, and others, belonging to the above corporations, and which have been mostly constructed since 1871, under the auspices of the Great Western of Canada, and upon guarantees given by that Company to cover the interest of the bonds raised in London. It is impossible to ascertain their real condition in respect to gross receipts and working expenses for two reasons: They may probably pay the parent line in the traffic which they collect and send over it, and yet they may not recoup the cost of working out of their own proper business. They are new and very cheaply constructed, and in a few years the renewals of their light iron rails and wooden bridges and imperfect alignments will probably amount to more than their receipts. They have no rolling stock to maintain and renew.

Mr. Jenkins says there are railways working in Canada, 'managed and financed' in Canada, now paying large dividends, where the cost per mile in comparison with the nearly 4,000 miles constructed mainly by British capital has been considerably less. I know of no such railways, and yet I have visited every mile of railway in the Dominion. There are two short 3ft. 6in. narrow gauge lines from Toronto called the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, and the Toronto and Nipissing, which have been opened now for two years. They are cheaply constructed, with iron rails under forty pounds to the yard, and they are not yet old enough to realize the cost of maintenance and renewal charges, either to their permanent way or rolling stock. They do at present pay the interest on their bonds, but no dividends upon other capital or stock. When they have been open sufficiently long to show an average expenditure for maintenance and renewals and at the same time to pay interest on their bonded debt, then it may fairly be said that they form an exception to the general experience of railway working in Canada. During the past winter the greater portion of these two railways has been closed to traffic for nearly two months off and on. They occupy a district north of Toronto, where the rigours of the climate make it impossible in Canada to keep open a railway except at an actual loss, in January, February, and March, the harvest season of Canadian railways, when the rates are not affected by the water competition. And now a few words upon the immediate subject of this controversy—viz., the proposals of Sir Hugh Allan and his fellow projectors for the issue of the bonds of his railway—the Montreal Colonization Railway from Montreal to Ottawa. When Sir Hugh Allan was in England two years ago as President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he brought with him these same proposals; but his failure to interest the English public in his Canadian Pacific enterprise doubtless prevented him from offering the bonds of the Northern Colonization, itself a subsidiary scheme to his Canadian Pacific. In the Allan correspondence which was betrayed to the public by one of the associated partners in Sir Hugh Allan's Canadian Pacific scheme, Sir Hugh has left a graphic record of the mode by which he obtained, through French speeches and by an active canvass among the ratepayers of Montreal, the subsidy of £200,000 sterling. He described in this canvassing tour the scope and purpose of the Northern Colonization. It was to be connected on the east by the North Shore Railway from Montreal to Quebec, and on the west from Ottawa by a line running through the district north of the St. Lawrence, from Ottawa to Toronto, and at Toronto to be brought into communication with the Credit Valley line—another largely subsidized scheme which is now being constructed from Toronto towards Detroit and Sarnia, midway between the Grand Trunk and Great Western of Canada systems.

In the present session of the Dominion Parliament Sir Hugh and his fellow promoters of the Northern Colonization are applying for an Act to construct a high-level bridge over the St. Lawrence, 150 feet above high water, nearly five miles long, and estimated by one of the most experienced and competent engineers in Canada to cost between two and three millions sterling. In 1873 he also supported a second and a better line from Montreal to Portland. The success of Sir Hugh Allan's present proposals would bring the bonds of the whole of these gigantic schemes over to this country. There are upwards of 4,000 miles of them and of kindred companies, and they are more or less competitive with the existing 4,000 miles of railway constructed with English capital. According to past experience they could not be made to earn their working expenses, and, therefore, however highly subsidized they may be, and however advantageous for the development of the different localities through which they pass, I apprehend that they cannot be considered as safe investments for British capitalists and bondholders.

The Canada Southern, which is a fair sample of these subsidized lines, it is true, did not receive its subsidies from the Dominion or the Provincial Governments, but it did receive them from the municipalities and counties which it traverses. It does come within half a mile of the Great Western at several points, as I can testify from travelling over it. The charter for it was granted to a Canadian gentleman who may be fairly called a dealer in charters. The charter was purchased by American speculators and promoters, who formed themselves into a Credit Mobilier or construction company, and let the making of the line to themselves, without, of course, any practical engineering supervision. They appropriated to themselves by means of this construction company, consisting entirely of themselves, the ordinary stock, and issued seven or eight million dollars of bonds in New York, and afterwards two or three millions of the same series of bonds in London; they divided large profits among themselves upon the construction of the line; but when it was opened eighteen months ago it proved a total failure, with working expenses in excess of receipts, and inflicted, beyond doubt, severe injury upon the Great Western of Canada, and through them and the competition created upon the Grand Trunk, the probable end of this subsidized Canadian railway within the next year or so will be its sale under the sheriff's hammer to some one or more of its solvent American or Canadian neighbours.

There is one characteristic which the Northern Colonization and all its kindred proposals have in common with the Canada Southern; they have no share capital held by a solid body of proprietors in the ordinary sense of the term. The share capital is distributed by the principal promoters among themselves; ten per cent. deposit is written up by the promoters' Bank to comply with the law. The bondholder has no vote, and such a constitution affords no practical guarantee of sound and economical construction, or after the opening of the line for efficient and adequate administration. It is true that the bondholders in case of default could put a receiver on the line; but what is the value of this remedy if the locality through which the line passes will not yield sufficient to pay the expenses of the railway working. I ask confidently, is there anything in the record of railway construction and working in Canada to justify the credulous British capitalist in subscribing to the bonds of fresh and largely-subsidized Canadian railways? In so doing he is sure to damage, probably ruin, his neighbour, and not less sure, according to all past experience, to throw away his own savings."

The Midland Railway and the Grand Trunk. The Midland Railway of Canada, formerly the Port Hope, Lindsay and Beaverton, was originally chartered on the 26th December, 1846. Seven years afterwards, power was given to build a branch through the townships of Cavan, Emily, Manvers, Ops and Mariposa, and thence to some convenient point on the line of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway—powers which were never fully exercised. The Company was aided with large municipal subscriptions as follows:

The Town of Port Hope..	$680,000
Township of Hope	60,000
Township of Ops	80,000

Town of Peterborough... 100,000

Total up to 1864.....$920,000

Additional sums were subsequently granted, and on the 13th March, 1857, a lease of the road was given to Messrs. Tate and Fowler, one of the conditions of the lease being that the firm were to build a Peterborough branch. In aid of this work the town of Peterborough granted £30,000 and Port Hope £10,000—the two towns taking a mortgage on the lease as security. By this mortgage the lessees were to pay Peterborough annually the sum of £1,800 and Port Hope £600. By an Act of 15th Oct., 1863, the amount secured to Peterborough was reduced to £19,700. By an Act of the 30th June, 1864, the purchase of the Port Hope Harbour was authorized, the bonds and debentures of the Harbour Company being exchanged for bonds of the Railway Company, bearing various rates of interest.

In 1866 (Mr. Trout states in his work upon Canadian Railways) the Company was authorized to purchase the Millbrook branch, and to issue preference bonds therefor to an amount not exceeding £110,000 sterling. It was provided that these bonds should not be issued without the consent in writing of the persons with whom were deposited the then existing mortgage bonds of the Company, as collateral security for the due payment of certain bonds given by Henry Covert (afterwards President of the Road) for the purchase made by him of the then existing bonds of the Company. By the same Act the Company was authorized to issue preference bonds to the township of Hope in exchange for the stock held by the municipality, sufficient to secure the annual sum of $1,542; to the township of Ops, in the same manner, bonds to secure $296.75, and to the town of Lindsay for $296.75 annually. All these sums were payable on the 1st December in each year, and constituted a first charge on the railway. It was also provided by the same Act that any stockholder could transfer his stock to the Company and receive in exchange therefor first preference bonds to the amount of fifty per cent. of such stock.

On the 23rd January, 1868, an arrangement between the town of Port Hope and the Railway Company was legalized, by which the town was authorized to transfer sterling debentures of the Port Hope Harbour Company to the Railway Company, the object being to aid the extension of the railway from Lindsay to Beaverton by granting the Company the sum of £30,000. During the work of construction the railway handed over to a private individual $30,000 of mortgage bonds as security for the completion of the road to Beaverton on or before September, 1871. The line was formally opened to Beaverton in January, 1871. By an Act of 24th Dec., 1869, the name of the Company was changed to "The Midland Railway of Canada." Authority was also given to build a branch line from some point in the township of Mara through the township of Rama to the River Severn. Power was also granted to issue £100,000 of bonds. The township of Thorah had loaned the Company the sum of $50,000 to extend the line to Beaverton, and by this Act the Company was authorized to give that township a lien on the railway in perpetuity for the sum of $1,500 per annum, being interest at the rate of three per cent. on the amount loaned, and payable on the 15th June in each year.

An Act of the Ontario Legislature (February, 1871) recited that there were at that time outstanding first preference bonds to the amount of £110,000 sterling, second preferences to the amount of £125,000 sterling, and £100,000 sterling of bonds then authorized but not issued, and gave power to substitute for these issues new consolidated six per cent. bonds to an amount not exceeding £335,000 sterling—these bonds to form a first charge on the Line. The gross earnings in 1867 were $234,476.98; 1868, $232,904.10; 1869, $225,851.23; 1870, $242,157.22. The working expenses, including maintenance of way, in 1870 were stated at $128,930.03, or 53.24 per cent. of the gross earnings—leaving a net revenue of $113,227.19. During the four years ending December, 1870, the gross sum of $308,000 was expended in improving the Line. The operating expenses for the years named were: 1867, $100,000; 1868, $107,000; 1869, about $109,000; 1870, $128,930; which, added to the expenditure for the improvement of the Line during these four years makes a total outlay in the period ending December, 1870, of $753,000 in round numbers.

In 1883, after an independent career of mixed good and ill fortune, the Midland Railway amalgamated with the Grand Trunk Railway by an agreement dated 22nd September, which recited the following reasons for the proposed arrangement:

"Whereas by a traffic agreement made between the parties hereto, and dated the tenth day of May, 1882, provision is made for securing by way of rebate on the traffic interchanged between said Companies as in said agreement mentioned, the interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum on the sectional first mortgage bonds of the Toronto and Nipissing section, and of the Grand Junction section of the said Midland Railway of Canada, in case the net revenue arising from the traffic on said two sections was not sufficient to pay the interest at the rate aforesaid; And whereas the position of the Midland Line is such that it has become an important link in the connection between the North-Western portion of Canada, the North-Western States of the United States of America, and the line of the Grand Trunk for east and west bound traffic to and from these districts of country;

And whereas from its position and the large territory served thereby the Midland Railway Lines are of great importance to the Grand Trunk, and it is also of great importance to both Companies that there should be the greatest unity of action and economy in the working of the said traffic, and in the making of arrangements for the development of business passing between them; And whereas greater economy in the purchase of supplies, in repairs to rolling stock and machinery, and in working the Line of the Midland generally, could be effected by the two systems being worked as one, and the public would be much more efficiently served if the said two systems were under the same management, and there would be large saving in working expenses and the financial position of the Midland would be greatly strengthened and benefitted," etc.

Present Position of the Grand Trunk Railway. In 1867 the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada had 298 locomotives and 4,339 cars. It carried 1,415,723 passengers, 1,013,512 tons of freight; it had receipts of $6,617,867 and an expenditure of $4,925,776. In 1896 its capital paid up—Government Year Book—was $337,463,857, its receipts $16.506,878, its expenses $11,544,625, and the number of passengers carried was 5,077,671,

Charles M. Hays.

with 7,587,148 tons of freight. The newly appointed General Manager, Mr. Charles M. Hays, came to Canada in January, 1896, fresh from the successful management of several American lines, and promptly inaugurated a new system of internal administration, and in 1898 is pressing the principle of alliance and co-operation between American railways and the Grand Trunk System.

SIR WILLIAM C. VAN HORNE, K.C.M.G.

HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

BY

MOLYNEUX ST. JOHN, late Editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*.

A Trans-Continental railway through British North America was a subject that for many years prior to the confederation of the Canadas and adjacent colonies had engaged the attention of travellers and statesmen. Innumerable letters and pamphlets had been written to show its use and the feasibility of its construction—much of which was written with necessarily imperfect information concerning the obstacles and difficulties to be encountered and overcome—and some efforts were made to obtain legislation on the subject. In 1829, Mr. McTaggart, a Civil Engineer, had proposed such a highway; in 1848, Major Carmichael-Smyth proposed the construction by convict labour of a railway to the Pacific by the Kicking Horse Pass, a route more nearly than any other approximating to that finally adopted; in 1849, Lieut. Synge advocated another way of accomplishing the same object, and every year saw some new exposition of the matter. In 1851, the first attempt was made at legislation, and a Canadian Pacific Railway Bill was introduced into the Canadian Legislature. It was, however, adversely reported upon by the Committee on the ground that an adjustment of the rights and claims of the Indian tribes was a pre-requisite condition. Space will not permit an enumeration of the projected ways of reaching the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific Ocean. The idea remained in a nebulous stage until interest in it was revived by the construction of the American railway connecting San Francisco with the railway systems of the Eastern United States, but even this interest was languid until the acquisition by Canada of the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company took place, when the necessity for the immediate construction of a western road was accentuated by the insurrection of the French Half-breeds of Red River under Louis Riel in 1869 and 1870, and by the difficulties which presented themselves in re-asserting constituted authority.

But that which reduced theory and intention to immediate action was the bargain made, after considerable negotiation, with British Columbia on that Colony expressing its willingness to enter the Dominion of Canada. On July 1st, 1870, an Order-in-Council was passed by the Canadian Government referring to the proposed entry of British Columbia, which stated that the Government undertook to secure "the commencement simultaneously within two years from the date of union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such points as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada, and further to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of union." This contract is quoted because it is the key to much of the action taken with respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway in subsequent arrangements. During the following year (1871), British Columbia's entry into the Dominion was confirmed, and an Act was passed by Parliament providing for the construction of the proposed railway by private enterprise aided by public grants of money and land. During the following session (1872), an Act of Parliament was passed regulating the terms and conditions on which a Company might construct a Canadian Pacific Railway. To implement this, two other Acts were passed during the same session: (1) "An Act to incorporate the Inter-oceanic Railway Company of Canada," granting a charter to Mr. (afterwards Sir) D. L. Macpherson and others, and (2) "An Act to incorporate the Canadian Pacific Railway Company," granting a charter to Sir Hugh Allan and his associates.

As there could not be two trans-continental railways under construction at the same time, the Government endeavoured to amalgamate the two interests, but failing in this, they reverted to the authority given them by the Canadian Pacific Act of 1872, and granted a charter to another company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head, which undertook to build and operate the required railway for a land grant of 50,000,000 acres and a cash subsidy of $30,000,000. The circumstances under which this charter had been granted having been called in question in the House of Commons,

Molyneux St. John.

political complications ensued, resulting in the resignation of Sir John Macdonald's Government and the immediate surrender by Sir Hugh Allan's company of the charter granted to them. This closed one phase of the effort to obtain a trans-continental railway through Canada.

In 1873 the Government of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie succeeded that of Sir John Macdonald, and in 1874 Parliament passed an Act authorizing the Government to borrow £8,000,000 aided by an Imperial guarantee for a portion of it, for public works; and also passed an "Act to provide for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway," repealing the similar Act of 1872, and providing for the construction of a railway from a point near to and south of Lake Nipissing to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific coast, in four sections and two branches, and by private contracts under Government supervision, but reserving to the Government the right to build all or any part of the road, and to purchase any part built by contractors. In compliance with this Act, the Government selected a route, and in 1875 work was begun at Thunder Bay on Lake Superior westwardly, the line being intended to cross the Red River at or near Selkirk, a place about twenty miles north of Winnipeg, and to proceed across the prairie country by the narrows of Lake Manitoba, instead of south of the Lake as Sir John Macdonald had intended, and into British Columbia by the Yellow Head Pass of the Rocky Mountains. It was also proposed by Mr. Mackenzie to make as much use as possible of the chief stretches of water that intervened between the terminal points of the road. Under this latest Act the Pembina branch from Emerson to St. Boniface, opposite Winnipeg, was built, and a small part of the main line between Thunder Bay and Winnipeg. On these sections of the proposed road and on the telegraph line which was extended as far as Battleford on the Saskatchewan, several million dollars were spent. But a more detailed account of this scheme and its cost would not only unduly encroach upon available space but would be merely an agglomeration of immaterial facts tending to confuse the reader. Mr. Mackenzie's Government was defeated at the polls in 1878, and his plan of building the Canadian Pacific Railway was condemned by his successor, Sir John Macdonald. This closed the second phase of the effort to build the inter-oceanic way.

During the term of Mr. Mackenzie's régime the British Columbians had complained of Canada's non-compliance with the railway terms on the strength of which they had joined the Dominion, and though the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, to whom as an arbitrator the matter was referred, had submitted an apparently equitable compromise, it was found that even this was

difficult of adoption, and as a matter of fact had not been fully acted on. The new Government, therefore, with British Columbia's discontent sounding in their ears, and urged by other important reasons, determined to proceed with vigour in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Acting on the Parliamentary authority existing they entered into contracts for several small sectional pieces of road, and procured the sanction of Parliament to the appropriation of 100,000,000 acres of the public lands to be vested in Commissioners and sold at $2 an acre to provide funds for the immediate construction of the trans-continental line, and so keep faith with British Columbia. This $2 was subsequently reduced to $1. A contract was then made for the construction of a hundred miles of line westward of Winnipeg, and running south of Lake Manitoba, thus making a departure from the route adopted by Mr. Mackenzie. At the same time contracts were made for the construction of a small sectional part of the road in British Columbia, about ninety-seven miles in all.

Having gone thus far with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway the Government re-considered its decision. The old misgivings arose concerning the disadvantages of such a railway being built by the Government, and the conclusion was arrived at that it would be better were the railway built and operated by a public company. To that end the Government sought responsible persons who would undertake such a work; and after several fruitless negotiations with other capitalists, they succeeded in arranging terms with those under whose direction the greatly desired highway was eventually built and operated. The agreement made with the Syndicate may be regarded as closing the third and commencing the fourth phase in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. (1) Sir John Macdonald's first failure and Parliamentary censure. (2) Mr. Mackenzie's scheme condemned and abandoned, and (3) the Macdonald-Tupper plan hardly begun ere its authors recognized its weakness and transferred the burden and responsibility to others. Thus both political parties had endeavoured to construct the great highway and had failed. Both were honestly intent upon giving the country what it required and both had made mistakes, remembered against them. Sir John Macdonald's Government fell on a Pacific railway scandal; but though no one justifies the action condemned, experience has taught men the wisdom of modifying the censorial language that followed the disclosure of the Allan contract. Mr. Mackenzie's fall was due to his honest adherence to a low tariff policy while the country demanded a higher one; but it is open to question whether his Government would have long survived had his railway ideas remained without change, and judging by events—when it is always easy to be wise—it would seem that what Canada most wanted at that moment was a bold and apparently reckless policy in asserting herself, rather than the cautious and patient one recommended by Mr. Mackenzie. For the third abandonment of the Government plans, it seems to me that the country has reason to be grateful. It is doubtful whether under any but the most exceptional circumstances, a Government is well advised in building a railway itself rather than assigning that work to a responsible company, and it cannot have escaped the notice of even the most casual observer that the builders of the Canadian Pacific Railway have done most effective work in directions and in a manner which would have presented many difficulties to a Government Bureau. The general action in acquiring American connections and carrying off business which American roads desired to monopolize aroused much hostility in the States. It was quite justifiable in a railway company, but would have given rise to question had the railway been operated by the Government. All the permanent results that had been accomplished at great cost by the efforts of these two Governments up to 1881 were the Pembina Branch in more or less working order, a portion of the line west of Thunder Bay built, as well as certain sections in British Columbia approaching completion. It was reserved for what was known as the "Canadian Pacific Syndicate" to take up the matter in a comprehensive and business like way, and by their courage and determination to successfully accomplish that object which seemed to present greater inconveniences than a Government could successfully contend with.

About the year 1879 a small Syndicate of Can-

adians and Americans had purchased the rights and franchises of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway. They had at once set about extending the road northward through Minnesota until it reached the International boundary line at St. Vincent, exactly opposite Emerson on the other side of the line—the point from which Mr. Mackenzie had built the Pembina branch to St. Boniface. To this Syndicate the Government turned when efforts elsewhere failed, and a contract was entered into with its members, with some others added, to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. This contract was submitted to the Parliament of Canada in the Session of 1881, and was then after considerable opposition embodied in an Act of Parliament. By the terms of the contract the Syndicate undertook to form a Company to build the road from Callander to the Pacific and afterwards to operate it, for a consideration of $25,000,000 and twenty-five million acres of selected land in the "Fertile Belt," with the right of way through public lands and the necessary ground for stations, docks, wharves, etc. Steel rails for the road, telegraph wire and other dutiable articles required for the first construction were to be imported free of duty. In addition to this those sections of the road built by Government from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, from Emerson to St. Boniface, and from Burrard's Inlet to Savona's Ferry were to be handed over to the new Company free. All property used in construction or in working the railway, and the capital stock of the Company, were to be exempted from taxation by the Dominion and by any Province to be created by the Dominion Parliament, and the land grant was to be exempt from taxation for twenty years unless previously sold or occupied. The Government further undertook that no line south of the railway should be chartered by the Dominion or by any Province created by it, except in a direction south-west or west of south-west.

Out of this latter clause in the bargain subsequent trouble arose. The Government of Manitoba insisted on its right to charter roads in the proscribed direction, and did subsidize an American railway company to build a branch road from Minnesota into Winnipeg and elsewhere in Manitoba, contending that Manitoba, being a Province in full possession of its provincial rights as defined by the British North America Act—the constitution of the Dominion and therefore the Act regulating and restraining the power of the Dominion—could not be deprived of any right or restrained in the exercise of it by a bargain between the Federal Government and other parties without the assent of Manitoba being given to such bargain. This quarrel was not confined to the two parties in Manitoba, where at one time it threatened to lead to actual violence, but forced itself into the arena of Federal politics, where it

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was at last happily adjusted by the Canadian Pacific surrendering some of its monopoly rights in return for certain Government assistance of which it was then in need. On Parliament ratifying the agreement for the construction of the transcontinental road the Syndicate formed a Company, the original capital of which was $5,000,000 issued at par. This was increased on May 10, 1882, to $25,000,000, the $20,000,000 new stock being allotted to existing shareholders at 25 per cent. of par. On November 28th, 1882, the capi-

tal was increased to $100,000,000, and $40,000,000 of the increase was sold at an average price of 52 per cent.; the balance was deposited with the Dominion Government. In 1885 the $35,000,000 so deposited was cancelled, thus reducing the common stock to $65,000,000. In 1893 an Act was obtained by which sterling preference stock might be issued up to an amount not exceeding one-half the amount of the ordinary stock outstanding, such preference stock to rank for dividends up to 4 per cent., and to have the same voting power as ordinary stock, *i. e.*, one vote for every £20 or $100, but not to carry a cumulative dividend.

The Company also issued $25,000,000, first mortgage 5 per cent., 50 year land grant bonds, $1,000,000 of which are held by the Government. $20,577,000 of these bonds have been redeemed and cancelled and $3,423,000 are (1897) still outstanding. On the formation of the Company work was at once commenced on the road. On the 15th February, 1881, the first sod of the new Canadian Pacific Railway was turned, and by the end of the year 163 miles had been built on the prairie westward from Winnipeg. But the Directors and their financial agents in Europe soon found that there were difficulties in the way of raising the requisite money. Criticism at home and opposition, secret and open, abroad created a distrust of the undertaking, so that the managers of the charter were in the dilemma of having a work on hand in which delay meant heavy loss and possible complications with the Government, while the money necessary to proceed with due speed was not forthcoming. Moreover money was wanted for perfecting connections, and all things combined to beget a problem that at one time seemed beyond solution, though the difficulties were fortunately removed in time to prevent disaster. Of this phase of the subject some details will presently be given. It had already become clear to those responsible for the success of the enterprise that the road could not be left with its eastern terminus in the wilderness dependent on communication provided by other people, nor without sufficient eastern connections for originating and transferring business. As a beginning therefore of the necessary supplementary branches and extensions the Company at once purchased the Canada Central Railway, which was intended to be completed to Callander, and shortly afterwards the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway connecting Quebec with Montreal and Ottawa. Following these a number of others were from time to time purchased or leased until the President of the Company at an annual meeting of the shareholders was able to announce that all the necessary connections up to date had been made.

And in this connection a fact may be noted which decided the character of the road, and the spirited policy that was to guide it for the future. Just as the bargain with British Columbia to complete the road in ten years was scoffed at in Canada and the language regarded as a *facon de parler* implying the completion as early as convenient, so the completion of the uninterrupted line by the new Company, including that portion north of Lake Superior, within the ten years of the contract was believed by many familiar with the country to be an impracticable condition. Moreover, a great number of the general public were of opinion that the north shore section would never be built, because, as they thought, other routes would in the meantime have come into being, rendering the construction around Lake Superior unnecessary. The bond was there and explicit, but it was thought that the Government would not emulate the unreasonableness of Shylock in demanding a literal fulfilment of it, or at the very least that the Company would not be required to build that part of the railway for twenty years to come. The man who saw that it must be built, and be built at once, and who declared that the road could not be called a Canadian Pacific Railway until it became a through road independent of American lines was the new General Manager, Mr. W. C. Van Horne, who had recently relinquished a responsible position on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway to take the general management of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In conformity with his opinion, and under his direction, the wilderness on the north of Lake Superior was, under sub-contract, attacked at once. From ten to twelve thousand railroad navvies, and from 1,500 to 2,000 teams of horses were set to work, involving the employment of twelve steamers for the transport

of material and provisions. It was a small army, but an army of creation instead of destruction. The country through which, for directness, the railway was compelled to run was a waste of forest, rock, and muskeg, out of which almost every mile of road was hewn, blasted, or filled up, and in places the filling up of muskegs proved to be the most arduous task. Early in 1885 this section was finished, and was opened for traffic before the end of the year.

During the same period, the Rocky Mountains were pierced from the east and the road carried through the Kicking Horse Pass, but the Selkirk range presented a serious and disheartening obstacle, which caused much anxiety, until it was at last overcome by the discovery of a way along the valley of a small mountain stream called the Illeciliwaet. This pass, unknown either to the *voyageurs* of the Hudson's Bay Company or the Indians who hunted the Selkirks, was discovered after several failures by others, by an energetic engineer, Major A. B. Rogers, in his search for some practicable way of getting through the Selkirks, and it now most properly bears his name. While these works were in progress in the central and western divisions, the Government's contractors had finished the British Columbia section from Burrard's Inlet to Savona's Ferry on Kamloops Lake, enabling the Company to take possession in conformity with the terms of contract, and to connect the Pacific portion of the line with that coming from the east. On the 7th of November, 1885, Sir Donald A. Smith drove the last spike of the connecting rail at a place called Craigellachie, a short distance west of the Columbian River, thus establishing a railway from ocean to ocean within Canadian territory.

The work had taken fifty months to perform instead of the 120 stipulated in the contract of 1881, and was probably the first instance on record of a work approaching the magnitude of the Canadian Pacific Railway having been completed in less than the contract time. A satisfactory phase of the building of this road was the order preserved throughout its construction. The notoriety for assorted vice and ruffianism which had usually accompanied the building of the American western railroads was absent in the construction of the Canadian Pacific, and in its place was found the same observance of law and decency that prevailed in settled communities. Of this railway's importance as a mercantile channel and as a national possession, time has given indisputable evidence, and the years in their march are piling up additional proof. Mr. T. C. Keefer, in a paper on the subject, has succinctly stated the points for which the Canadian Pacific Railway is remarkable. "It connects the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean under one ownership, and upon the shortest American route between Europe and Asia. As a single trans-continental line for a country nearly as large as the United States, it possesses the largest area tributary to it of any of the trunk lines. No other trans-continental road is so lightly burdened with interest-bearing securities. As the most recent overland road, it possesses the most modern equipment and the smallest scrap heap." He might have added that for efficient management in every department, the Canadian Pacific Railway has had few rivals, and that by its example it has incited other roads to an improvement of their systems, which for many years seemed to be not only unattainable, but even undesired. Mr. Keefer's statements were made in 1888, but they remain true at the present time.

But the accomplishment of this great work was not always beyond doubt. At no time did the men who had undertaken the task doubt their own ability to carry it through in time, if only the means they had asked for were forthcoming, but at one time their success was in great jeopardy from financial difficulties. Immediately on the formation of the Company, a portion of the capital stock had been sold, but owing to attacks upon the Company and its objects by rivals, stock jobbers and others, it became difficult to dispose of enough stock even to continue construction at the rate at which it had been begun. The sale of land under the grant gave little aid at this stage, as Government land could be obtained free along the line of the railway. To meet the difficulty, the Company purchased from the Government a guarantee of three per cent. per annum for ten years on the $65,000,000 of stock already sold and on the $35,000,000 of stock undisposed of. This, calculated at four per cent., cost $16,091,152

to meet twenty half-yearly payments of one and a half per cent. each. Of this, $8,710,240 was paid in cash, the remainder being deferred for a short time. Owing, however, to disturbance in the American railway market, the result of this arrangement was disappointing, and it became necessary to obtain a loan from the Government to prevent complications and dangerous delays. Great opposition was raised to this proposal, not merely by the Opposition in Parliament, but also amongst the Ministerialist party, and even by members of the Cabinet. It was only when the

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consequences to themselves and their party, as well as the injury to the country, were made apparent to the objecting Ministers by some of their more far-seeing colleagues that objections were withdrawn and a loan agreed to.

Without this the enterprise must have collapsed, bringing ruin upon its courageous managers, discredit upon Canada, and setting back for a generation the growth and prosperity of the country. Fortunately this was averted, and it may now be said of those who at one time were opposed to the degree of Government encouragement and assistance given to the C.P.R. and who disapproved of the plans and methods adopted in the construction, that many have changed their opinion, some fairly admitting that they had mistaken the conditions and under-estimated the ability and resources of the men who had undertaken what was generally recognized as the most Herculean task of modern times. The unusual speed with which the road was built rapidly exhausted the Company's available funds, but in 1885 the Government cancelled the $35,000,000 stock held by them (already mentioned), and a like amount of 5 per cent. mortgage bonds were created, covered by the same security as the loan. Of these bonds the Government accepted $20,000,000 as security for so much of the debt, and the security of the Company's unsold lands (over 20,000,000 acres) for the balance, $9,980,000. Of the remaining $15,000,000, the Company gave the Government $8,000,000 as security for a temporary loan of $5,000,000, but released these shortly afterwards by paying back the loan they covered.

This is, as briefly as may be, the history of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway in its inception and construction, but the C.P.R., as it is now usually called, is a complex system of which the main line, though the principal, is not the all important part. To make this a through line was within the power of persistence, indifference to opposition and determination to overcome financial and other obstacles, but to make it a dividend paying line was a work involving various unexpected problems on the solution of which hung failure or success. The real completion of the road therefore remained yet a long way off. It was necessary to open the Pacific coast and the Orient to business centres other than Callander, and to afford trans-continental and round-the-world facilities and attractions to tourists other than those drawn from the rural townships of Ontario. To effect the first of these two objects smaller lines were acquired and branches or extensions built. The Canada Central became part of the Canadian Pacific at the formation of the Company, and the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway (known as the North Shore line) was acquired shortly after-

wards, in June, 1881. For some time attention was given almost exclusively to the construction of the main line, with the exception of some small prairie extensions, but the last spike being driven the work of acquisition and development began in earnest. The following are the lines since acquired by the C.P.R. Company, either by purchase or lease: The New Brunswick Railway System—including the New Brunswick Railway, the St. John and Maine Railway, and the St. Stephen and Milburn Railway—the Montreal and Ottawa Railway, the Atlantic and Northwest Railway, the Montreal and Western Railway, the Ontario and Quebec Railway, the West Ontario and Pacific, the Credit Valley Railway, the Guelph Junction Railway, the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, the Lake Temiscamingue Colonization Railway, the Tobique Valley Railway, the Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie (Algoma branch), the Winnipeg to Emerson Branch (transferred by the Dominion Government), the Winnipeg to Manitou and Pembina Line, and the Manitoba and Southwestern Railway, including the extensions to Souris, Hartney, Melita, Oxbow and Estevan. These extensions were built in 1892, and in 1894 the Sault Ste. Marie Railway was continued through Dakota, U.S.A., to Portal and Moosejaw. The Shuswap and Okanagan Railway, the Columbia and Kootenay Railway, the Nakusp and Slocan Railway were also acquired or built, while the Dominion Government portion of the British Columbia Line from Burrard's Inlet to Kamloops was handed over about the time of the connecting at Layullidic.

Under a special working arrangement the C.P.R. controls the Calgary and Edmonton Railway and the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan, the Duluth, South Shore, and Atlantic Railway, and the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway. The mileage of these lines is as follows: Main line, 2,904; other lines owned, 1,210; leased and operated, 3,136; total mileage, 7,250. In addition to this there are about 675 miles of sidings. Nearly all, if not all, of these acquired roads were in the matter of completion and equipment a very long way from the standard of excellence set for the C.P.R., so that their improvement went on *pari passu* with the perfecting and developing of the main line. It was necessary to build several miles of snow sheds on the mountains, and experience soon showed it to be necessary to improve on the first built and to extend the mileage. Considerable ingenuity was displayed in defying the slides and avalanches, but at length about nine miles of snow sheds rendered the road secure from the accumulations of each succeeding winter. The first trestle bridges across chasms in the mountains and inlets of Lake Superior, though secure for a time, were recognized to be below standard as permanencies, and the work of filling in, or replacing wood with iron was at once begun, and with the requisite prairie fences, stations, water tanks and innumerable adjuncts necessary to such a road were steadily continued until casual repairing took the place of active construction. It is not intended here to speak in detail or from a professional point of view of the construction of the road. In that connection the reader is referred to a paper read by Mr. T. C. Keefer of the A.S.C.E. at a Convention of that Society held on June 28th, 1888. In the years immediately following the junction of the East with the West, traffic for the railway was necessarily light; but by judiciously using its attractions as a scenic road, providing excellent hotels and stopping places in the mountains and at Vancouver (the Pacific terminus), a fair proportion of tourists and sportsmen from the United States and England, as well as from Canada, were induced to travel by this route, spreading its reputation in all directions. At the same time strenuous efforts were made both to attract emigrants from Europe to settle in the Canadian prairies, and to foster and increase the road's business by meeting the requirements of the mercantile community.

As one novelty in the west, may be mentioned the erection of grain elevators wherever business was found for them, notably at Fort William, the Lake Superior terminal point. This point had been selected by Mr. Mackenzie in his scheme, but had been discarded by Sir John Macdonald, who preferred Port Arthur, four miles north of it. The Canadian Pacific Company reverted to Mr. Mackenzie's choice, and in 1886 put on a line of handsome Clyde-built boats to run between Fort William and Owen Sound on the Georgian Bay.

These were the first ocean boats that had been placed on Lake Superior. Then it was seen that a railway carrying passengers and freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific might with advantage provide for their further conveyance beyond sea, and that if the goods of India, China and Japan were to be carried across the Western plains by a Canadian railway, that railway should, and in this case would, connect with steamers of its own on the Pacific. Thus it came about that after running in connection with some few boats of other owners, the Railway Company, arranging with the Imperial Government in 1887 for an annual mail subsidy of £60,000, established the line familiarly spoken of as "The Empress Line," from the names of the three steamers, the Empress of India, China, and Japan, running from Vancouver and Victoria to the ports of Japan and China, and at Hong Kong connecting with other lines running up the Indian Ocean and through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. These boats were larger, speedier and generally superior to any that had navigated the Pacific, and at once came into popular favour. Following this an arrangement was made with an Australian firm of shipowners, and a line of boats was established between Vancouver and the Australian ports via Honolulu, a development of the system the wisdom of which at once became apparent.

Thus after several ineffectual efforts and in spite of Cassandra-like forebodings bearing as offspring serious financial difficulties, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company succeeded not only in traversing the continent in five years' less time than they had by their charter undertaken to do, but going beyond the development promised by the Syndicate, they brought into practical connection with their road the whole railway system of the United States, connected the old civilization of the East with the infant beginnings of the West, and commercially united the youngest of Great Britain's self-governing colonies with the oldest surviving dependency of the Empire. At the close of 1896 the Company owned 584 locomotives, 580 passenger, baggage and colonist cars, 99 sleeping and dining cars, 30 parlour, pay and official cars, 15,162 freight and cattle cars, 297 conductors' vans, 554 boarding, tool and auxiliary cars, making a total of 16,722. The Company's steamers are the Empress of India, China, and Japan, on the Vancouver, Japan and China route; the Alberta, Arthabaska, and Manitoba on the Owen Sound and Fort William route; and the Aberdeen plying between Vernon and Penticton on Okanagan Lake. There are also the two ferry steamers, Ontario and Michigan, carrying the trains across the Detroit River. And though an eminent American, angered by the competition of the new highway exaggerated the situation by styling the Canadian Pacific Railway "The

T. G. Shaughnessy.

Dominion of Canada on wheels," nevertheless no unprejudiced person now belittles the metamorphosis that this railway has effected in the wildernesses of Canada, nor questions the utility it has been to every section of the country; and few fail to see that mainly through the construction of a trans-continental highway, which has become a "highway to the Orient," Canada has mounted to a higher place in the family of nations, and has drawn to herself that attention and consideration so long desired and sought for, but which in any

commensurate degree it seemed almost impossible to secure. And while it is well that occasional criticism, and inevitable that fitful complaint, should from time to time be heard concerning the management of the road, yet the people of Canada have recognized and frankly acknowledged the services of the men who undertook to perform a national work of extraordinary difficulty, and being themselves satisfied with their new possession, have viewed with a sense of personal satisfaction the honours which Her Majesty has been pleased to bestow on those gentlemen to whose courage and ability the success of the Canadian Pacific Railway is so largely due—Lord Mount Stephen, Sir William Van Horne and Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.

The following are some of the interesting facts in the history of the C.P.R. other than railway construction and acquisition already mentioned—in chronological order:

1881. Act of Parliament confirming agreement with Syndicate passed. Company formed.
1884. Steamship service established on the Lakes.
1885. Elevators built at Port Arthur, Fort William and Montreal. Telegraph service completed for lines built. Last spike driven and through connection made. City of Vancouver laid out and named.
1886. Government loan paid off and land grant bonds cancelled. Regular through passenger service between Montreal and the Pacific opened June 28th and service begun about a month later.
1887. Second Elevator put up at Montreal, bringing capacity up to 1,200,000.
1887. Company surrendered monopoly clause of agreement in return for Government guarantee on $15,000,000 bonds at three and a half per cent.
1888. Second elevator, 1,500,000 bushel capacity, built at Fort William.
1889. An Act of Parliament passed to enable Canadian Pacific Railway Company to consolidate its debentures into four per cent. debenture stock.
1889. Connection made with St. Paul and Minneapolis. Contract with Imperial Government, by which latter promises to pay £60,000 per annum mail subsidy to Empress Line of Steamers.
1892. Empress Line of Steamers began running between Vancouver, Japan and China.
1893. Line of steamers began running between Vancouver, Honolulu and Australian ports.

In the establishment of this route, the highest summit reached between Montreal and Lake Superior is 1,550 feet above the sea, or about 950 feet above Lake Superior. The highest between Lake Superior and Red River is 1,560 above sea level. The maximum grade in either direction between Montreal and Lake Superior is one per cent. and the minimum curvature six degrees. Between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains the maximum grade going west is, with one exception, one per cent. That exception is a grade starting from Medicine Hat station. Going east, the maximum is forty feet as far as Winnipeg and twenty-six feet on to Lake Superior. The highest elevation reached between Montreal and the Pacific is 5,996 feet above the sea, in the Kicking Horse Pass in the Rocky Mountains. The maximum grade in the mountains is 4.50 per 100, and occurs at the Kicking Horse Pass. The highest bridge on the line is over Stoney Creek, on the western slope of the Selkirk Range, which is spanned by a 336 feet steel arch bridge, the railway passing over at 300 feet above the bed of the creek.

CANADIAN SCENERY.—MOUNT TEMPLE IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

CANADA AND THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE construction of the Canadian Pacific trans-continental Line constituted one of the epoch-making events in Canadian history. The British conquest, the war of 1812, the confederation of the Provinces, the creation of the national policy of protection, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the granting of a fiscal preference to British goods—these are the periods into which the life of the Dominion naturally and principally divides itself.

The history of the great undertaking from 1872 to 1886, with all its fluctuations of trial and triumph, need not be more than referred to here. But when once fairly started, its success in both construction and operation was rapid and complete. The work of ten years, under the management of Sir George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen), Sir W. C. Van Horne and others, was accomplished in half that time, and since 1885 the British port at Halifax and the Pacific harbour and City of Vancouver have been connected by 3,700 miles of British railway through the Canadian Dominion. While Canada has reason to be proud of its great highway, the British Empire has therefore had equal cause to be congratulated upon the successful completion and operation of so powerful a link in the chain of Imperial unity. The greatness and importance of the work in this sense was early appreciated in London, and when the announcement came that the first through train had started from Montreal to Vancouver, the London *Times* (June 30th, 1886) observed with an enthusiasm warmly re-echoed throughout the British press, that:

"The conception of a trans-continental railway was a magnificent act of faith on the part of the Canadian Dominion. The Dominion contains a population of under five millions of people, and its area consists of nearly three and a half millions of square miles. Such a population, inhabiting so vast a territory, has manifested so profound a faith in its own future that it has conceived and executed within a few years a work which, a generation ago, might well have appalled the wealthiest and most powerful of nations. It is a material manifestation of the growing solidity of the Empire, and a proof of the invincible energy of the American subjects of the British Crown."

As the Canadian Pacific Company pointed out with justifiable pride at the time, 2,400 miles of new railway had been built, equipped and put into operation through many hundred miles of country in which the heaviest and most difficult railway engineering work to be found on either side of the Atlantic was required—and all within five years. Thus the task of concentrating the industrial, commercial and military interests of the British Empire via the Dominion was fairly inaugurated at the same time that an essential link in Canadian national unity and material progress was well and truly forged.

Leaving aside, however, for a time, the political, financial or national aspects of the great railway, it will be interesting as well as important to note the nature of the country and the marvellous scenery through which it passes. Prior to its creation, Canada was hardly known in the true sense of the word. Certainly there were few who thought of it as not only the greatest half of the northern continent, but as containing the most fertile wheat fields, and hundreds of miles of the most sublime mountain scenery which can be found anywhere in the world. To-day, numbers of British, American, and other tourists traverse the magnificent and varying country between Montreal and Vancouver, and reach the Pacific coast in many cases with the conclusion presented by Lady Vincent in her most interesting book of travels, that Canada, properly governed, will yet be "the greatest country on earth." The Canadian Pacific has, of course, through connection from Montreal to

Quebec and Halifax, going east, and also by a branch line to Portland in Maine. It has branches running through the north-western part of Canada, reaching all important points, contributing greatly to the development of that vast region, and covering a country which includes innumerable lakes and rivers, mountains and prairies, valleys, forests, fields and mining districts.

From Montreal the banks of the St. Lawrence and the beautiful Ottawa valley may be traversed on the way to the Pacific. The latter, 700 miles in length, contains perhaps the most productive pine timber regions in the world. Here and there the railway meets or runs beside the broad river from which the valley derives its name, and for hundreds of miles, fields and forests, towns and villages alternate midst a pleasant succession of diverse scenery. Ottawa, the capital of Canada, with its magnificent Parliament buildings and those peculiar surroundings which irresistibly bring to mind the old and true name of Bytown is reached. Thence through the more unsettled parts of Ontario and amid scenes which grow more and more sombre as the road reaches the rock-bound shores of Lake Superior. Here the alternations of rock and river, forest and wilderness, with glimpses of lake and islet scenery produce some of the most fantastic yet imposing or beautiful effects, as the case may be, which nature has ever exhibited. Portions of the route are inexpressibly dreary, others lovely beyond description. Great cliffs of red granite, smooth and bare, or rugged and seamed with trees, straight up and down or piled in some marvellous conformation without apparent design except it be utter unevenness, are to be seen at intervals for a very long distance. These granite piles are interspersed with cliffs of white stone, and the effect of such massive structures, often running up hundreds of feet within a yard of the railway track is exceedingly striking and imposing. Coupled with the tunnels, immense trestle bridges and other engineering difficulties and accomplishments, it enables a visitor, or even a Canadian traveller who ought to understand the matter more or less, to have some conception of the reason why this portion of the railway cost so many millions and so much skill and labour.

With this rugged scenery on the one side of the Lake Superior section there is frequently combined the most charming views of bays and inlets, green-clad islands and sun-dipt or night-silvered waves from the great waters of the inland sea. In winter, or during stormy weather, the view is very different, and can be better imagined than described, especially when the waves almost touch the railway track. Everywhere throughout this portion of the country are tremendous possibilities in mineral production. The nickel mines of Sudbury and vicinity illustrate only one of many minerals which can be obtained, and will be as time goes on. The rivers teem with fish, and past Port Arthur, though away from this particular section of the road, there is found a veritable paradise for the hunter as well as the fisherman. At Fort William commences the great grain elevators which mark the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway from thence almost to the Rockies. The three of them at this place will contain 3,500,000 bushels of wheat, and in season are full to the brim. Port Arthur, connected with Fort William by a sort of steel railway running through the bush, is a town magnificently situated, with a capacious harbour and wild, splendid scenery.

To these towns there is, however, another route from Eastern Canada than that around the shores of Lake Superior. By way of Toronto to Owen Sound and thence by the Canadian Pacific Company's steamers across Georgian Bay, Lake Huron and Lake Superior, is the alternative, and in summer weather it makes a most exquisite trip. Leaving the pretty town of Owen Sound and its surrounding amphitheatre of limestone cliffs, the well equipped Canadian Pacific Railway steamship ploughs straight through the Bay, and across two of the great lakes to Port Arthur. The shores of Lake Huron in some seasons of the year are extremely beautiful. As a delightful Canadian poet, William Wilfrid Campbell, puts it:

> "Miles and miles of crimson glories,
> Autumn's wondrous fires ablaze;
> Miles of shoreland, red and golden,
> Drifting into dream and haze;
> Dreaming where the woods and vapours,
> Melt in myriad, misty ways."

After plunging for a time into the wide waters of the lakes and far from sight of land, the steamer

reaches Sault Ste. Marie and passes through the expensive and elaborate Canadian locks into Lake Superior. Here is seen the St. Mary's River, charming to look at as the entrance is first reached, and as the shores present a succession of pretty views, but interesting chiefly on account of the historic Canal Tolls question and the unreasonable if not hostile action of the United States towards Canada some years since. Thence out into the greatest body of fresh water in the world, the ocean-like expanse of Lake Superior:

"Where ever on through drive and drift,
'Neath blue and gray, thro' hush and moan,
Its ceaseless waters ebb and lift
Past shores of century-crumbling stone."

Crossing the more or less stormy and misty waters Thunder Cape is reached, with its top crowned in mist and storm, its slopes covered with green trees which look like grass from a distance, and its base resting upon the shimmering waters of Thunder Bay. Like glass they may appear at the moment, but little is required to lash them into the wildest and most treacherous fury. And upon these waters, with this scenery in front and mountains in the distance as a background, rest Fort William and Port Arthur. The route by train from these points to Winnipeg is sometimes interesting and pleasing, at others utterly "flat and unprofitable." Endless forests and elevations which might be termed mountains were the Rockies and Selkirks not to be seen further on; rivers of every description—the Kakabeka, Kaministiquia, Rainy and others; bodies of water like that called the Lake of the Woods, which winds in and out amid countless islands and upon alternate sides of the railway, looking like an immense river, and presenting altogether a most exquisite collection of what may be termed isolated bits of beauty. Rat Portage is passed, with its queer name and appearance of mining and lumbering progress; tunnels are constantly encountered which have been blasted out of the solid rock; and the little side stations with the ever-present groups of stolid, dirty, but picturesque Indians. Rafts of timber upon the rivers; piles of lumber in various stages of preparation; long stretches of country covered with bare and burned tamaracks or swamps and burning forests; alternate in this land of curious contrasts. Finally, the nature of the country suddenly changes, and from the mountains round Port Arthur, the wooded slopes further west, the sparsely wooded level country which follows, the train flashes into the full light of the prairie, and at a distance of 1,400 miles from Montreal and 1,400 miles to Vancouver, Winnipeg is reached.

This metropolis of the prairies, and centre of commerce, finance and population in a million square miles of Canadian territory, is a curiously interesting city. The mixture of primitive simplicity with modern progress; the village conditions of a decade earlier with the rushing city life of a vigourous community of to-day; the ox-cart with the electric railway; present strange comparisons and peculiar effects. The boundless prairie all around, with the historic Red and Assiniboine rivers meeting within the city, and the remarkable mud which results from too rich a soil, and is patiently endured on that account, will not readily be forgotten when once seen. And when the ruins of Fort Garry and the grave of Louis Riel are pointed out, or the record of the historic days of not so very long ago is dealt with by some patriotic pioneer, the visitor will realize what early settlement meant in this great western land, and how much the country owes, first to the Hudson's Bay Company, and second to the Canadian Pacific Railway. The latter made prosperous centres like Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Regina or Calgary possible, and rendered the fertile fields of Manitoba and the great ranching lands of the Territories a home for millions in the future, and a hope for thousands in the present. And this without reference to the debatable subject of rates. From Winnipeg, through Manitoba, past several cities, many towns and innumerable farm-houses, the train rushes over a level prairie country and through the greatest potential wheat-fields in the world. The waves of golden grain at harvest time are beautiful indeed, and the product itself is the finest brand yet discovered or grown.

After passing Qu'Appelle and the charming valley which bears its name, the railway reaches Regina, the capital of the North-West Territories, and thence continues through more or less prairie country, splendidly fitted for ranching purposes, and teeming with sheep and cattle, un-

til Calgary is reached, and far in the distance, crowned with grey mist, is seen the first glimpse of the Rocky Mountains. All through this great region coal has been discovered and the mines which are now being worked at Lethbridge, North-West Territories, and at other points will soon suffice to supply the whole of that section of Canada with the one great staple which was required to make its future assured. After Calgary, with its atmosphere of almost mesmerizing hopefulness, the Rocky Mountains are soon reached. Cloud-crowned, snow-capped, sun-dipt, green, grey, solemn, and massive, these wonderful phenomena of nature stand out in still more striking contrast after nine hundred miles of level, if not monotonous prairie. As the train whirls down deep grades; climbs up the dark and forbidding side of some huge mountain whose crests are encircled with everlasting storms and capped with eternal snows; winds in and out of tunnels and engineering "loops" built to overcome seemingly impassible obstacles; traverses for hundreds of miles the banks of rushing rivers and wildly struggling torrents; it is impressed upon the mind of the traveller that the conquest of man over this rugged immensity of nature is as remarkable as the scenery itself is marvellous. To adequately describe these mountain ranges through and over which the Canadian Pacific has forced its way, is simply impossible. The magnificent mountain valley called the Kicking Horse Pass; the huge canyons and chasms; the vertical sides of the mountains, out of which the road seems literally carved; the huge trestle works required to aid the battle with nature; the tunnels and towering cliffs; the roar of some river struggling through natural and powerful obstacles, combined with the noise of the train; produce an almost stunning and utterly indescribable effect.

Rogers' Pass presents another great scene. Two lines of mountain peaks, rising out of a valley in which a large river looks from the train like a silver thread, tower up thousands of feet into the clouds. Here and there huge glaciers are visible, and the alternation of views afforded by the lofty summits and sides of the principal peaks, like that of the Hermit or Mount Macdonald, are superb. Sunset, sunrise, or a snowstorm produce the most beautiful effects in colouring, and the most exquisite products of that great master of all art—Nature itself. Green and brown, purple and black, blue and white, are developed according to the weather and the time of day. Intensely dark, sombre and gloomy is the scene, or beautiful beyond description—there seems to be no medium. One enthusiastic lady is known to have exclaimed whilst the train was traversing one of these great passes, "'Tis a glut of glory." Perhaps no better description could be given. Sir Edwin Arnold informed the writer in passing across the mountains, though in a poetic style which memory will not reproduce, that he had seen loftier mountains—the Himalayas, for instance—but none in which the grandeur was so brought home to the observer. The Albert Canyon is an unique product of nature. The train pauses for a few minutes to permit the traveller to see the Illicilliwaet river, nearly three hundred feet below the railway, compressed into a boiling flume of tumbling waters hardly twenty feet wide by walls of solid rock. The effect is very striking.

But the changes of the scene, the wonderful transformations of nature are never-ending. Here, perhaps, will be visible upon the dark mountain side, lines of low trees or shrubs amidst the forests, looking like rivers of grass; there, silvery streaks of snow. Here, a huge glacier; there, a mountain looking like a vast pile of coral heaped in some gigantic shapes. Everywhere are the banks of rushing rivers—the Bow, the Kicking Horse, the Columbia, the Beaver, the Illicilliwaet, the Eagle, the Thompson, or the magnificent Fraser. Running down the mountain sides, skipping in merry cascades and myriad colours across or beside the railway, tearing wildly down steep inclines, rushing over huge rocks and precipices, roaring between massive stone walls—turbulent or peaceful, grand or beautiful—these rivers and streams present a thousand varied charms. The scenery along the Fraser is simply matchless. In many places the great river is forced between cliffs or vertical walls of black rock, and foams and roars like some imprisoned giant fighting to be free. The railway is cut into the cliffs hundreds of feet above, and tunnels pierced out of the rock follow each other in rapid succession. Elsewhere

along its banks, the scene is more peaceful, and the industrious Indian natives of British Columbia may be watched at their great staple of labour—salmon fishing. Thence, after passing Yale the mountains moderate in size and grandeur, the low country is soon reached, and the Rockies and the Selkirks are things of the past—the peaks only dimly visible in the distance. Beautiful valleys, wonderful fruit farms, and evidences of settlement and industrial progress are seen until Vancouver is reached, 2,900 miles from Montreal, and the journey across the continent is ended.

A wonderful town is Vancouver. Ten years since a little pioneer village, it is now a bustling, growing seaport and city of 20,000 people. A few miles away, and connected with it by electric railway, is New Westminster, upon the lovely banks of the Fraser. In British Columbia there are two extremes. Though the greater part of the country consists of colossal mountain ranges, where the climate is cold and only timber and minerals (such as the gold which made the Colony so famous in the early fifties and is more than repeating history in 1897) can be found, yet near the coast the soil is exceptionally fertile and the fruit marvellous in its size and possibilities of development in both quantity and quality. The trees along the coast are also as large proportionately as the mountains further inland. Stanley Park, in Vancouver, contains many which can compare favourably with those for which the Yellowstone Valley is so famous. Perhaps one of the most unique references to this whole remarkable region was that made by the Hon. Edward Blake, now M.P. for Longford, in a speech delivered at Vancouver on April 30th, 1891. It was his first visit and trip over the great Canadian route, and an apology was, perhaps, expected by the people for his long-continued opposition to the building of the Canadian Pacific—completed, as it had been, in the teeth of his strenuous resistance when Leader of the Opposition—and for his famous description of British Columbia as a "sea of mountains," through which no railway could be properly and profitably run. This was his apology:

"As I approached the country I was struck by the remarkable change from the rugged and upheaved territory of the plains of the North-West to the smooth and level slope of the Rockies; as I ascended the slope and came upon the somewhat level and monotonous flats of British Columbia; as I travelled by the languid Bow, and descended again through the valley of the tranquil Kicking Horse; as I crossed the calm Columbia and travelled down the dead waters of the Beaver, and along the placid Illicilliwaet, and by the drowsy Skuzzy; as I passed along by the slow Thompson, and last of all by the banks between which the Fraser meanders its sluggish way (roars of laughter), I turned to the fertile resources of your shores and viewed the horizon where it spanned the meadows of the Selkirks, the fertile level plains of the Gold Range, and the broad plains of the Coast Range—and I reached here converted."

Leaving the jocular vein, however, Mr. Blake proceeded to claim that he had only opposed certain features of the route and methods of construction. Parliamentary records and political platforms alike are pointed to as controverting this statement, but as the speaker said: "When the railroad is built and finished, I felt myself that it was useless to continue the controversy longer, in deference to the whole country which Canada has risked so much to retain." To-day in the Dominion all parties join hands in the acknowledgment that without it we could hardly have maintained our unity and our position as a British country upon this North American continent, although great differences of opinion still prevail concerning its powers and privileges and traffic rates.

But this in passing. Eighty miles by steamer from Vancouver, and out of its sweeping harbour into the Pacific, lies the quaint, pretty, and English city of Victoria. Situated upon Vancouver Island, it is the capital of the Province, and thoroughly English in style, appearance, and the manners of its people. Near by are the dry-docks and fortifications of Esquimault, the station of Her Majesty's North Pacific fleet. Here also is reached the end of the trip, so far as British Canadian territory is concerned, though the scenery upon the return journey appears still fresh and vivid from the ever-varying phases of nature's great panorama. And an intelligent traveller will have much to think of after completing a trans-continental trip within the bounds of Canada. If he be a Canadian, recollections of

the stormy political conflicts which preceded and accompanied the construction of the great railway; appreciative memories of the tremendous difficulties which were encountered and overcome by the Company; a comprehension of the power conferred upon the Dominion, and the progress and prosperity made possible for all its people by the opening up of Manitoba, the Territories, and British Columbia; a sentiment of abounding pride in his vast expanse of country, the growing unity of his Provinces, and the steady development of all those great resources which together constitute the Dominion of Canada; these are the ideas which will naturally throng his mind and impress a feeling of national confidence and hopefulness upon his heart.

If he be a citizen of the British Islands, it is probable that the first sensation will be one of astonishment. Surprise that Canada is so vast, so prosperous and progressive, so full of rich resources, possessed of such enormous wheat-fields, such herds of cattle and sheep, such immense mineral wealth, such quantities of timber, fish, coal, iron, nickel, and a thousand other things. The sight of its wonderful mountains, lakes, rivers and scenery in general, will change his surprise into admiration, even if that be not effected by the more material environment. The next sensation will be one of pride that so great a country is part and parcel of the British Empire, and inhabited by a people who are loyal to the same sovereign, living under the same flag, institutions and laws as himself, and preserving unbroken by seas, and distance in time or space, the same traditions, history and sentiments as are possessed by those living at home, where lie, as Lord Rosebery puts it, the title-deeds of the British race. He will appreciate the patriotic exertions of the French-Canadians who aided in making Canadian unity and progress possible, and he will understand why Canadians call their people a nation within the Empire, and why they do not like the word Colony.

If he be an average citizen of the United States, he will also feel unmingled astonishment. The feeling will be one of wonder that so great a country could lie for thousands of miles along the frontier of his own Republic and be so comparatively unknown and so much misrepresented—in climate, productions, government, people, and progress. Perhaps the second feeling will be one of fear regarding the future growth and competitive power of a region which must inevitably some day rival the United States in wealth and strength. And probably the hostile remarks of President Cleveland in his Message of 1887, of President Harrison in subsequent Messages, and the remembered jingoism of the current press, may arouse a fear as to the effect of Canadian Pacific Railway competition upon the future of American roads. The Report of the United States Senate Committee in 1890 would perhaps be called to mind, in which action was recommended with a view to checking Canadian railway competition in the United States, and the following statements made, amongst many others:

"President Jackson and his predecessors in office were never called upon to consider a scheme of encroachment upon American commercial interests more injurious and audacious than the scheme by the Dominion of Canada for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the subsidizing of a steamer line upon the Pacific Ocean in connection with such railway, rendering certain the injury or destruction of American steamer lines now employed there, and the diversion of our Asiatic commerce from American seaports to the ports of British Columbia."

Waiving consideration of the fact that every free country possesses an inherent right to encourage its own commerce, and, stripping this and many similar charges of the buncombe which more or less surround them, it is seen that the charge of Canadian hostility is simply based upon the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway has proved successful. The Government of Canada was originally responsible for only one-fourth of its total cost, while, as Mr. Joseph Nimmo, a violent American antagonist of the Canadian Pacific Railway admits in a little pamphlet dated November 25, 1887, "the first trans-continental railroads completed in the United States were undertaken and carried to completion under Governmental patronage for political rather than commercial purposes." It is a pity that this American propaganda against their railways, of which Canadians hear the mutterings every now and then, should continue, because the Canadian Pacific voluntarily places itself under the railway

Inter-State regulations of the Republic, provides a system of connections giving quicker and better passage for American commodities than the American lines themselves, and has made itself absolutely essential to the New England States as well as a source of cheaper and more efficient transport to the American farmer for his various products. But without considering international questions further, the Canadian Pacific Railway may be justly considered an object of pride to the mass of the Canadian people, while its management is a source of prosperity to those financially interested. The country which it traverses from the Atlantic to the Pacific is perhaps the richest in natural resources and scenery of any land upon the face of the globe, and this being so, the future of both the Dominion and the Railway may be regarded with confidence.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY—EDITOR'S NOTES

A Prophetic View of the Railway. A leading article appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of 16th February, 1861, headed, "A British Railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific," which was afterwards known to be written by Sir Edward W. Watkin. It summed up in most interesting terms the prophetic ambitions of that energetic and far-seeing public man. He commenced by quoting from the Queen's Speech to Parliament in 1858:

"I hope," said Her Majesty, "that the new Colony on the Pacific (British Columbia) may be but one step in the career of steady progress, by which my dominions in North America may be ultimately peopled in an unbroken chain, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by a loyal and industrious population."

And then he continued as follows: "This aspiration, so strikingly expressed, found a fervent echo in the national heart, and it continues to engage the earnest attention of England, for it speaks of a great outspread of solid prosperity and of rational liberty, of the diffusion of our civilization, and of the extension of our moral empire. Since the Royal Speech, Governments have done something and events have done more to ripen public opinion into action. The Governments at home and in Canada have organized and explored. The more perfect discoveries of our new gold fields on the Pacific, the Indian Mutiny, the completion of great works in Canada, the treaties with Japan and with China, the visit of the Prince of Wales to the American continent, and, at the moment, the sad dissensions in the United States, combine to interest us in the question, and to make us ask, 'How is this hope to be realized; not a century hence, but in our time?' Our augmenting interests in the East demand for reasons both of Empire and of trade, access to Asia less dangerous than by Cape Horn, less circuitous even than by Panama, less dependent than by Suez and the Red Sea. Our emigration, imperilled by the dissensions in the United States, must fall back upon colonization. And, commercially, the countries of the East must supply the raw materials and provide the markets which probable contests between the free man and the slave may diminish, or may close, elsewhere. Again, a great nation like ours cannot stand still. It must either march on triumphantly in the van, or fall hopelessly into the rear. The measure of its accomplishment must, century by century, rise higher and higher in the competition of nations. Its great works in this generation can alone perpetuate its greatness in the next.

Let us look at the map! There we see, coloured as British America, a tract washed by the great Atlantic on the east, and by the Pacific Ocean on the west, and containing 4,000,000 square miles, or one-ninth of the whole terrestrial surface of the globe. Part of this vast domain, upon the east, is Upper and Lower Canada; part, upon the west, is the new colony of British Columbia, with Vancouver's Island (the Madeira of the Pacific); while the largest portion is held, as one great preserve, by the fur-trading Hudson's Bay Company, which, in right of a charter given by Charles II. in 1670, kills vermin for skins, and monopolises the trade with the native Indians over a surface many times as big again as Great

Britain and Ireland. Still, all this land is ours, for it owes allegiance to the sceptre of Victoria. Between the magnificent harbour of Halifax on the Atlantic, open throughout the year for ships of the largest class, to the Straits of Fuca, opposite Vancouver's Island, with its noble Esquimault inlet, intervene some 3,200 miles of road line. For 1,400 or 1,500 miles of this distance the Nova Scotian, the *Habitant*, and the Upper Canadian have spread, more or less in lines and patches over the ground, until the population of 60,000 in 1759 amounts to 2,500,000 in 1860. The remainder is peopled only by the Indian and the hunter, save that at the southern end of Lake Winnipeg there still exists the hardy and struggling Red River Settlement, now called Fort Garry; and dotted all over the continent, as lights of progress, are trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The combination of recent discoveries places it at least beyond all doubt that the best, though perhaps not the only, thoroughly efficient route for a great highway for peoples and for commerce, between the Atlantic and Pacific, is to be found through this British territory. Beyond that, it is alleged that while few, if any, practicable passes for a wagon-road, still less for a railway, can be found through the Rocky Mountains across the United States territory (north-west of the Missouri), there have been discovered already no less than three eligible openings in the British ranges of these mountains, once considered as inaccessible to man. While Captain Palliser prefers the 'Kananaskakis,' Captain Blakiston and Governor Douglas the 'Kootanie,' and Dr. Hector the 'Vermillion' Pass, all agree that each is perfectly practicable, if not easy, and that even better openings may probably yet be found as exploration progresses. Again, while British Columbia, on the Pacific, possesses a fine climate, an open country, and every natural advantage of soil and mineral, it has been also discovered that the doubtful region from the Rocky Mountains eastward up to the Lake of the Woods contains, with here and there some exceptions, a continuous belt of the finest land. Professor Hind says that:

'It is a physical reality of the highest importance to the interests of British North America that this continuous belt can be settled and cultivated from a few miles west of the Lake of the Woods to the passes of the Rocky Mountains; and any line of communication, whether by wagon, road, or railroad passing through it will eventually enjoy the great advantage of being fed by an agricultural population from one extremity to the other.'

Although the lakes and the St. Lawrence give an unbroken navigation of 2,000 miles, right to the sea, for ships of 300 tons burden, yet if there is to be a continuous line, along which, and all the year round, the travel and traffic of the Western and Eastern worlds can pass without interruption, railway communication with Halifax must be perfected, and a new line of iron road, passing through Ottawa, the Red River Settlement, and this continuous belt, must be constructed. This new line is a work of above 2,300 miles, and would cost probably £20,000,000, if not £25,000,000 sterling. The sum, though so large, is still little more than we voluntarily paid to extinguish slavery in our West Indian dominions; it does not much exceed the amount which a Royal Commission, some little time ago, proposed to expend in erecting fortifications and sea-works to defend our shores. It is but six per cent. of the amount we have laid out on completing our own railway system in this little country at home. It is equal to but two and a half per cent. of our National Debt, and the annual interest upon it is much less than the British Pension List.

We say, then, 'Establish an unbroken line of road and railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific through British territory.' Such a great highway would give shorter distances by both sea and land, with an immense saving of time. As regards the great bugbear of the general traveller—sea distance—it would (to and from Liverpool) save, as compared with the Panama route, a tossing, wearying navigation of 6,000 miles to Japan, of 5,000 miles to Canton, and of 3,000 miles to Sydney. For Japan, for China, for the whole Asiatic Archipelago, and for Australia, such a route must become the great highway to and from Europe: and whatever nation possesses that highway must wield of necessity the commercial sceptre of the world.

In the United States the project of a railway to the Pacific to cross the Rocky Mountains has

ebbed and flowed in public opinion, and has been made the battle-cry of parties for years past, but nothing has yet been done. Such a project, in order to answer its purpose, requires something more than a practicable surface or convenient mountain passes. Fine harbours on both oceans, facilities for colonization on the route, and the authority of one single power over the whole of the wild regions traversed, are all essential to success. As regards the United States, these conditions are wanting. While there are harbours enough on the Atlantic, though none equal to Halifax, there is no available harbour at all fit for the great Pacific trade, from Acapulco to our harbour of Esquimault, on Vancouver's Island, except San Francisco, and that is in the wrong place, and is, in many states of the wind, unsafe and inconvenient. The country north-west of the Missouri is found to be sterile, and at least one-third of the whole United States territory situated in this region is now known as the 'Great American Desert.' Again, the conflicting interests of separate and sovereign States present an almost insuperable bar to agreement as to route, or as to future 'operations' or control. It is true that Mr. Seward (possibly as the exponent of the policy of the new President) promises to support two Pacific railways—one for the South, another for the North. But these promises are little better than political baits, and were they carried out into Acts of Congress, financial disturbance would delay, if not prevent, their final realization; and, even if realized, they would not serve the great wants of the East and the West, still less would they satisfy England and Europe. We, therefore, cannot look for the early execution of this gigantic work at the hands of the United States. Such a work, however, is too costly and too difficult for the grasp of unaided private enterprise. To accomplish it out of hand, the whole help of both the Local and Imperial Parliaments must be given. That help once offered, by guarantee or by grant, private enterprise would flock to the undertaking, and people would go to colonize on the broad tracts laid open to their industry."

The Pacific Railway Charter. Perhaps the most exciting incident, and certainly the most bitter controversy, in modern Canadian history, were those connected with the granting of a Charter in 1872-3 to build the projected Canadian Pacific Railway. Upon the questions then raised and the charges made have been based almost endless political and newspaper battles, and upon the issue turned one general election and the overthrow of a Government. The whole matter, however, is now history, and despite the feeling which it even yet evokes in some quarters should be judged by the facts which have since become known in connection with the original and famous charges. On April 2nd, 1873, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington, seconded by Mr. Telesphore Fournier—afterwards a member of the Mackenzie Government and a Supreme Court Judge—rose in his place in the House of Commons and made the following statement and motion:

"That Mr. Huntington, a member of this House, having stated in his place that he is credibly informed and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence that in anticipation of the legislation of last Session as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. McMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated Railway, and to give the former a certain percentage of interest in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head; that the Government was aware that negotiations were pending between these parties; that subsequently an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P., that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the Railway; that accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances of Ministers; that part of the moneys expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the Act of Incorporation and Charter were paid to him by the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him: It is ordered that a Committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construc-

tion of the Pacific Railway, with the legislation of last Session on the subject,and with the granting of the Charter to Sir Hugh Allan and others; with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of, said Committee."

What followed between this somewhat dramatic episode and the appointment of a Royal Commission of Enquiry several months later, is best and most authoritatively described in the following extracts from a private despatch written by Lord Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated August 15th, 1873, and published in the Journals of the Canadian House of Commons, Volume 7, 1873:

"As I have already remarked in a previous despatch, No. 116, May 3rd, the charge thus brought against my Government was very grave, viz., that they had trafficked with foreigners in Canada's most precious interests in order to debauch the constituencies of the Dominion with the gold obtained as the price of their treachery. In making these allegations, however, Mr. Huntington did not enforce them by any confirmatory statement or by the production of any *prima facie* proofs of their validity. He merely read his motion and sat down. Neither Sir John Macdonald nor any of his colleagues having risen to address the House, a division was taken without debate, which resulted in a majority of 31 for the Government in a House of 183. Notwithstanding this display of their Parliamentary strength—which I imagine was put forward by way of protest against Mr. Huntington's appeal to his own mere *ipse dixit*—my Government felt that the matter could not thus be disposed of, and accordingly the next day Sir John Macdonald gave notice of the following motion which was carried on the ensuing Tuesday, Aprll 8th:

'That a Select Committee of five members (of which Committee the mover shall not be one) be appointed by this House to enquire into and report upon the several matters contained and stated in a Resolution moved on Wednesday, the 2nd of April, instant, by the Hon. Mr. Huntington, Member for the County of Shefford, relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; to report from time to time, and to report the evidence from time to time, and if need be to sit after the prorogation of Parliament.'

The members to compose the Committee were then named by the House as follows: the Hon. Mr. J. G. Blanchet, Mr. Blake, and the Hon. Messrs. A. A. Dorion, Napierville; James MacDonald, Pictou; and John Hillyard Cameron, Cardwell. Of the five above-mentioned gentlemen, three, viz., Mr. Cameron, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Blanchet, may be regarded as regular supporters of the Administration, and two—Mr. Blake and Mr. Dorion—as leading members of the Opposition. On the debate which took place on this motion, I am informed by my Prime Minister—and here I must remind Your Lordship that I have no other means of acquainting myself with what takes place in the House, as I am precluded from being present at its proceedings, and the newspaper reports are quite untrustworthy—that Mr. Mackenzie, the Leader of the Opposition, as well as Mr. Blake, Mr. Dorion and Mr. Joly, eminent members of the same party, expressed themselves of opinion that the evidence tendered should be on oath, and the former gentleman further suggested, it being doubtful whether the Committee could sit after the House was once prorogued, that a Bill should be introduced expressly enabling it to do so. I shall have occasion subsequently to refer to this latter circumstance. As the necessity for sworn testimony in respect of such grave charges was generally obvious, an Oaths Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 18th April, was passed through the Senate on the 29th, and received the Royal Assent on the 3rd May. The time occupied in getting this measure through Parliament was pronounced unnecessarily long by many members of the Opposition.

Into the motives which induced me to sanction the Oaths Bill, and into its subsequent history I need not enter, as the former are stated in my despatch of the 3rd May (No. 116) and the latter is recorded in Your Lordship's communication of June 30th (No. 198)—but I may observe, in passing, that amongst other respects in which my conduct has been criticized, the fact of my having communicated to you by the first opportunity a certified copy of the Oaths Bill has been a very

general point of attack. I apprehend it will not be necessary to justify myself to Your Lordship in this particular. My law adviser had called my attention to the possibility of the Bill being illegal. Had perjured testimony been tendered under it, no proceedings could have been taken against the delinquent, and if, under these circumstances, I had wilfully withheld from the Home Government all cognizance of the Act, it would have been a gross dereliction of duty. To those in this country who have questioned my procedure, it would be sufficient to reply, that I recognize no authority on this side of the Atlantic competent to instruct the Governor-General as to the nature of his correspondence with Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

In the meantime the Committee had met, and on the 5th May had resolved, amongst other things, that in view of the absence of Sir George Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, and the impossibility of the investigation with which the Committee is charged being carried on in a proper manner without an opportunity being afforded these gentlemen of being present and hearing the testimony adduced, it was advisable the Committee should adjourn until Wednesday, the 2nd day of July, if Parliament should then be in Session,—a conclusion which appears to have been arrived at in the Committee by a majority of three to two. On the following day these recommendations were adopted by the House of Commons, on a vote of 107 to 76. The ordinary business of the Session being now nearly concluded, and it having been admitted, I understand by all parties, that the Committee could not sit after prorogation, it was arranged that the House should adjourn to such a day beyond the 2nd July as would enable the Committee to complete the investigation and to frame their report. The date eventually determined on was the 13th August, which was also settled as the day on which Parliament was to be prorogued. . . . On the 2nd July, Mr. Cameron's Committee met in Montreal, but in the meantime I had received an intimation from Your Lordship, that the Oaths Bill had been disallowed by the Queen-in-Council, and I had made the fact public by Proclamation.

The Committee being thus precluded from swearing in their witnesses, a motion was made by Mr. Dorion, supported by Mr. Blake, that they should content themselves with unsworn testimony, but the majority considering themselves debarred from this course by the express instructions of the House upon the point, they determined to adjourn until the 13th August. The resolution was taken on the 3rd of July. The day after there appeared in the Montreal *Herald* a series of letters and telegrams written by Sir Hugh Allan to a Mr. McMullen, and to a Mr. Smith, of Chicago, and to some unknown person in the United States, in reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway. The day following a long statement on the same subject in the form of an affidavit was issued by Sir Hugh Allan in another newspaper. I have already had the honour of forwarding to Your Lordship both these documents, but I think it well to append them to this despatch for convenience of reference. It is not necessary for my present purpose that I should either analyze or contrast the conflicting assertions observable in these productions. It will be sufficient to note that not only does Sir Hugh Allan admit upon oath that the language of his letters is 'inaccurate,' but he also denies in the most positive manner the correctness of the inferences sought to be deduced from them.

On the whole, as far as I could gather from the tone of the press, and from conversation, these revelations rather improved than otherwise the position of the Ministry. On the one hand, Sir Hugh Allan's letters accounted for and justified Mr. Huntington's pertinacity; on the other, his affidavit—or rather, Sir John Macdonald's telegram quoted in the affidavit—satisfactorily proved that so far from yielding himself or allowing his colleague, Sir George Cartier, to yield to the pressure put upon him by Sir Hugh Allan in the height of the election contest, my Prime Minister had required the immediate and complete cancelling of an arrangement favourable to Sir Hugh to which Sir George had evinced a willingness to subscribe. . . . But for the appearance of the foregoing documents, I doubt whether so great an impression would have been produced on the public mind by the statement of Mr. McMullen. I myself have no knowledge of the gentleman, and have no right to impeach his

veracity, but it is manifest that many of his assertions are at variance with Sir Hugh Allan's sworn testimony, while others have been contradicted by gentlemen whose credibility it would be difficult to impugn. Even with regard to the documents themselves, it is to be observed that they were neither addressed to Mr. McMullen nor to anyone with whom he was associated, and that they could scarcely have come into his possession by other than surreptitious means. They do not therefore necessarily connect themselves with those nefarious transactions to which Mr. McMullen asserts he was privy.

It is further contended by the friends of the Government that the sums mentioned or even referred to were not very large—about £12,000 sterling in all—an amount which would go but a little way to defray the legitimate expenses of the 150 Ontario and Quebec elections, and that there was nothing to show whether they had been proffered as a subscription or as a temporary loan from a wealthy political partizan. Their sinister significance resulted in a great measure from their factitious juxtaposition with Mr. McMullen's narrative. Under these circumstances, though without attaching too much importance to mere conjectural pleas of this kind, I was unwilling to jump to a hasty conclusion on a matter involving both the private and the public honour of my Ministers, and above all things I felt bound not to allow my judgment to be swayed by the current of popular suspicion which this concatenation of documents would naturally produce.

I happened to be at Prince Edward Island when the McMullen correspondence reached my hands, whither two of my Ministers—Mr. Tilley, the Minister of Finance, and Dr. Tupper, the Minister of Customs—had also come for the purpose of settling certain details consequent on the recent confederation of the Island. I immediately sent for these gentlemen, and the strenuous assurances I received from each of them confirmed my hope that matters might be satisfactorily explained. But, however that might be, I knew that our original programme for the indefinite prorogation of Parliament could no longer be adhered to, and that my presence at Ottawa on the 13th August was imperative. Understanding, however, that preparations were in progress for our public reception at Halifax, I thought it better to proceed thither, and to make no announcement of my subsequent intentions until the last moment. At the time I wrote to Sir John, and intimated to him that the position of affairs had changed since we parted—that a recess for the usual period was no longer possible, and that it was necessary Parliament should be provided with as early an opportunity as circumstances permitted of pronouncing upon the points at issue between himself and his assailants.

On reaching Halifax, on the 29th July, I found the popular excitement all over the Dominion was intense, and that my supposed views, sympathies, and intentions were becoming not merely the subject of conjecture, but of assertion and comment in the rival newspapers—the Government press stating, as if upon authority, that my course would be so and so—announcements which were met by the Opposition prints with strong admonitory, or rather minatory, articles. As, at this time, I had by no means made up my mind as to the proper course to be pursued, and felt that no decision was possible until I had seen my Ministers, I determined to take an early opportunity of deprecating the introduction of the Governor-General's name into such a controversy. An occasion soon presented itself, and I have the honour to subjoin an extract from a newspaper report of a speech I made at a dinner given to me by the Halifax Club.

But though keeping my final decision in suspense, my mind was much occupied, as Your Lordship may imagine, with the consideration of the various courses open to me. On one point I was quite clear—namely, that it would not be right for me to countenance the settlement of the serious issues raised between me and my Ministers and their opponents, involving, as they did, the personal honour of the most eminent men in Canada, the fate of my Ministry, and the public credit of the country—except at the hands of a full Parliament, in which the distant Provinces of the Dominion were as well represented as those of Ontario and Quebec. As I have already described to Your Lordship in the earlier part of this despatch, before Parliament adjourned on the 23rd of May, I had caused it to be announced to both Houses that prorogation would take place

on the 13th of August. This arrangement, I have no hesitation in saying, was agreeable to what were then the views of the majority both in the Senate and in the House of Commons. On the faith of this pledge, many gentlemen were gone to so great a distance that it was physically impossible for them to be recalled, and it so happened, from causes to which I have already referred, that by far the larger proportion of these absentees were supporters of the Government. All the Members from British Columbia, except Sir F. Hincks, were on the wrong side of the Rocky Mountains. Some Ministerialists were in Europe, as I was informed, others in the States, and even to those in the Maritime Provinces, a return to Ottawa, though not physically impossible, as it was to their colleagues, would prove a great inconvenience at such a season. On the other hand, I learnt that the Opposition were mustering their full force, an operation for which they possessed certain geographical facilities. Were, therefore, the House of Commons to meet for the transaction of public business, it was evident that important votes might be passed, and decisions taken, contrary to the real sense of the country, and that my Ministers might justly complain that they were being unfairly treated, and their fate determined by a packed Parliament.

But, apart from these practical considerations, a grave question of principle seemed to me involved. The Imperial Officer representing the Crown in the Dominion, is the natural protector of the federal rights of its various Provinces, as secured under an Imperial Act. The sanctity of the rights of any one of these Provinces is not affected by the number of its representatives or the amount of its population. In this view it is especially necessary that, in a country of such enormous distances, ample notice should be given of the times and seasons when Parliament is to sit. But if it be once admitted that the official "fixtures" which regulate the opening or closing of a Session and the conduct of public business, are to be capriciously tampered with, and changed at so short a notice as to preclude the distant representatives from being present, it is evident much wrong and inconvenience would result, and the door be opened to a great deal of trickery at the hands of an unscrupulous Minister.

The foregoing considerations pointed pretty distinctly to prorogation as an inevitable necessity of the situation. Only one other alternative indeed either suggested itself then or has occurred to me since, and that was another adjournment of the House to such a date as would suit the convenience of the absentees. At first, I confess this course appeared to me fairly practicable, but further reflection disclosed difficulties I had not at once seen. In the first place, this was an arrangement which I had not the power of enforcing, and I was confronted by the obvious reflection that if the Government made a motion to that effect, it might be defeated or met with an amendment tantamount to a vote of want of confidence at the hands of the majority then present, and I should then find myself landed in the very position which I was quite satisfied ought to be avoided. . . . Unfortunately, in this country party animosity is intense, and the organs of each side denounce the public men opposed to them in terms of far greater vigour than those to which we are accustomed in England. The quarrel at this moment is exceptionally bitter. The one party openly accuses the other of personal dishonour, while these regard their opponents as unscrupulous conspirators. As a consequence, a mistrust of each other's fair dealing—which I cannot believe to be justified on either hand—has been engendered, which would render the roll of mediator under any circumstances extremely difficult. As it was, the former part of Sir John's representations, if not the latter, coincided too closely with what had occurred to my own mind to enable me to deny its cogency.

There being, however, no further time for correspondence, I left Halifax on Saturday night, the 9th August, and arrived in Ottawa on the morning of Wednesday, the 13th. Had I been at liberty to have done so, I should have preferred starting sooner, but the town of Halifax had organized a series of popular demonstrations in our honour for Saturday afternoon, and it would have occasioned great dissatisfaction had I absented myself. . . . The 13th of August was not only the day appointed for prorogation, but it was also the day to which the Committee of Enquiry had adjourned, but as far as I can gather from the subjoined report of what occurred, it

came together to very little purpose. Indeed, its whole procedure on this occasion is difficult of comprehension, in consequence, I suppose, of the meagreness of the only report of what passed which I have been able to obtain. In the first place, only four out of the five members were present, and eventually another, Mr. Dorion, withdrew in the middle of a discussion, leaving what are considered the Government members in a majority. One of these, Mr. Blanchet, then proposed that they should report their proceedings to the House. Mr. Blake, in amendment of

The Hon. L. S. Huntington.

this suggestion, moved the adjournment of the Committee, which was carried—the result being that when the House met at three o'clock, as had been arranged six weeks before, for the very purpose of receiving the Committee's Report, no report of any sort or description was forthcoming.

Of course it was always open to me to have dismissed my Ministers, and to have taken my chance of Parliament approving my conduct, but I did not feel myself warranted in hazarding such a step on the data before me. Indeed, the rashness and injustice of the proceeding would probably have roused such a feeling of dissatisfaction in the minds of what I have no reason to know may not prove the majority of the constituencies that there would have been a great chance—if Sir John and his friends came at all decently out of the affair—of their being borne back into office on the shoulders of the people. If wholly exculpated, Your Lordship can imagine what my position would become in presence of the reaction that would have ensued. At all events, as I told the remonstrant members in my reply, I was not prepared, by publicly withdrawing my confidence from my Ministers, to proclaim to Canada, to America, and to Europe that I believed untried men guilty of such atrocious crimes as those imputed to them. It is, however, not necessary to debate this line of conduct, as no responsible person in this country has ventured to recommend it. But though not directly suggesting the dismissal of my Ministers, it has been very generally contended that I should have considered them under a ban, and should have ceased to act on their advice, though still retaining them in office. The establishment of a relationship of this kind between the Crown and its Ministers would be a novel fact in Constitutional history, and might have proved difficult of execution."

On the day following the prorogation, which took place despite the arguments presented to His Excellency by a large deputation of Liberal members, supported by a few Conservatives, a Royal Commission was issued under the great seal authorizing and empowering three judges—the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, the Hon. Antoine Polette, and the Hon. James Robert Gowan—to investigate into and report the evidence bearing upon the charges made by Mr. Huntington.

Mr. D. L. Macpherson's Company. The Inter-Oceanic Railway Company of Canada (Mr. D. L. Macpherson's Toronto organization) had the following Provisional Board of Directors on September 25th, 1872: The Hon. D. L. Macpherson, President; Charles H. Fairweather, Vice-President, and the Hon. William McMaster, the Hon. Frank Smith, of Ottawa, the Hon. John Simpson, of Bowmanville, the Hon. G. W. Allan,

the Hon. Isadore Thibaudeau, of Montreal, the Hon. John Carling, of London, F. W. Cumberland, M.P., Casimir S. Gzowski, C.E., J. G. Worts, John Walker, of London, W. H. Howland, David Torrance, of Montreal, John Boyd, of St. John, N.B., T. Kenny, of Halifax, N.S., Edwin Russell, J. F. Randolph, John Starr, and the Hon. D. E. Price of Quebec.

Sir Hugh Allan's Company. The Provisional Board of Directors, 15th October, 1872, of the Canada Pacific Railway Company (Sir Hugh Allan's Montreal organization) was as follows:

Sir Hugh Allan, President.
Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, M.P.
Hon. A. B. Foster, Senator.
Hon. John Hamilton, Senator.
Hon. C. J. Coursol, Montreal.
Hon. J. L. Beaudry, M.L.C.
Hon. Gédéon Ouimet, Q.C., M.P.P.
Hon. David Christie, Senator.
Hon. James Skead, Senator.
Hon. John J. Ross, M.P.
Hon. Donald A. Smith, M.P.
Hon. Thomas McGreevy, M.P.
Sir Edward Kenny, Halifax, N.S.
Hon. Louis Archambault, M.P.
Andrew Allan, Montreal.
Louis Beaubien, M.P.
Victor Hudon, Montreal.
Charles S. Rodier, jr., Montreal.
Donald McInnes, Hamilton.
C. F. Gildersleeve, Kingston.
William Kersteman, Toronto.
J. M. Currier, M.P., Ottawa.
Jean B. Renaud, Quebec.
Eugene Chinic, Quebec.
Hon. Billa Flint, Senator.
William McDougall, M.P., Three Rivers.
Henry Nathan, M.P., Victoria, B.C.
E. R. Burpee, St. John, N.B.

Proceedings of the Royal Commission. The Royal Commission began its sittings on August 18th, 1873, and examined thirty-six witnesses under oath, including Sir John Macdonald, Sir Hugh Allan, the Hon. D. L. Macpherson and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott. Mr. Huntington declined (for party reasons it was asserted) to attend or to facilitate the enquiry in any way, and claimed that such action would be inconsistent with his duty as a Member of Parliament, and a breach of the principles of the House, because of the desire of an alleged majority in the Commons to investigate the matter in a different form. The extracts which follow, from the official Report of the Royal Commissioners, are essential to any adequate comprehension of the question.

On September 17th, Sir John A. Macdonald stated in the course of his evidence that: "As I have already mentioned, when Sir George Cartier went to Montreal from Ottawa, and I went to Toronto, I asked him to endeavour to get what pecuniary help he could from our rich friends in Montreal; and when I was in Kingston at the time of my own election, I got a letter from Sir Hugh Allan, stating that he would contribute $25,000 to the Election Fund. He used the expression that he would contribute $25,000 to help the friends of the Administration in their elections. I may say here that I considered myself a trustee to that fund, and certainly did not apply any of that money to my own election. . . . I wrote twice personally to Mr. Abbott, who was acting in Montreal for him (Sir Hugh Allan), and twice received contributions to the extent of $10,000 each.

Question. Were these sums both from Mr. Abbott?

Answer. I am not sure, but I think so.

Question. That was in addition to the $25,000, making in all $45,000?

Answer. Yes. I see that in one of Mr. McMullen's letters, of the Fourth of August (1872), published in the Montreal *Herald*, he states that over $100,000 was sent to Sir John A. Macdonald from Montreal, besides a large amount paid to the Central Committee. As to the funds I got from Montreal, they are exactly the sums I have mentioned."

Sir Hugh Allan gave his evidence on September 19th. Referring to the initiation of the project he stated that "as no movement appeared to be contemplated in Canada, for the purpose in question, and I doubted if Canadian capitalists could be induced to subscribe to it to any large extent, I obtained from Sir Francis Hincks the names of the persons who had been communicating with the Government, and immediately placed myself in correspondence with them for the purpose of endeavouring to form a Pacific Company, in advance of the measures which were expected

to be taken by the Government at the then ensuing Session of Parliament. . . . I am bound to say here that these New York gentlemen behaved throughout all my negotiations with them in the most honourable and consistent manner. Although the organization at first gave them a majority of Directors, when it was thought that this might give rise to objection they at once agreed that the majority should be British subjects residing in Canada; and they consented to abide by all the regulations and conditions that the Parliament or Government of Canada might impose upon them. They never proposed to make the road subservient to the Northern Pacific, nor to use it in any way otherwise than for the best interests of Canada.

It was arranged that the Americans would advance money for necessary preliminary expenses, and they paid in $40,000, American currency, for this purpose. A large portion of this was spent to their perfect satisfaction, but owing to the subsequent changes in the aspect of affairs I thought it better, without any application from them, to return to them the entire amount, and I did so. There was no other money contributed by the Americans in any form or for any purpose to which I was a party. Soon after my return from New York I wrote to Toronto with the view of enlisting gentlemen in the scheme, and the first person I applied to was the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, to whom I explained the whole scheme, and asked him to join the organization. This he declined to do on the plea of its connection with the Americans.

I found the general feeling of the people of Toronto rather cool towards the Pacific Railroad, because their city did not lie on the direct line of the proposed road, though they could not deny the great merits of the scheme in a public point of view. They feared the western traffic would, by the proposed road, be carried past them to Lower Canada. No further steps of importance were taken by myself or associates, up to the time of the opening of the Session of Parliament at Ottawa, in respect of the projected Company, except that I placed myself in communication with the Government, offering to organize a company which would undertake the construction of the road, and discussing the question of the facilities and aid which the Government would probably recommend to be furnished by the country, and in the course of those discussions and negotiations I endeavoured, as far as possible, to secure for myself the position of President of the projected Company, which was the position my associates were willing to allow me; and to which I thought myself entitled from the active part which I took in the great national enterprise to which the agreement and negotiations in question had reference. And as to this point I had reason to believe from the first that the Government was prepared to admit my claim.

That when the time for the Session of the Canadian Parliament approached, I applied to Mr. Abbott to prepare the requisite legislation; and shortly after Parliament had opened, I proceeded to Ottawa for the purpose of ascertaining how matters were progressing and what prospect there was of a successful prosecution of the undertaking by myself and the persons who were then associated with me. That previous to this time, however, I had communicated with a large number of persons in Canada on the subject of the proposed Company, requesting their co-operation and assistance, and endeavouring to induce them to subscribe for stock to such an extent as I thought fair, considering their position and means. And though I did not meet with any great measure of success in procuring subscriptions of stock, yet it was quite as great as I had anticipated when making my arrangements with the American capitalists. In my negotiations with them, therefore, I provided for the distribution of the stock which those gentlemen were willing to subscribe, or which I believed they would eventually be willing to subscribe upon the formation of the Company, as mentioned in my letter of the 28th February, 1872, already referred to.

When I visited Ottawa, as stated in the last paragraph, I ascertained by personal observation and communication with the Members of the House that a strong prejudice had arisen against any connection with American capitalists in the formation of the proposed Company, the fear expressed with regard to that subject being that such capitalists would find it for their interest rather to obstruct the Canadian Pacific, and

further the construction of the Northern Pacific, than to act in the interests of Canada, by pressing forward the Canadian road. And though I did not share this fear, and always believed and still believe that the persons who proposed to be associated with me would have gone on with the enterprise in good faith, to the best of their ability, yet I found the feeling for the moment so strong that I judged it expedient and proper to yield to it, and therefore consented that the legislation to be presented to the House should exclude foreigners from the Company, and that the Directors should be exclusively Canadian."

On July 30th (1872) Sir Hugh Allan, Mr. Abbott, and Sir George Cartier met and discussed the position of affairs. The evidence of the first-named continues as follows :

"As we were leaving, Sir George said to me, in his usual abrupt manner : Are you not going to assist in our elections ? or words to that effect. I replied that as on former occasions I would, no doubt, do so, to some extent, but I wanted to know how much he required. He said it was impossible to tell, but from the opposition raised to the Pacific Railroad project, it might amount to $100,000. I thought this was a large sum, but I felt that the interests involved in the issue of the approaching general elections were most important in a national point of view. It seemed to me to be a question whether the policy of the Administration with reference to railroads, canals, harbours, lighthouses, and emigration was to be approved of or not ; that policy I thought then, and still think, deserving of the support of all those who would really care for the development of the resources of the country. In addition to these public reasons for giving pecuniary assistance to the Government in the late general elections, I had personal reasons, which will be readily appreciated even by those who cannot understand any higher motives. As a person largely interested in the carrying trade, I could not fail to desire the success of every scheme which would increase the communications with the interior of the continent.

In addition to this, my feelings were aroused by the attacks on myself personally, as well as on the Government, the ground of attack on the latter being mainly on its Pacific Railway policy, and as I approved of that policy, I therefore determined to give the Government all the assistance in my power, and in answer to Sir George's request, I asked him to state to me in writing what he wanted me to do. In the afternoon we (Sir Hugh and Mr. Abbott) again waited on Sir George and he gave me a letter of which the following is a copy :

Private and Confidential.

Montreal, 30th July, 1872.

Dear Sir Hugh : The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds in the pending elections, and any amount which you or your Company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you.

A memorandum of immediate requirements is below :

Very truly yours,

(Signed) GEORGE E. CARTIER.

Now wanted :

Sir John A. Macdonald	$25,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin	15,000
Sir G. E. C	20,000
Sir J. A. (add'l)	10,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin	10,000
Sir G. E. C. (add'l)	30,000

Question. Have you got that letter in your possession ?

Answer. I have and I hereby produce it before the Commission, but do not wish to dispossess myself of it. An authentic copy is herewith produced and filed marked 'S.' As the letter now appears, the memorandum is for $110,000, but at the time it was written only the first three items, amounting to $60,000, were mentioned. Sir George said, however, that they could talk of that afterwards. Accordingly, I paid over the first three sums of money to the gentlemen indicated. Afterwards Sir George requested me to send a further amount to Sir John A. Macdonald of $10,000, and $10,000 to Mr. Langevin, and $30,000 to the Central Committee of Elections, and the three sums, last mentioned in the memorandum appended to the letter, were then added to it by Sir George. I accordingly remitted $10,000 to Sir John Macdonald, $30,000 to the Central Committee, and left $10,000 with Mr. Abbott for Mr. Langevin, to be paid upon getting from that gentleman a receipt for it. In

Sir George Cartier's letter of the 30th July, namely, the one to which I have secondly alluded, there is an undertaking on the part of Sir George that my advances would be paid back to me. I did not see well from what source this money could be repaid, but Sir George held out some hope that his political friends would contribute to make it up. Beyond this there was nothing that I can recall as to the manner of re-payment. On leaving Sir George, I said to Mr. Abbott that I saw no possibility of my ever being repaid these contributions. Neither then nor on any other occasion had I any correspondence with Sir George as to the re-payment of these sums.

I left Montreal for Newfoundland, I think, early in August, and only returned at the end of the month, and except by infrequent telegrams I had no communication with Montreal during that time. Among these telegrams I had two from Mr. Abbott informing me that Sir George wanted $20,000 more for the General Committee, and $10,000 for Sir John. I authorized Mr. Abbott to pay over these sums and placed the money at his disposal. I think I also received telegrams from Mr. Abbott telling me that Mr. Langevin would sign no receipt and asking my authority to hand him the money without any receipt. This last telegram did not reach me in time to be acted upon, and I have since learned from Mr. Abbott that Mr. Langevin gave no receipt. I heard of Sir George's defeat while in Nova Scotia on my way back. In this way, on my return, I found that the limits of payments which I had first agreed to had been exceeded, and with subsequent advances they finally stood as follows:

To Sir George E. Cartier's Committee...	$85,000
To Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald towards election expenses in Ontario.....	45,000
To Hon. H. L. Langevin towards electoral expenses in Quebec.....	32,600
	$162,600

I also paid for the assistance of other friends of my own in connection with the elections between $16,000 and $17,000. These sums, with the preliminary expenses on the Pacific and various railroads in which I was engaged, more or less directly connected with the Pacific enterprise, made up the amount of my advances to about $350,000. . . . That with regard to the construction which appears to be intended to be placed upon the statements in the letter referred to as to the preliminary expenses connected with the Charter, I state most positively and explicitly that I never made any agreement or came to any understanding of any kind or description with the Government, or any of its members as to the payment of any sum of money to anyone, or in any way whatever, in consideration of receiving the contract for the Canadian Pacific. I declare that I did expend considerable sums of money in various ways which appeared to me to be advantageous to the Company I had organized, and calculated to strengthen my hands in endeavouring to obtain the contract for that Company, but that I did not on any occasion or in any way pay, or agree to pay, anything whatever to any member of the Government, or to anyone on behalf, or at the instance of the Government, for any consideration whatever, in connection with the Charter or contract.

As may be gathered from the letters in question, I considered it to be my policy to strengthen my position as far as I possibly could with my own friends and fellow-citizens in the Province of Quebec, and more especially in so far as related to the Montreal Northern Colonization Railway, which I conceived would at some day be the outlet from the Canadian Pacific to the port of Montreal. . . . And a considerable portion of the money referred to in those letters was expended by me in furtherance of that project in many ways, and it was with these views in addition to those already stated, I contributed the money already referred to, but without any understanding or condition with the person receiving it. I have already said that my subscription and loans to assist in the elections could not have been a consideration for my getting the Pacific contract as is alleged in Mr. Huntington's motion, for on the 30th July nothing was settled. The plan then contemplated, and for months afterwards, was that of an amalgamation of the Pacific and the Inter-Oceanic Companies; the plan finally adopted was the granting of a Charter to an altogether new Company of which it is true I was a Director, but in which I had little or no

choice of my co-Directors and no more influence than that conferred on me by the stock which I might hold. In point of fact, some of the Directors were scarcely known to me and to the appointment of some I was opposed.

So, in fact, the Canada Pacific, incorporated by the Act of the Session of 1872, never got the contract and never had anything approaching to a promise of it. The contract was given to a body totally different and including for the most part persons who had nothing to do with that Company. The terms of the Charter, the composition of the Company, the privileges which were to be granted to it, the proportions in which the stock was to be distributed, having been matters for negotiation and settlement up to the last moment, and were only closed and decided upon while the Charter was being prepared in the early part of the present year. And the persons who finally composed the Company were only decided upon within a few days of the issue of the Charter—I, myself, being permitted to subscribe a similar amount of stock to that subscribed by other prominent members of the Company."

During the same day Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. J. C. Abbott was examined, and in reply to a question as to the amount paid through him by Sir Hugh Allan for the elections said:

"The first amount was $10,000.

Question. At what date?

Answer. I think it must have been about the 8th or 10th of August. It was $10,000 which he left in my hands to be given to Mr. Langevin. He wrote to Mr. Langevin, I think, informing him that the money was in my possession, and that on his giving me a receipt for it I would pay it. The first I heard of Mr. Langevin's action was his telegraphing me to meet him on the Quebec boat, which I did on his way down to Quebec. He said he had received a letter from Sir Hugh Allan saying that on giving a receipt I would give him the money. He said he could not understand why such a receipt was asked from him. I told him I did not see that there was any reason for it either, and I did not think that there was any particular reason. He then said that he would have nothing to do with it; that he could not give me any receipt. He did not know what Sir Hugh Allan's reason was for asking it, and at all events he would not give any receipt whatever. It looked to him as if it might be said that it was not a free subscription to the elections at Quebec which Sir George Cartier had promised him, and unless it was he would not take it at all; and, moreover, he would on his arrival at Quebec return the $15,000 which Sir George Cartier had previously caused to be sent him. He appeared to me to be a little excited about the matter. I left him upon his expressing his determination not only to refuse that money but to send back the $15,000 which was the sum first paid. I telegraphed Sir Hugh Allan saying that Mr. Langevin did not feel disposed to give any receipt, and asking his authority to give Mr. Langevin the money without a receipt. I did not get an answer within two or three days, and knowing that the elections were going on, and the money would probably be wanted, I took the responsibility of sending the money to Mr. Langevin by express, and wrote him at the same time telling him that I had done so. The second sum, namely, $20,000, was paid to the Montreal Central Committee, I getting Sir Hugh Allan's authority to pay it, by telegraph. The third sum was $10,000, respecting which Sir John Macdonald telegraphed me. That I also informed Sir Hugh of, and obtained by telegraph his authority to pay it. I think these were all the sums of money I had anything to do with. I kept these vouchers, these letters and telegrams, in my private drawer in my office until Sir Hugh Allan returned from Newfoundland, and then I gave them to him."

The following are the most important letters and telegrams connected with the case:

"Montreal, August 24, 1872.

DEAR MR. ABBOTT:

In the absence of Sir Hugh Allan, I shall be obliged by your supplying the Central Committee with a further sum of twenty thousand dollars upon the same conditions as the amount written by me at the foot of my letter to Sir Hugh Allan of the 30th ulto.

(Signed) GEORGE E. CARTIER.

P.S.—Please also send Sir John A. Macdonald ten thousand dollars more on the same terms."

"Received from Sir Hugh Allan by the hands of Hon. J. J. C. Abbott twenty thousand dollars for General Election purposes, to be arranged hereafter according to the terms of the letter of Sir George E. Cartier, of the date 30th July, and in accordance with the request contained in his letter of the 24th instant.

Montreal, 26th August, 1872.

For Central Committee,

L. Betournay.

(Signed) J. L. Beaudry,
Henry Starnes,
P. S. Murphy."

"Toronto, August 26th, 1872.

To the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, St. Anne's.

(Immediate Private.)

I must have another ten thousand; will be the last time of calling; do not fail me; answer today.

(Signed) John A. Macdonald."

"Montreal, 26th August, 1872.

Sir John A. Macdonald, Toronto:—

Draw on me for ten thousand dollars.

J. J. C. Abbott."

The Royal Commission, of which Judge Day was Chairman, presented its Report to the Governor-General on October 17th, and on the 23rd following, Parliament was summoned to consider and deal with it. An amendment to the Address was at once moved by Mr. Mackenzie, Leader of the Opposition, to the effect that in view of the facts thus disclosed the Ministry merited the "severe censure" of the House. The debate, which lasted a week, was most dramatic and fiery in its nature.

Amongst the almost unnoticed listeners in the Gallery, it may be mentioned, was a future Prime Minister of England—the Earl of Rosebery. On November 3rd, Sir John A. Macdonald made his defence, and it was one of the great speeches of Canadian Parliamentary history. He spoke for four hours, and if anything could have averted the impending defeat and censure, or saved his Government or party, that speech would have done it. The day following, however, the Government resigned, as it had become quite clear that the majority of the House was against them. Mr. Mackenzie and the Liberals took office, appealed to the country, and were returned by a good majority. In 1878, Sir John again obtained popular support, and held it until his death in 1891.

Sir John Macdonald's Defence. While the Report of the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission was being prepared Sir John A. Macdonald wrote a long and logical defence of his course in connection with the whole affair to His Excellency the Governor-General. It was a private and confidential document unknown to the public or to history until the publication of Sir John's Memoirs by Mr. Joseph Pope in 1894. Whatever may be thought of the ground taken by the statesman who wrote it—and current opinion in Canada will still be controlled somewhat by party feeling—the ability displayed may be freely acknowledged as well as the importance of the document in an historical sense. The personal references to Sir George Cartier and to the fact that he acted without the knowledge or sanction of the Government in some of his negotiations, together with the statement that he was even then suffering from the mental and physical troubles which resulted in his death a few months later, combine to present a strong personal defence of Sir John A. Macdonald—one which he never hinted at in public and had the generosity to conceal during his whole remaining lifetime. They explain in some measure the position assumed by Lord Dufferin, who must have been thoroughly acquainted with Sir George Cartier's condition of health, and with whom it would have been useless for Sir John to attempt the slightest misrepresentation upon such an important point, even had he wanted to do so. It would be difficult, however, to imagine the Prime Minister trying to benefit by a point of this nature, and in a private letter to one who knew the situation so well as to in any case render the effort a vain one. This important and little known State Paper was as follows:

"Ottawa, October 9, 1873.

My Dear Lord Dufferin:—

The evidence in the Pacific Railway investigation is now being printed, and will shortly be ready. In addition to this, I understand a gentleman in Montreal is preparing a condensed

statement of the case and evidence for circulation. The public in Canada will thus be fully informed of the case as it has been presented before the Commission. I think it, however, due to Your Excellency to send you a statement myself of the facts.

In 1870 the Governments of Canada and British Columbia entered into a provisional arrangement for union, one of the conditions being the construction of a railway from Canada proper to the Pacific. In the session of 1871, when I was at Washington attending as one of the Treaty Commissioners, the terms of Union were submitted to the Canadian Parliament for approval, and concurred in after strenuous resistance from the Parliamentary Opposition. They contended that the railway was a work altogether beyond the resources of Canada, and rang the changes on the burden of taxation that would be thrown by it on the people. The Administration, however, were obliged to carry the measure, or to abandon all hope of the union with British Columbia, and they did carry it. Such, however, was the feeling aroused in the country by representations of the enormous cost of the road, that the Ministerial supporters became alarmed, and when suggestion was made by the Opposition that the road should not be built by the Government, but by a Railway Company of capitalists, aided by subsidies in land and money, it was received with such favour in the House that the Government thought themselves obliged to yield to it.

Sir George Cartier, who led the House in my absence, in order to carry the Union, was obliged to promise that he would submit a resolution that the road should be built through the agency of an incorporated company, as I have mentioned. I think it probable that, had I been present, I would have persuaded the House to accept the Union without this condition. I do not think I am wrong in believing that the Opposition pressed this suggestion for the purpose of preventing the construction of the railway. They did not believe that a body of capitalists could be found ready to undertake the work, and, when Sir George Cartier brought forward his resolution that the road shoud be built by an incorporated company, Mr. Dorion moved an amendment that the words 'and in no other way' should be added. This amendment, however was not carried.

This was the only action taken in the session of 1871, it being understood that the Government should, in the session of 1872, be prepared to submit a scheme, and that meanwhile the preliminary surveys should be undertaken by it. No steps were taken by the Government in the matter, except by commencing the surveys, until the autumn of 1871. It being a matter however of exceeding interest, the subject was much discussed by the press, especially as to the extent of the aid in land and money that would be required from the Government. Reference was made to the grants to the several Pacific Railway Companies by the United States, and public opinion seemed to settle down that a money grant of at least from twenty-five to thirty millions of dollars would be necessary, together with a grant of at least fifty millions of acres of land.

About this time (1871) Mr. Waddington, an English gentleman, formerly of British Columbia, who had spent a great deal of money in that country in railway surveys, waited on me, saying that he had asked several American gentlemen of means to come to Ottawa and make a proposition to the Government for the construction of the railway. I told him that the movement was premature, as the Government would enter into no arrangement until authorized by Parliament to do so. He pressed that I should see them, and Sir Francis Hincks and I met them, we two being then the only Ministers in town. I told them that we were glad to see that our railway attracted the attention of foreign capitalists, but that with respect to this particular enterprise we were unable to entertain any propositions until a scheme was laid before our Parliament and sanctioned by it. They were a good deal disappointed, but showed us a list of American capitalists who, if satisfactory arrangements could be made, would undertake the work.

This offer aroused the attention of the Government to the expediency of interesting Canadian capitalists in the enterprise, and we accordingly individually spoke to our leading men in Montreal, Toronto, and elsewhere, stating that it would be too bad to allow the Americans to carry off a work of such importance, and urging them to

attempt to get up a Canadian company. Sir Francis Hincks, when in Montreal, spoke to Sir Hugh Allan, he being believed to be the richest and one of the most enterprising men in the Dominion, and he at the same time mentioned the names of the Americans who had offered to undertake the work. In the same way I spoke to the Hon. D. L. Macpherson of Toronto, a gentleman who had made a fortune by railway contracts.

Both these gentlemen set to work, Sir Hugh Allan communicating with the Americans, and Mr. Macpherson with the leading men in the Dominion, the hope of the Government being that these two gentlemen, with the strength that they would each gather round them, would coalesce and form a Pacific Railway Company. The application of the Americans was not made a secret of in any way; on the contrary, it was used as a means of inspiriting Canadians to undertake the enterprise. The discussion of the subject in the press developed great sectional jealousies between the two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and especially between their commercial centres, Montreal and Toronto.

Toronto was afraid that the road would be built in a direct line from Manitoba towards Montreal, and run so far north of Toronto as to take all the western trade past it to the rival city. It was known that Sir Hugh Allan had made some arrangement with the Americans, and the cry was raised at Toronto, in order to weaken the Montreal combination, that these Americans were not actuated by a legitimate desire to get a profitable contract, but that they wished to get control of our Canadian line in order to make it subsidiary to the American railway interests. This opinion was strengthened by the fact that the list of American names submitted by Mr. Waddington and his party included the names of several gentlemen largely interested in the railway system of the United States

The public feeling had grown to such an extent against the connection of American capitalists with the undertaking that, by the time Parliament met in 1872, it was quite clear that they must be excluded. Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Macpherson came to Parliament each with a Railway Bill of his own. The Government did not desire to evince any preference for one Company over the other. They therefore announced that they would not oppose the incorporation of any bodies of capitalists for the purpose of building the railway, and accordingly Sir Hugh Allan's Company, called "The Canada Pacific Railway Company," and Mr. Macpherson's Company, called the "Inter-Oceanic Company," received Acts of incorporation. The Government brought in a measure of their own providing for a subsidy of thirty millions of dollars and a grant of fifty millions of acres of land to be given to the Company to whom the building of the road might be entrusted. This proposition was not considered as at all excessive, and was accepted as a reasonable one by Parliament, Mr. Macpherson, in his place in the Senate, declaring that he did not think it sufficiently liberal.

The Government measure further provided that the privilege of building the road might be given to either of the incorporated companies, or to an amalgamated company composed of the two; or, if the Government thought it more advantageous, they were empowered to grant a Royal Charter to another and distinct company. So soon as Parliament was prorogued, the Government endeavoured to procure the amalgamation of the two corporated companies. It was felt to be impossible to give the work to either to the exclusion of the other. To have done so would have aroused against the measure, and against the Government, the hostility of the Province whose Company was excluded.

Sir Hugh Allan always expressed his desire for amalgamation, but the Inter-Oceanic and Mr. Macpherson objected. Mr. Macpherson professed to dread the influence of the Americans through Sir Hugh Allan, and, although the latter had pledged himself to the Government and to Parliament that all connection with the Americans had been severed by him, such assurance was not satisfactory to Mr. Macpherson. It afterwards proved that Mr. Macpherson's suspicions were not without foundation, as the private correspondence published between Sir Hugh Allan and his American friends showed that he was still keeping up a connection with them in the hope that he would be able to overcome the feeling against them. The real and principal reason, however,

for Mr. Macpherson's objection was a rivalry as to who should be the President of the Company, both being desirous of connecting themselves in that position with the great work. Had Mr. Macpherson been sure of obtaining the position of President it is certain that the amalgamation would have taken place, and that both he and Sir Hugh Allan would have been members of the same Board.

The general elections were to commence in July, and I was naturally very anxious to go to the country with a completed scheme. I spared no effort, therefore, to effect an amalgamation, and on several occasions had nearly succeeded. As to the Presidency, my own opinion was that it was really of little consequence who should be the figure-head, but that, as between the two, Sir Hugh Allan, from his infinitely greater wealth, and from the fact of his having been the first to take up the subject, as well as his having largely connected himself with other railway lines which would be auxiliary to and in effect connect the Pacific Railway with the Atlantic Ocean, should have the preference. The feeling in the Province of Quebec on the subject had become intense. Sir Hugh Allan had put himself at the head of several railway enterprises, and was selected by the voice of the whole Province as their representative man. He was especially and pecuniarily interested in all these lines of railway from his position as a ship-owner. The Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, in which he had the chief interest, had practically the control of the Canadian freight and passenger trade to Europe.

An opposition Steamship Line was announced as being about to be formed under the auspices of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, which railway, as you know, is the great artery of trade and transport through the two Canadas to the sea. Sir Hugh Allan felt that his steamship line would get no fair play from the Grand Trunk Railway Company, but that all its efforts would be directed to sending the current of freight and passengers by the new line. He therefore took up warmly the Northern Colonization Road, which is intended to connect Montreal with Ottawa. He encouraged the North Shore Railway, which is the one to connect Montreal and Quebec, and he also became party to a project for building a railway from Ottawa to Toronto by an interior route, thus establishing a rival line to the Grand Trunk Railway from Toronto to Quebec. His connection with these lines made him, as I have said, the representative man in Lower Canada, and his support was of great consequence to Sir George Cartier and the French-Canadian wing of the Government.

A coolness had arisen between them, as Sir George was believed, justly or unjustly, not to favour the Northern Colonization Road. He had, from its inception, been intimately connected, professionally and otherwise, with the Grand Trunk Railway, and was charged by his countrymen with throwing cold water on all rival schemes. Sir George, however, finally agreed to give his influence and countenance to the Northern Colonization Company, and the other roads with which Sir Hugh Allan had, as I have mentioned, connected himself. These roads, it must be remembered, did not form a portion of the Pacific Railway scheme, and the Canadian Government had no connection with them. The Northern

The Hon. Sir. George E. Cartier, Bart.

Colonization Railway was incorporated by an Act of the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, and Sir Hugh Allan was naturally anxious to obtain the powerful support and influence of Sir George with the Government and Legislature of that Province, in order to obtain aid in money and lands. This being understood between them, Sir Hugh gave his strong support, as he had done previously for many years, to Sir George Cartier and his friends at the general election.

While this matter was being arranged at Montreal, I was at Toronto pressing the amalgamation with good hope of success, and Mr. Abbott came up from Montreal, as agent for Sir Hugh Allan, to negotiate the details. Mr. Macpherson and he nearly came to terms, the only question really in difference between them being the Presidency. Such being the case, I considered that the amalgamation would be carried out; but, as the elections were then going on, it was felt to be impossible to enter into the details until they were finished. And now as to the expenditure of money at the elections. In Canada, as in England, elections cannot be conducted without expenditure of money. There are legitimate expenses which must be incurred by those candidates who are resolved in no way to infringe the law; and the legal expenditure in the rural constituencies, which are of large area, with bad roads and a sparse and scattered population, is necessarily large.

In addition to strictly legal disbursements, there is a cause of expense which, though against the letter of the law, has by all parties been considered necessary, and the law is in this particular a dead letter—that is, the conveyance of voters to the polls. By universal consent this seems to have been considered so necessary, that never in my experience of twenty years has the hiring of carriages for that purpose been pressed before a Committee on controverted elections. At every general election in Canada, therefore, political parties have always created funds for the purpose of assisting their candidates. At this particular election we had every reason to expect a stern contest, especially in the Province of Ontario. The leaders of our Parliamentary Opposition had got possession of the Government of that Province, and, we knew, would use all their power and influence against the Ministerial candidates for the Dominion Parliament.

The Treaty of Washington, which had been accepted on the whole by the other Provinces, was unpopular in Ontario, and our Government, and myself especially, was charged with having sacrificed its interests. This question was the chief battle to be fought at the polls. Besides this, we were charged with having made an improvident arrangement with Nova Scotia, to the disadvantage of the tax-payers elsewhere, by the settlement which we made in 1868. By this settlement, Nova Scotia, previously almost in a state of rebellion, was reconciled to the Union, and confederation made a success. Still the cry was most successfully used in Western Canada against us. Added to this was the ever-popular appeal to the people against the increase of the burthens which would be imposed upon them by the construction of the Pacific Railway. As Your Excellency has perhaps had an opportunity of knowing, I had been for some time desirous of quitting official life, believing that I required, and had earned, a night of rest. My colleagues, however, as one man, stated that they would not go into the contest without me, and I nerved myself for the struggle.

From my point of view, I considered that on the result of the elections depended the continuance of Confederation. I may be wrong, but my opinion then was, and still is, that in the hands of the present Opposition, connected with and supported, as they are, by the 'alien,' 'annexation' and 'independent' elements, Confederation would not last ten years. We had, amidst great difficulties, administered the affairs of Canada for five years, under the new constitution, with less friction than could have been anticipated. We had soothed Provincial jealousies and ambitions, and conciliated recalcitrant Provinces, but still the embers of disunion were hot. I thought that with five years more over our heads we might safely consider that the gristle had hardened into bone, and the Union been thoroughly cemented.

When, therefore, Sir George Cartier and I parted at Ottawa, he to go to Montreal, and I to Toronto, I asked him to do what he could with our friends in his Province in the way of getting

us pecuniary subscriptions to our central fund at Toronto. We spoke of several parties in Montreal who would be likely, from party attachment, or from interest, or from other moving cause, to aid us, and Sir Hugh's name was, of course, mentioned as being the richest man in Canada, and the one most interested in procuring the return of members in favour of the large, I may say, the Imperial policy which had characterized our Administration. Aid had come to the fund from Montreal from several quarters, and I was not surprised to receive a communication from Sir Hugh Allan, that he would contribute twenty-five thousand dollars to the Ontario fund.

As regards myself, I was made the medium through which the subscriptions were paid, but it might, had he so chosen, have been remitted through any other channel. I did not consider it at all an unusually large subscription for a man of his wealth. Others, with not a twentieth part of his means, subscribed from five to ten thousand dollars. I, however, of course, expected that Sir Hugh would feel himself called upon to contribute to the Quebec fund. I may say here, that no portion of the election fund, whether subscribed by Sir Hugh Allan or any one else, was used in my own election. I paid all the expenses of that contest, which was a severe, and, for a small constituency, a costly one. I had forgotten to state, in the first part of my narrative, that it was not until the 26th of July, 1872, when my own election was going on at Kingston, that I gave up the idea of effecting an amalgamation between the two Companies before the conclusion of that election. On that day I saw Mr. Macpherson, and the consequence of our conversation was that I sent to Sir George Cartier the following telegram:—

'Have seen Macpherson. He has no personal ambition, but cannot, in justice to Ontario, concede any preference to Quebec in the matter of the Presidency, or in any other particular. He says the question about the Presidency should be left to the Board. Under these circumstances I authorize you to assure Allan that the influence of the Government will be exercised to secure him the position of President, the other terms to be as agreed upon between Macpherson and Abbott, and the whole matter to be kept quiet until after the election, and the two gentlemen to meet the Privy Council at Ottawa and settle the terms of a provisional agreement. This is the only practical solution of the difficulty, and should be accepted at once by Allan. Answer."

On the 30th I received a letter from Sir Hugh Allan, stating that he had, on that day, made an arrangement with Sir George Cartier respecting the position of his Company with respect to the Pacific Railway, to the effect, among other things, that, if the attempts at amalgamation failed, the construction of the railway should be confided to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, of which he was the head. He did not send me a copy of his arrangement with Sir George, but merely stated what he considered its purport. I at once saw that if Sir George had entered into any such arrangement he had made a grievous mistake, which the Government could not too soon repudiate. I immediately telegraphed him that I could not agree to any such arrangement and that I would go down to Montreal the following night and see him on the subject. On receiving my message Sir George communicated it to Sir Hugh Allan, and it was then agreed that the arrangement should be considered as waste paper, and that the whole matter should stand over until after the elections, and be considered as resting on the basis of my telegram of the 26th.

I may say here, *par parenthese*, that, on reference to the arrangement which Sir George made, he did not profess to bind the Government, but merely stated that he would use his influence to have it carried out. He, of course, had no power to make an arrangement on behalf of the Government, not having been authorized to do so. It is too evident, however, from the evidence that has come out before the Commissioners, that Sir Hugh Allan took undue advantage of the failing health and waning mental faculties of Sir George. After this, on securing my own election, I went to Toronto for the purpose of aiding my friends. The contest over the whole Province, as anticipated, proved to be severe in the extreme, and we were getting the worst of it. Every member of the Ontario Government went into the field, either as a candidate or a political agent, and its whole power was used to defeat my friends.

As the Provincial Government has all the local and county patronage of every kind, and the whole control of the sale and disposal of the

public lands, timber and mines, you may easily fancy the extent of the power they can exercise. Every manufacturer of lumber who wished to get an area of country for lumbering purposes, and every person having got, or wishing to obtain, or retain, a mining license, was transformed into an electioneering agent. I had, of course, cries for help from all sections, and redoubled my exertions to procure it from every available source. Among others, I wrote to Sir George Cartier to procure from Sir Hugh Allan ten thousand dollars more, and again to Mr. Abbott. In writing to Sir George, I was quite unaware of the extent to which he had committed himself in Montreal. His persistence in offering for East Montreal, against all advice, was most distressing. It was known that, if elected at all, it must be after an enormously expensive contest, and I pressed him to take a rural constituency, where he would have been returned by acclamation.

Not until after his death, and the evidence was produced, were any of his colleagues aware of his insane course. As I have already said, it showed too clearly that mind had broken down as well as body. Of course I can say this to you only, as I would rather suffer any consequence than cast any reflection on his memory before the public, or say anything that would have even the appearance of an attempt to transfer any blame that may attach to these transactions to one who is no longer here to speak for himself. No member of the Government here knew or had any suspicion of the nature of the arrangement made between Sir George and Sir Hugh Allan, or of the papers signed by the former, until they were recently published. I certainly did not.

I think I have given you a statement of all the facts connected with the raising of money for election expenses that particularly affect myself. The evidence before the Commission, which is very full and unreserved, tells the whole story. The Government have been subjected to an ordeal that no Government that I am aware of has ever before been exposed to. Their arrangements for the elections have been laid open by the deliberate theft of papers from Mr. Abbott, for which theft the thief has been paid by members of the Opposition in Parliament. I believe that notwithstanding the publicity unwarrantably given to these transactions, no stain can rest upon the Government. Mr. McMullen, the agent of the American capitalists who attempted to get possession of our railway and were frustrated in the attempt by the Government, has endeavoured to connect the loan of money by Sir Hugh Allan with the granting of the Pacific Railway Charter. This was done with the object, first, of revenging themselves on the Government for refusing to admit them to a share of the enterprise, and, in the second place, of killing the enterprise itself.

The American Northern Pacific Railway which has since come to grief with the fall of Jay Cooke and Co. dreaded nothing more than the successful commencement of our Canadian line, hence the deliberate attempt to destroy the line and the *prestige* of all connected with it. The advances made by Sir Hugh Allan, however, had no connection, expressed or implied, with the Pacific Railway Charter. He subscribed to the fund, both in Ontario and Quebec, in the face of a positive intimation from the Government here, through me, that the road would not be given to his Company, but only to an amalgamated Company.

There could be no necessity for the advance of a single sixpence by him in order to secure him an interest in that amalgamated Company. The right of his Company to be fully represented in it could not be resisted, and he, as the most prominent man of his Company and Province, would, as a matter of course, assume a powerful position on the amalgamated Board. No Government could exclude him or his Company from that position, and the Government informed him that he and his Company could get that position, and would get no more. Sir Hugh Allan therefore knew before he subscribed or paid any money, the extent of the interest which his Company would have in the road. It would be neither more nor less than that agreed upon between Mr. Abbott on his behalf and Mr. Macpherson as the representative of the other Company.

Sir Hugh Allan's position with regard to the Pacific Railway was, therefore, assured beyond a doubt, if the construction of the line went on at all. His danger was that, if the Opposition carried the country at the elections, they would

reverse the whole railway policy of Canada. They had already declared against the immediate construction of that work in its entirety. They were using the cry against it vigourously at the polls, to defeat those men who, if elected, would uphold the railway policy of the Government and, if the construction of the Pacific Railway were abandoned or even postponed, the detriment to Sir Hugh Allan's interest would have been enormous. The other lines of railway with which he had involved himself to a large amount, and which were to extend from the eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway proper at Lake Nipissing, back of Toronto, to the Atlantic at Quebec, ran imminent risk of also being postponed. The local traffic of the country did not require the Grand Trunk Line and this interior line; but, if the Pacific Railway were once constructed, there would be ample work for both in the future, as well as for Sir Hugh's fleet of steamships.

It was, therefore, of importance to his interests and the undertaking with which he had so connected himself, that a Parliament favourable to such enterprises, and to the development of the country thereby, should be elected, and, as a man of business he expended his money accordingly. And it suited the purposes of the Ministerial party to accept his subscription, as well as the subscription of others. The Conservative party in England does not repudiate the action of the brewers and distillers and the Association of Licensed Victuallers in electing candidates in their interests, and we did not repudiate or reject the influence of the railway interest. Our misfortune was that, by the base betrayal of these private communications, the names of certain members of the Government, including myself, were mixed up in the obtaining of these subscriptions. Had this betrayal not taken place, it would have been only known that Sir Hugh Allan, and the railways with which he had been connected, had taken a decided line in supporting one party in preference to another, by their influence and money.

To sum up this matter shortly, I would repeat that Sir Hugh Allan was informed, before he subscribed a farthing, that his railway Company would not get the privilege of building the railway. He was informed that that work would only be entrusted to an amalgamated Company under the terms of the Act passed by Parliament; that such amalgamation would be effected on terms fair to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as agreed upon between the representatives of the two rival Companies; and that such amalgamation would only take place after the elections. When, in November last, all attempts at effecting an amalgamation failed in consequence of the position taken by the Ontario Company, the construction of the road might fairly have been given to Sir Hugh Allan's Company, but the Government declined to do so.

Under the powers vested in them by the Government Act they issued a Royal Charter in which they gave the preponderance of interest to the Province of Ontario, according to population. They gave a fair representation to every one of the other Provinces, and of the thirteen shareholders and directors of which the Company was composed, only one was the nominee or the special choice of Sir Hugh Allan. The others were selected without the slightest reference to him, some of them against his most strenuous opposition, and they included three of the incorporators of the Ontario Company, two of whom had been Directors in that Company. In that Charter there were no advantages given, nor could they be given, by the Government. Parliament had decided what the subsidy in money and land should be, and that was given and no more. But the Charter was carefully drawn with the one object of preventing, by any splitting up or transferring of stock, the clandestine admission of American capitalists as shareholders. The Government did not even use the influence which I had promised Sir Hugh, with the members of the Board of the two Companies if amalgamation had taken place, in order to get for him the position of President. As has been proved before the Commission, the Directors, without any intimation of preference on the part of myself or any of my colleagues, selected Sir Hugh, from his wealth and business connection with kindred works, as their President.

This has been a most unfortunate business for us, amounting to a calamity, but we must bear it as best we may, believing and knowing that we made no unworthy barter, or barter of any kind,

of the powers entrusted to us for the sake of securing support at the elections. I know that Your Excellency will, under the circumstances, pardon me for this long story.

Believe me, my dear Lord Dufferin,
Very faithfully yours,
JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—It has been stated in the English press that I should not have mixed myself up in these money matters, but should have left it to our Carlton and Reform Clubs. This may be true, indeed is true, if such clubs existed ; but, as a matter of fact, the leaders of political parties have always hitherto acted in such matters, and there can be no special blame attached to a leader for continuing the invariable practice on this occasion. J. A. McD."

The Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington was born at Compton, P.Q., in 1827. He was educated at the Public Schools and afterwards studied law at Sherbrooke, supporting himself meanwhile by teaching in a neighbouring High School. In 1853 he was called to the Bar of Lower Canada, and in 1863 was made a Q.C. He became proprietor of the Waterloo *Advertiser* in 1856, and a few years later he entered the Canadian Assembly as Liberal Member for Shefford constituency—which he continued to represent until Confederation and thereafter in the House of Commons until 1882.

In the Assembly he gained some reputation as a speaker, being frequently pitted against the best orators of the period, and in 1863 on the reconstruction of the Government he accepted a seat in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's cabinet, taking the portfolio of Solicitor-General. He resigned with his colleagues in 1864 and offered a strenuous opposition to the project for the confederation of the British North American Provinces.

In 1873 he made the famous charges of bribery and corruption in connection with the Allan contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway which led ultimately to the resignation of Sir John Macdonald. His motion for a Committee of Enquiry was rejected by the House. The Premier himself a day or two later moved for an investigation, but constitutional difficulties were raised and a Bill to empower a Committee to take evidence under oath was disallowed by the Imperial authorities. Then it was proposed to issue a Royal Commission to the gentlemen who had been placed on the Committee. The Allan-McMullen letters were meanwhile published and when Parliament met to be prorogued there was a stormy scene in the Commons. The Royal Commission proceeded to investigate the allegations which had been made with a result which is dealt with elsewhere. After Parliament met in the autumn the Government resigned and Mr. Huntington was appointed in 1874 as President of the Council in the new Ministry. In 1875 he exchanged that position for the Postmaster-Generalship and in 1878, after the general elections, resigned with the rest of his colleagues. In 1882 he was re-elected but unseated shortly afterwards, and from that time remained in private life. He was for a time a Director of the Montreal Herald Company, but ultimately sold his stock and removed to New York, where he died in 1886. Mr. Huntington wrote a novel called " Professor Conant," which was published in 1885 and received with some favour.

Sir Hugh Allan was born at Saltcoats, Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1810, and was originally intended for a sea-faring life, as his father was a shipmaster employed on vessels running from the Clyde to Montreal. He had comparatively few educational advantages, and at the age of thirteen entered the counting-house of a large shipping firm of Greenock. There he remained a short time, and then emigrated to Canada, landing at Montreal in 1826 with great difficulty, as there were no wharves, and the only tug was insufficient to tow the vessel through the river's heavy current. For three years Mr. Allan was employed in a dry-goods firm, but this not being to his taste, he travelled for a year, and, returning to Montreal, entered the office of Miller & Co., a large shipping firm of the city, where, at the end of five years, he was admitted as a junior partner, and, in this capacity devoted himself to the business with great energy, winning a high place in the estimation of the firm. When Mr. Miller, the senior partner, died in 1838, the style of the firm became Edmonston & Allan. Under various succeeding changes of style, the firm steadily increased in

prosperity, and its business grew to momentous proportions. In 1851 it first began to build iron screw steamships, and two years later the mail service was commenced. The firm had an independent line plying between the St. Lawrence and the Clyde for many years in addition to the one from Montreal to Liverpool. It was the first to adapt the spar or flush deck to its steamers, and this despite the opposition of the Montreal Board of Trade. Finally, the additional safety and comfort were generally recognized. The Allan fleet has always been managed with remarkable prudence and efficiency. Most of their Captains have risen in the service, and the mariners been promoted according to a strict and impartial system. In the Crimean and Ashantee compaigns, their steamers were employed by the Governments of Great Britain and France to carry troops. Sir Hugh Allan was Director of several Companies, among them being the Montreal Telegraph Company, the Merchants Bank of Canada and the projected and celebrated Pacific Railway Company of 1872. In this latter enterprise he took a well-known and historic interest. For his services to Canadian commerce, Mr. Allan was knighted in 1871. He died while on a visit to Great Britain in 1882.

Sir Hugh Allan will rank in Canadian annals amongst the half-dozen men who have done most to advance the material welfare and progress of the country. In all projects connected with the improvement and development of communication and traffic facilities, he was in his time supreme.

The Hon. Sir David Lewis Macpherson was born near Inverness, Scotland, in 1818, and was educated at the Royal Academy of Inverness. At the age of seventeen he emigrated to Canada, and entered his brother's firm in Montreal, which conducted an important carrying business now largely done by railways. Here, in 1842, he became a partner, and when the railway era set in soon interested himself in various railway projects. In 1851, in conjunction with the Hon L. H. Holton and the Hon A. T. Galt, he obtained a charter for constructing a line of railway from Montreal to Kingston. This scheme was subsequently merged into the Grand Trunk and the old charter repealed. The three partners then allied themselves with Mr. (now Sir Casimir) Gzowski, and the new firm, under the name of Gzowski & Co., in 1853 obtained a contract for constructing a line of railway from Toronto to Sarnia. Mr. Macpherson then moved to Toronto, where he lived till his death.

This firm also constructed the railway from Port Huron to Detroit, the London and St. Mary's Railway and the International Bridge across the Niagara River at Buffalo. Mr. Macpherson was a partner in the Toronto Rolling Mills Company, which, however, ceased to exist when steel rails were introduced. He sat in the Legislative Council of Canada as member for the Saugeen Division from 1864 until Confederation, when he was called to the Senate by Royal Proclamation. In 1868 he was appointed one of the Arbitrators in the adjustment of the public debt and assets between Ontario and Quebec, and in 1869 he published a pamphlet on Banking and Currency. In 1871 Mr. Macpherson entered into negotiations with the Government at Ottawa for the contract to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. He was the means of forming, and was appointed President of the Inter-Oceanic Railway Company for that purpose. In 1880 he was elected Speaker of the Senate and appointed a member of the Ministry without portfolio. These offices he resigned in 1883 when he was appointed Minister of the Interior—a position he held until 1885. During the previous year he had been made a K.C.M.G. by the Queen. After this date Sir David Macpherson practically retired from politics as well as business, and for some years previous to his death was in very poor health. He spent the winter of 1895-6 in San Remo, Italy, and on his way home in August of the latter year he died on board the vessel.

Events Connected with Construction. Some important facts in connection with the building and business of the Canadian Pacific Railway are given by Mr. Alexander Begg in his History of the North-West. From these volumes certain data may be taken as of permanent value in this regard.

As soon as the Act incorporating the Company had been passed, the Syndicate lost no time in getting to work. Offices were opened in Winni-

peg; Mr. Stickney was appointed General Superintendent; General Rosser was placed in charge of the surveys as Chief Engineer; and Mr. J. H. McTavish was selected as Land Commissioner. Under these three heads of departments, Mr. Begg states that the work of organizing the operations of the Railway was undertaken. Some progress had been made, when it was decided to make a change in the management, which was not altogether to the satisfaction of the Board of Directors. "Mr. Stickney thereupon severed his connection with the Company, and was succeeded by Mr. William C. Van Horne, who, upon the recommendation of Mr. James J. Hill, was appointed to the position of General Manager. Soon after, General Rosser's services were dispensed with, and from that time the progress of the Railway was phenomenal."

But the heavy losses sustained by British capitalists in the Grand Trunk investments had not been forgotten, and when Mr. George Stephen visited England he found a very lukewarm feeling on the part of moneyed men toward the enterprise which he and his colleagues had undertaken. The press of Great Britain was especially cool to the enterprise, and matters for a long time did not look promising in the English market. This state of affairs was the result, in a large measure, of former failures on the part of Canadian public men to float the Canadian Pacific Railway scheme in Great Britain and Canada, and of the unpatriotic attempt of certain Canadians to belittle the enterprise in the eyes of the British investors. But Mr. Stephen, with dogged perseverance and infinite tact, gradually fought his way through all these difficulties. The Grand Trunk was naturally the most bitter of his opponents, and the men interested in that great Railway are stated by Mr. Begg to have used every possible means to defeat what they regarded as a coming formidable rival. "To write the history of the battle which the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had to fight in England at the outset would require several volumes, and very interesting reading they would form."

In the autumn of 1883, $65,000,000 of the capital stock had been sold, and nearly all the proceeds expended in construction. The Road had been bitterly assailed at home and abroad by opponents of the Government, and by rival interests to such an extent that it was found impossible, through the feeling of distrust created by the attacks made upon the Company, to sell the remainder of the stock. It really began to look as if work would have to come to a standstill and the intense strain upon the men who had staked their all and had fought the fight against fearful odds, will probably never be fully realized. "The worst feature of the struggle was, that the opposition encountered came chiefly from Canadian sources and was therefore the harder to overcome as it influenced the money interests of Great Britain against the road." At this stage, the Company decided to support their stock by purchasing from the Dominion Government a guarantee of three per cent. per annum for ten years, for the $65,000,000 sold, and making a similar provision for the $35,000,000 unsold. The cost of this terminable annuity was $16,091,152, calculated at four per cent., to meet twenty semi-annual payments of one and a half per cent. each. Of this amount $8,710,240 was paid in cash, and security given for the early payment of the remainder. But even this stroke of policy did not succeed as was expected, and the stock with the Government guarantee could not be sold at an adequate price. The money market in London was in an unsettled state about this time, and the attacks on the Company continued, so that matters were brought to a crisis, and for a time the success of the Canadian Pacific Railway hung in the balance.

Mr. George Stephen, Mr. Donald A. Smith and their immediate colleagues, had stood nobly by the enterprise, but for a time it seemed as if all the great sacrifices they had made, and all their untiring efforts, were to go for naught. The Company then, early in 1884, applied to the Government to tide them over their difficulty by granting them a loan of $22,500,000. This amount, added to the balance due upon the annuity purchase, made a total loan of $29,990,000, to secure which the Government took a lien upon the entire property of the Company. At this critical moment, as on several other occasions, Mr. Donald A. Smith proved his loyalty and devotion to the great cause, and to his friend Mr. Stephen, who was at the head of it, by pledging his means to its assist-

ance. "It is an open secret that Mr. George Stephen himself pledged the larger portion of his wealth to aid the undertaking." In connection with this loan of $22,500,000, it may be mentioned that in order to obtain feeders and distributers for the Trans-continental Line, the Company had commenced the construction and acquisition of a railway system in Ontario and Quebec, and branch lines in Manitoba, with a total mileage as great at their contract line. Their entire interest in these feeders and branch lines was transferred to the Government as well as their land grant, as security for the loan. They in fact stripped themselves of everything in order that the work might go on. Further than this, in consideration of the loan, the Company agreed to complete the Trans-continental Line by May 1st, 1886, or five years in advance of the time fixed by the contract.

Mr. James J. Hill had, meanwhile, retired from the Directorate of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as he found that the affairs of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba required his whole attention. Mr. Donald A. Smith joined the Board of the Canadian road, and has remained a member of it ever since. The Directors chosen at the close of 1883 were as follows: George Stephen, President; R. B. Angus and W. C. Van Horne, Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. Donald A. Smith, John Turnbull, Pascoe Grenfell, H. Stafford Northcote, C. D. Rose, Baron J. de Reinach, R. V. Martinson, and W. L. Scott, Directors. Mr. John S. Kennedy, of New York, and Mr. Duncan McIntyre, both of whom were intimately connected with the Company, and had rendered important services to it, decided to withdraw from the Board for personal reasons of their own.

In 1886 several important changes took place in the Board of Directors, Baron Reinach, of Paris, Mr. John Turnbull, Messrs. Pascoe Grenfell and Charles D. Rose having retired. The new Directors of the Company were Sir George Stephen (who had been created a Baronet as a mark of honour for the distinguished services he had rendered in connection with the great trans-continental railway), President; W. C. Van Horne, Vice-President; the Hon. Donald A. Smith, Messrs. R. B. Angus, Edmund B. Osler, Sandford Fleming, C.E., C.M.G., H. S. Northcote, R. V. Martinson, the Hon. W. L. Scott, Mr. George R. Harris, of Black Bros. & Co., of Boston, the Hon. Levi P. Morton, and Mr. Richard Cross, of Morton, Bliss & Co., of New York.

The Board of Directors elected for 1888 were as follows: Mr. W. C. Van Horne, President; Sir George Stephen, Sir Donald A. Smith, Messrs. R. B. Angus, Edmund B. Osler, Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., R. V. Martinson, the Hon. W. L. Scott, Mr. George R. Harris, the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Hon. George A. Kirkpatrick, Mr. Richard Cross, Mr. Wilmot D. Matthews, the Hon. Donald McInnes and Mr. Thomas Skinner. It will be observed from this list that the Board had become more Canadian in character, only five being from outside the Dominion.

The following were the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway elected in 1897:

CANADA.

Lord Strathcona and Mount-Royal, R. B. Angus, E. B. Osler, M.P., Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., Sir William C. Van-Horne, Sir George A. Kirkpatrick, K.C.M.G., Thomas G. Shaughnessy, Wilmot D. Matthews, Senator McInnes, of Hamilton.

UNITED STATES.

John W. MacKay, General Samuel Thomas of New York, and George R. Harris of Boston.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Thomas Skinner, of London.

Parliamentary History of the Road. The Resolutions presented to the House of Commons concerning the Canadian Pacific Railway project between 1872 and 1884 are of much importance. They illustrate the development of opinion, the strife of parties, the difficulties in connection with the undertaking, and the terms under which at different periods and in diverse hands the matter was discussed and the problem eventually solved. Only the more important Motions can, of course, be given here, and for further particulars reference may be had to the pages of the Parliamentary Debates at the dates mentioned.

On April 26, 1872, the Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier introduced a Bill respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was read the first time, and on May 7th it was moved a second time as follows: "That a railway to be called the Canadian Pacific

Railway be constructed in pursuance of, and in conformity with, the agreement made between the Dominion and the Province of British Columbia and embodied in the Order of the Queen-in-Council admitting the said Province into the Union, under the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867. That such railway shall extend from some point on or near Lake Nipissing at the south shore thereof, to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, the course and line thereof to be subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council. That the whole line of such railway shall be constructed and worked by one Company, to be approved and agreed with by the Governor-in-Council, and be commenced within two years from the admission of British Columbia into the Dominion.

That the land grant to such Company to secure the working and construction of the railway shall not exceed fifty million acres, in blocks of twenty miles in depth on each side of the line of the railway in Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia, alternating with blocks of like depth reserved for the Government of the Dominion, and to be sold by it, and the proceeds of such sale applied towards reimbursing to the Dominion the sums expended by it on the construction of said railway; such lands to be granted from time to time as any portion of the railway is completed in proportion to the length, difficulty of construction and cost of such portion; and in Ontario such land grant to be subject to the arrangement which may be made in that behalf by the Government of the Dominion with the Government of that Province; provided that if the total quantity of land in the alternate blocks to be so granted to the Company should be less than fifty million acres, then the Government may, in its discretion, grant to the Company such additional quantity of land elsewhere as will make up such alternate blocks and quantity not exceeding fifty million acres; and in the case of such additional grant, a quantity of land elsewhere, equal to such additional grant, shall be reserved and disposed of by the Government, for the same purpose as the alternate blocks to be reserved as aforesaid by the Government on the line of the railway.

That the subsidy or aid in money to be granted to such Company be such sum not exceeding —— dollars per mile, or thirty million dollars in the whole, as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Company, the Company allowing the cost of the surveys of the line in 1871-2, as part of such subsidy; and that the Governor-in-Council be authorized to raise by loan such sum as may be required to pass such subsidy. That the gauge of the railway be four feet, eight inches and a half, and the grade, material, and mode of construction such as the Government and Company shall agree upon. That the Government may make such agreement as aforesaid, with any company, and approved by the Governor-in-Council, and being incorporated with power to construct a railway on a line approved by them from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean; or that, if there be two or more such, having power, singly or together, to construct such railway, they may unite as one Company, and such agreement may be made with the united companies; or that if there be no such company with whom the Government deems it advisable to make such agreement, and there be persons able and willing to form such company, the Government may by charter corporate them, and make such agreement with the company so incorporated. That the Government may further agree with the Company, with whom such agreement as aforesaid shall have been made, to construct and work a branch line of railway from such part of the main line in Manitoba, to some point on the boundary line between that Province and the United States, to connect with the system of railways in the said States; and another branch from some point on the main line to some point on Lake Superior in British territory; and that such branch line shall be deemed part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a land grant in aid thereof may be made by the Government to such extent as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Company."

Mr. Edward Blake, on behalf of the Liberal Opposition moved as an amendment to the first Clause "That the railway be constructed by the south and west of Lake Nipissing, if found to be practicable." This was negatived by ninety-one to fifty-one votes, and the Hon. A. A. Dorion

moved "That the Eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway shall be at such point west of the Ottawa River as shall be found to afford the shortest practicable route from the Pacific Ocean to such Eastern terminus, and not as provided by the Bill at some point south of Lake Nipissing." This was negatived by 125 to 15, and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie then proposed "That the Bill be committed with instructions to amend such sections as give to the Governor-in-Council the power to grant to a Railway Company a charter possessing the authority and validity of an Act of the Legislature, and also such sections as confer upon the Governor-in-Council authority to change the Act of Parliament by expunging therefrom all such provisions as the granting of such powers to the Executive as would be an abrogation by Parliament of its proper functions, and involve the introduction into our political system of a principle at variance with Parliamentary Government." The vote upon this was ninety-eight to fifty-two. Mr. Mackenzie then moved "That the Report be not received, but referred back to a Committee of the Whole, with instructions that actual settlers may enter upon any unsold or unoccupied lands, either in the possession of the Company or the Government, on the terms and conditions to be arranged by Parliament, and further to provide that nothing shall be made to prevent the setting apart of the alternate blocks of land retained by the Government for free grants to actual settlers." His second amendment was also negatived by 102 to 38, and on May 28th the main motion passed.

Sir G. E. Cartier moved the third reading of the Pacific Railway Bill on June 1st, and Hon. E. B. Wood moved in amendment "That the said Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be forthwith referred back to a Committee of the Whole in order to amend the same so that so large a sum as $30,000,000 and so large a quantity of land as 50,000,000 acres shall not be at the disposition of the will of the Government of the day, and so that the said money and lands shall be disposed of only by specific annual votes of Parliament from time to time given as shall seem to Parliament right and proper, so that Parliament shall not be divested of its most important function, namely, control over the public expenditure of the country." This was negatived by eighty-three to forty-two, and the Bill was then read a third time and passed.

During the next two years the Pacific Railway "scandal" occurred and the Conservative Government was defeated. The new Ministry, however, was pledged to do something and on April 28, 1874, Mr. (now Sir) R. J. Cartwright moved :

"That this House will, on Thursday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the following proposed Resolutions :

1. That it is expedient to authorize the raising, by way of a loan, for the purpose of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the improvement and enlargement of the Canadian canals, of a sum of money not exceeding eight million pounds sterling.

2. That it is expedient to provide that such portions of the said loan as shall not be raised upon the guarantee of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury (as mentioned in the following resolutions), may be raised in such manner as the Governor-in-Council may direct, under the provisions of the Act, 35 V., c. 6, intituled : 'An Act respecting the Public Debt and raising of Loans authorized by Parliament,' and that the principal and interest thereof shall be chargeable upon the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

3. That it is expedient to provide that of the said sum of eight million pounds, a sum not exceeding three million six hundred thousand pounds may be raised with the guarantee of the Treasury, under the Imperial Act known as 'The Canada (Public Works) Loan Act, 1873,' in such manner and form and on such conditions as they think fit, at a rate of interest not exceeding four per cent. per annum.

4. That it is expedient to provide that, subject to the foregoing provisions as aforesaid, the moneys raised shall be applied and expended for the purposes mentioned in the preceding Resolutions, only in such manner and in such proportions as the Parliament of Canada may have authorized, and that a detailed account of all moneys so expended shall be laid before the House of Commons of Canada during the first fifteen days of the then next session of the Canadian Parliament."

On the 12th of May the House resolved itself into a Committee to consider these Resolutions. Dr. James Fraser Forbes, of Liverpool, N.S., reported that the Committee had come to certain decisions, and it was accordingly resolved : "That in view of the terms and conditions on which British Columbia was admitted into union with

the Dominion, it is expedient to provide for the construction of a railway from some point near to and south of Lake Nipissing to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean, both the said points to be determined by the Governor-in-Council:

"Resolved (1) That the whole line of the said railway, for the purpose of its construction, shall be divided into four sections: The first to begin at a point at or near and to the south of Lake Nipissing and to extend towards the Upper or Western end of Lake Superior, to a point where it shall intersect the second section hereinafter mentioned; the second section to begin at some point on Lake Superior, to be determined by the Governor-in-Council, connecting with the first section, and to extend to Red River, in the Province of Manitoba; the third section to extend from Red River, in the Province of Manitoba, to some point between Fort Edmonton and the foot of the Rocky Mountains, to be determined by the Governor-in-Council; the fourth section to extend from the western terminus of the third section to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean. (2) That branches of the said railway shall also be constructed as follows, that is to say: First—a branch from the point indicated as the proposed eastern terminus of the said railway to some point on the Georgian Bay, both the said points to be determined by the Governor-in-Council. Secondly—a branch from the main line near Fort Garry, in the Province of Manitoba, to the boundary of the said Province at or near Pembina; such branches to be considered as forming part of the Canadian Pacific Railway except in so far as it may be otherwise specially provided. (3) That a line of electric telegraph be constructed in advance of the said railway and branches, along their whole extent respectively as soon as practicable after the location thereof shall have been determined. (4) That the gauge of the said railway shall be four feet eight inches and a half, and the grades thereof, and the materials and manner of and in which the several works forming part thereof shall be constructed, and the mode of working the railway, including the description and the capacity of the locomotive engines and other rolling stock, shall be such as may be determined by the Governor-in-Council, and that the said railway and the branches or sections hereinbefore mentioned, and the stations, bridges, and other works connected therewith, and all engines, freight, and passenger cars and rolling stock shall be constructed under the general superintendence of the Department of Public Works, according to such surveys, location, plans and description of works contemplated, as may be approved of by the Governor-in-Council. (5) That the Governor-in-Council may divide any section into sub-sections, and that any section or sub-section may, after due advertisement and tenders, be given out to 'contractors' for the construction thereof, and of all the works connected therewith and the rolling stock required to work it, and for the working thereof for a period and on terms and conditions to be agreed upon with the Governor-in-Council; but that no such contract be given unless the contractors show that they possess a capital of at least $4,000 for each mile contracted for, and deposit 25 per cent. thereof in money or approved securities to the credit of the Receiver-General in some chartered bank or banks, as security for the completion of their contract."

It was also Resolved: (1) "That a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars per mile of the section or sub-section contracted for, shall be paid to the contractors as the work progresses, in monthly estimates made by the Engineers designated for the purpose by the Department of Public Works, such payments to be proportioned to the nature, character and cost of the works on the whole section or sub-section contracted for. (2) That it is expedient to provide that a guarantee of interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum for a term of twenty-five years, on a sum to be stated in the contract for each mile of the section or sub-section contracted for, shall be given to the contractors—the tenders for the work being required to state the lowest sum per mile for which such guarantee will be required. (3) That an extent of land, not exceeding twenty-five thousand acres for each mile of the section or sub-section contracted for, shall be appropriated for the construction of the said railway, in alternate sections of twenty square miles each, along the line of the said railway or at a convenient distance therefrom, each section having a frontage of not less than three miles nor more than six miles on the line of the said railway, and that two-thirds of the quantity of land so appropriated shall be sold by the Government at such prices as may be from time to time agreed upon between the Governor-in-Council and the contractors, and the proceeds thereof accounted for and paid half-yearly to the contractors, free from any charge of administration or management; the remaining third to be conveyed to the contractors. The said lands to

be of fair average quality, and not to include any land already granted or occupied under any patent, license of occupation or pre-emption right, and when a sufficient quantity cannot be found in the immediate vicinity of the railway, then the same quantity, or as much as may be required to complete such quantity, shall be appropriated at such other places as may be determined by the Governor-in-Council. (4) That the said blocks of land to be appropriated as aforesaid shall be designated by the Governor-in-Council as soon as the line of railway, or any section or sub-section thereof, is finally located. Provided that the Governor-in-Council may further grant to the contractors the right of way through Government lands, as also any such lands required for stations or workshops, and generally all such lands as may be necessarily required for the purpose of constructing or working the said railway."

The Resolutions were agreed to and the Bill introduced. The second reading occurred on the 19th of May. On the next day, and in discussing the third reading, Mr. (now Sir G. A.) Kirkpatrick moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. (now Sir Mackenzie) Bowell, that all the words after "now" to the end of the question, be left out, and the words "re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of amending Clause 13 by adding thereto the words following: 'Provided always that no contract for the construction of the said first branch, or any part thereof, shall be binding until it shall have been laid before the House of Commons for one month without being disapproved, unless sooner approved, by a resolution of the House,'" be inserted instead. This was negatived, and then the Hon. Arthur Bunster, of Victoria, B.C., moved, seconded by Mr. J. B. Plumb, of Niagara, that all the words after "now" to the end of the question be left out, and the words "re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of amending Clause 17, by adding thereto the words following: 'The construction, however, of the railway on the mainland of British Columbia shall be commenced within one year from the date of passage of this Act, and the minimum quantity of work done each year from the date of commencement of construction shall not be less than one-tenth of the sum required for the whole work required to complete that section,'" inserted instead. This was negatived by a vote of seventy-seven to five, and the following additional amendment by Mr. Bunster, seconded by Mr. W. M. Wright, of Pontiac, that all the words after "now" to the end of the question be left out, and the words "re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of amending Clause 18, by adding thereto the words following: 'The work of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall be commenced at Esquimault, Vancouver's Island, during the present year, and a sum expended thereon annually of not less than $1,500,000, until it shall be completed as far as necessary to make the best connection with the line of railway that shall be constructed on the mainland of British Columbia,'" inserted instead, was also defeated. The Bill was then passed.

On May 13th, 1875, in Committee of Supply the Hon. Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Tupper moved "That in view of the engagement entered into during the past year between the Government of Canada and the Imperial Government, and British Columbia, to build a railroad without delay from Nanaimo to Esquimault on Vancouver Island and to expend not less than $2,000,000 per annum in British Columbia on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and to complete the construction of the line from the Pacific Ocean to the shore of Lake Superior in fifteen years, this House is of opinion that no time should be lost in beginning the Eastern portion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and constructing it as rapidly as is consistent with a due regard to economy, from the point fixed by Parliament at or near to the south of Lake Nipissing westward to Lake Nipegon and thence to Red River, commencing at Lake Nipegon and working eastward and westward, and that the Government should employ the available funds of the Dominion in the first place for the completion of that great national work—a continuous railway on Canadian territory by the shortest route from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean." This was rejected by a vote of 117 to 43. On March 28th, 1876, Mr. Amor De Cosmos, of British Columbia, moved an amendment to the Committee of Supply Motion as follows:

"Resolved. That in 1871 the public faith and honour of Canada were pledged in the most

solemn manner to British Columbia to secure the commencement, simultaneously, within two years from the date of Union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as might be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada: and further to secure the completion of such railway within ten years of the date of Union. That owing to divers causes the construction of said railway was not commenced in British Columbia or elsewhere at the time agreed upon. That in 1874 the Government of Canada applied to British Columbia for, and afterwards secured and accepted, through the intervention and upon the recommendation of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, an agreement for the relaxation of the railway clauses of the terms of Union: and the public faith and honour of Canada now stand pledged to carry the said agreement respecting the said relaxation of the railway clause of the terms of Union, forthwith into operation. That notwithstanding the public faith and honour of Canada stand twice solemnly pledged to construct the said railway and commence the actual construction thereof in British Columbia and elsewhere, and notwithstanding five years have passed since the date of Union and nearly three years have elapsed from the date at which Canada agreed first that the actual construction should be commenced, and nearly eighteen months since she agreed the second time to commence the construction, yet the Government have not, up to the present moment, commenced the actual construction of the said railway in the said Province. That therefore this House is of the opinion that the Government should forthwith promptly commence and vigourously and continuously prosecute the work of the actual construction of the said railway within British Columbia in accordance with its solemn pledges to that Province." Negatived by 154 to 7.

On April 7, 1876, the following addition to a construction item moved by the Government was proposed by Mr. G. W. Ross (then Member for Middlesex) and carried by 149 to 10: "But while granting this sum this House desires to record its view that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall be such as the resources of the country will permit, without increasing the existing rates of taxation." An amendment by Mr. J. B. Plumb to the following effect was then negatived by 89 to 36: "That while concurring in this vote, this House desires to record its opinion that the country is pledged to the construction of the Pacific Railway in its agreement with British Columbia, and that it is in accordance with that agreement and with the public interest that the surveys be energetically proceeded with, in order that the construction of the road should be prosecuted as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit without adding to the burthens of taxation."

On April 21st, 1877, a direct vote of want of confidence was moved by the Hon. Dr. Tupper as follows: "That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved, that this House cannot approve of the course pursued by this Government with respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway." The motion was negatived by 104 to 59 votes. In 1878 the new Government of Sir John A. Macdonald was formed, and on May 10th, 1879, the Hon. Dr. Tupper, as Minister of Railways and Canals, moved a series of resolutions embodying its policy regarding the active completion of the railway:

"1. That engagements have been entered into with British Columbia as a condition of union with Canada that a line of railway to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific shall be constructed with all practical speed.

2. That the Pacific Railway would form a great Imperial highway across the continent of America entirely on British soil, and would provide a new and important route from England to Australia, to India and to all the dependencies of Great Britain in the Pacific, as also to China and Japan.

3. That reports from the Mother Country set forth an unprecedented state of enforced idleness of the working classes, and the possibility of a scheme of relief on a large scale being found indispensable to alleviate destitution.

4. That the construction of the Pacific Railway would afford immediate employment to numbers of workmen, and would open up vast tracts of fertile land for occupation, and thus would form

a ready outlet for the over-populated districts of Great Britain and other European countries.

5. That it is obvious that it would be of general advantage to find an outlet for the redundant population of the Mother Country within the Empire, and thus build up flourishing colonies on British soil, instead of directing a stream of emigration from England to foreign countries.

6. That in view of the importance of keeping good faith with British Columbia, and completing the consolidation of the Confederation of the Provinces in British North America; and for the purpose of extending relief to the unemployed working classes of Great Britain, and affording them permanent homes on British soil; and in view of the national character of the undertaking; the Government of Canada is authorized and directed to use its best efforts to secure the co-operation of the Imperial Government in this great undertaking, and obtain further aid by guarantee or otherwise, in the construction of this great national work.

7. That it is further expedient to provide (1) That one hundred million acres of land, and all the minerals they contain, be appropriated for the purposes of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. (2) That the land be vested in Commissioners to be specially appointed, and that the Imperial Government be represented on the Commission. (3) That all the ungranted land within twenty miles of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway belonging to the Dominion be vested in such Commission; and that when the lands along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway are not of fair average quality for setttlement, a corresponding quantity of lands of fair quality shall be appropriated in other parts of the country to the extent in all of 100,000,000 of acres. (4) That said Commission be authorized to sell, from time to time, any portions of such land at a price to be fixed by the Governor-in-Council, on their recommendation, at the rate of not less than $2 per acre; and that they may be required to invest the proceeds of such sales in Canadian Government securities, to be held exclusively for the purpose of defraying the cost of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

8. That the withdrawal for sale and settlement of lands for twenty miles on each side of the located line of the Pacific Railway has, in part, had the effect of throwing settlements south and west of Lake Manitoba.

9. That in the existing state of things, it is desirable to combine the promotion of colonization with railway construction on the Canadian Pacific Railway west of Red River.

10. That the Government be authorized and directed to locate a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Red River westerly, running to the south of Lake Manitoba, with a branch to Winnipeg; and if they deem it advisable to enter into a contract for expending a sum not exceeding $1,000,000 in constructing the said railway without previously submitting the contracts to Parliament.

11. That it is expedient to make further explorations in the Peace and Pine River districts, and other sections of the country not yet examined, in order to ascertain the feasibility of a line through the largest extent of fertile territory before beginning the work of construction in British Columbia.

12. That in the opinion of the House the selection of the Burrard Inlet terminus was premature.

13. That it is necessary to keep good faith with British Columbia, and commence the construction of the railway in that Province as early as is practicable.

14. That the Government be authorized and directed to make such further explorations as they may deem necessary for the said purpose, and so soon as they have finally selected and located the line, to enter into contracts for constructing a portion of the same, not exceeding 125 miles, without the further sanction of Parliament, so that the work of construction may, at least, be commenced during the present season, and, thereafter be vigourously prosecuted."

The late Premier, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, promptly moved an amendment which, after recapitulating the Liberal policy of past years, concluded with the statement "that the circumstances of the country are not now such as would justify a departure from the ground taken in the said Acts and Resolution, and that the construction of the railway should only be pro-

ceeded with at such a rate as will not necessitate increasing the rate of taxation beyond that existing at the date of the above recited Resolution in the Session of 1876." This was negatived by 115 to 37 votes and Dr. Tupper's Motion duly passed.

On April 15th, 1880, the Hon. Edward Blake moved in amendment to the Committee of Supply Motion: "To leave out all the words after 'That' in the said Motion, and to insert the following instead thereof: The public interests require that the work of constructing the Pacific Railway in British Columbia should be postponed." This was negatived by 131 to 49 votes.

Meantime the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate had been formed and arrangements entered into with the Government for the construction of the railway. On December 13th, 1880, accordingly, Sir Charles Tupper moved that the House do go into Committee of the Whole, on Tuesday next, to consider the following Resolutions: "1st. That it is expedient to grant and appropriate twenty-five millions of dollars according to the terms of the contract relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway transmitted to this House by His Excellency the Governor-General, by his message dated Dec. 10th. 2nd. That it is expedient to grant and appropriate twenty-five millions of acres of land in the North-West Territories according to the terms of the said contract so transmitted as aforesaid."

Prolonged debates followed which may be consulted in Hansard's Parliamentary Report for this Session, and on January 18th, 1881, Mr. Blake, as Leader of the Opposition, moved a series of very lengthy resolutions denouncing the proposed contract and favouring the original policy of building gradually and in sections. His motion was finally defeated by 140 to 54. On January 26th, Mr. Francois Bechard moved the following amendment which was also rejected by 122 to 54:

"That the said Resolutions be not now read a second time, but that it be resolved, that prior to, and during the last general election, it was the policy of all parties that the arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be such as the resources of the country would permit, without increasing the former rates of taxation, and that the work, if to be constructed by a Company, should be let only after tenders had been obtained therefor, and should be subjected to purchase by the Government at ten per cent. over cost, after deducting the public expenditure; and that the property and stock and land grant of the Company should be subject to taxation, and that the Governor-in-Council should have the unrestricted right, from time to time, to regulate the tolls to be taken, and to prescribe the accommodation to be given, and that Parliament should be free to charter such other railways as the public interest might require. That the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway, laid on the Table, involves violations in the above, and other paticulars of the settled policy in reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and should not be ratified till after the people had had the opportunity of expressing their opinion through the medium of a general election."

Sir Richard Cartwright then moved:

"That the Resolutions be not now read a second time, but that it be resolved that the contract respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway involves a total expenditure by the country in connection with that work of about $60,000,000, exclusive of interest, and the cession of 25,000,000 of acres of choice lands, worth at the estimate of the Government last year, at least $79,500,000, making a total consideration of about $140,000,000, while the railroad itself is estimated by Government to cost not more than $84,000,000, and that the consideration proposed to be given is excessive, and that the contract is in the highest respect objectionable." This was negatived by 127 to 53, and another amendment proposed by Mr. Charles Burpee was rejected by a similar vote.

A long series of hostile amendments followed. The Hon. (now Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, the Hon. David Mills, the Hon. T. W. Anglin, Dr. F. W. Borden, Mr. James Trow, Mr. William Paterson, of Brant, Mr. John Charlton, Dr. C. I. Rinfret, Mr. G. W. Ross, Mr. Julius Scriver, Mr. Donald Guthrie, Q.C., Mr. P. B. Casgrain, Mr. M. C. Cameron, Mr. Frank Killam, Dr. J. B. R. Fiset, Mr. A. Larue, Mr. G. G. King, Mr. Samuel Macdonnell, Q.C., and Mr. G. E. Casey, moved resolutions of every kind and description, but all antagonistic to the Government proposals. All were defeated on strict party lines. The third reading was finally carried on February 1st by

Sir Charles Tupper with a vote of 128 to 49.

In 1882 occurred the debate on the McDonald and Charlebois tender for construction of a section of the road in British Columbia, which caused strong party feeling and much keen discussion. The Opposition amendment was moved by Mr. Mackenzie on March 28th, and ultimately negatived by 128 to 55 votes. On February 1st, 1884, Sir Charles Tupper (see Hansard of that date) moved lengthy Resolutions embodying the new Government policy of a loan of $22,5000,000 to the Company. The proposals were sharply discussed and various amendments proposed by Mr. M. C. Cameron, Mr. Edward Blake, the Hon. W. B. Vail, Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. C. W. Weldon, Q.C., and Mr. Robert Watson, but without success, the average Government majority being about sixty. The Bill passed its third reading on February 28th by 122 to 58 votes, and in less than two years the railway was completed.

British Columbia and the Railway. A most important incident in the early history of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the dispute between British Columbia and the Dominion Government regarding its proposed construction and route, an issue which was settled for the time upon the basis of what are known as the "Carnarvon Terms." On the 20th July, 1871, British Columbia had entered the Union, one of the conditions being the construction of the Pacific Railway. Up to 1874 no active steps had been taken to advance this important public work. During 1873, at the termination of the first two years of Union, and while the Macdonald Ministry were still in power at Ottawa, Lieutenant-Governor Trutch had lodged a protest against the possible breach of a condition so important to British Columbian interests. A promise which seemed impossible of fulfilment had been made and a railway of great magnitude—a work which found its progress impeded at every foot of the way by prodigious obstacles, a line which was to pass through unexplored and mountainous territory, and which was to unite ocean to ocean—had been guaranteed within the short space of ten years. No wonder there was hesitation and a tendency to negotiate and perhaps even to delay action.

Meanwhile, considerable correspondence had passed between the Government of Canada and that of British Columbia, but nothing satisfactory or definite was arrived at. In February, 1874, the Mackenzie Government determined to send a special envoy to ascertain the true state of feeling in the Province as to the conditions under which it seemed possible to begin building the railway, and to gauge the public pulse concerning certain alterations which were to be proposed in the conditions of the Union. For this important duty the Premier selected Mr. J. D. Edgar (afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons), and that gentleman proceeded at once on his mission armed with letters of introduction to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Attorney-General, and a long document of instructions for his own guidance. On the 9th of March he arrived at Victoria, and shortly afterwards received a visit from Mr. G. A. Walkem, the Leader of the Local Government, to whom he made known the object of his mission. Mr. Edgar was subsequently introduced to Mr. Walkem's colleagues as the representative of the Canadian Government. The population of the Province at this time was about 10,000, and its people were naturally intensely eager to have a road built which promised much in the way of development and the expenditure of money. The Local Government seem to have first endeavoured to commit Mr. Edgar to certain views held by them, but were unsuccessful. When therefore he in turn presented his proposals he found that they would not consider them, and in fact denied his authority to act for the Dominion Government. In the light of his original reception this certainly appears to have been very unjust. Dr. George Stewart in his valuable work upon "Canada under the Administration of Lord Dufferin," blames Mr. Edgar for lack of diplomacy and tact, but whether such was the case or not, the negotiations fell through and on May 20th Mr. Mackenzie recalled his envoy.

The proposals of the Canadian Government may be summarized as follows:

1. To commence at once, and finish as soon as possible, a railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo.

2. To spare no expense in settling as speedily as possible the line to be taken by the railway on the mainland.

3. To make at once a wagon road and line of telegraph along the whole length of the railway in British Columbia, and to continue the telegraph across the continent.

4. The moment the surveys and roads on the mainland are completed to spend a minimum amount of $1,500,000 annually upon the construction of the railway within the Province.

On June 8th these proposals were withdrawn, and shortly afterwards the Premier of British Columbia went to England and laid before the Colonial Secretary the case for his Province and

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against the Dominion. Considerable acrimonious discussion followed, and finally Lord Carnarvon offered to act as Arbitrator in the matter. In this usually thankless task the Colonial Secretary was unusually successful. He summed up his conclusions on the question, and then in a despatch to Lord Dufferin proposed terms of settlement which have generally been considered as fair and equitable. They were as follows—November 17th, 1874 :

"1. That the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo shall be commenced as soon as possible, and completed with all practicable despatch.

2. That the surveys on the mainland shall be pushed on with the utmost vigour. On this point, after considering the representations of your Ministers, I feel that I have no alternative but to rely, as I do, most fully and readily upon their assurances that no legitimate effort or expense will be spared, first to determine the best route for the line, and secondly to proceed with the details of the engineering work. It would be distasteful to me, if, indeed, it were not impossible, to prescribe strictly any minimum of time or expenditure with regard to work of so uncertain a nature; but, happily, it is equally impossible for me to doubt that your Government will loyally do its best in every way to accelerate the completion of a duty left freely to its sense of honour and justice.

3. That the wagon road and telegraph line shall be immediately constructed. There seems here to be some difference of opinion as to the special value to the Province of the undertaking to complete these two works; but, after considering what has been said, I am of opinion that they should both be proceeded with at once, as, indeed is suggested by your Ministers.

4. That $2,000,000 a year, and not $1,500,000, shall be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province from the date at which the surveys are sufficiently completed to enable that amount to be expended on construction. In naming the amount I understand that, it being alike the interest and the wish of the Dominion Government to urge on with all speed the completion of the works now to be undertaken, the annual expenditure will be as much in excess of the minimum of $2,000,000 as in any year may be found practicable.

5. Lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the railway shall be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior, at which it will fall into connection with existing lines of railway through a portion of the United States, and also with the navigation on Canadian waters. To proceed at present with the remainder of the railway extending by the country northward of Lake Superior to the existing Canadian lines

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ought not, in my opinion, to be required, and the time for undertaking that work must be determined by the development of settlement and the changing circumstances of the country. The day is, however, I hope, not far distant when a continuous line of railway through Canadian territory will be practicable, and I therefore look upon this portion of the scheme as postponed rather than abandoned."

One or two of the modifications advised did not quite suit the Dominion Ministry, but rather than forego an immediate settlement of so irritating a question, a willingness to acquiesce in all of the Earl of Carnarvon's conditions was exhibited, and accordingly, on the 18th of December, 1874, an Order-in-Council, expressing satisfaction with the new arrangements proposed, was sent to the Imperial authorities.

Canadian Pacific Receipts and Expenses. The following table gives the annual income and expenditure of the Canadian Pacific Railway since its completion :

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1886.....	$10,081,803	$6,378,317
1887.....	11,606,412	8,102,294
1888.....	13,195,535	9,324,760
1889.....	15,030,660	9,024,601
1890.....	16,552,528	10,252,828
1891.....	20,241,095	12,231,436
1892.....	21,409,351	12,989,004
1893.....	20,962,317	13,220,901
1894.....	19,357,098	12,447,808
1895.....	17,912,274	11,282,506
1896.....	20,175,385	12,202,360

The Canadian Pacific and Western Competition. A controversy of historical importance was carried on for several years between the Dominion and Manitoban Governments regarding the terms and operation of what was called the "monopoly" Clause in the Canadian Pacific Charter. The rights or restrictions which were so obnoxious to the Provincial Government are found in Clause 15 of the Company's Charter as follows :

"For twenty years from the date hereof no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line as shall run south-west or to the westward of south-west, nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49. And in the establishment of any new Province in the North-West Territories, provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment until the expiration of the said period."

While the Charter was being discussed in the Dominion Parliament sundry public meetings were held in the Province and protests made against the granting of any monopoly to the Canadian Pacific Railway. On December 22nd, 1880, the following Resolutions were introduced in the Legislature of Manitoba by the Hon. John Norquay, Prime Minister, and unanimously carried :

"Whereas it appears from a telegram dated 18th December, 1880, addressed by the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier of the Government of Canada, to Thomas Scott, M.P. for Selkirk, that the Canadian Pacific Railway will have power to build branch lines anywhere ; and whereas it is further intended, as appears from the publication of the terms on which the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate have agreed to construct, equip, maintain and operate the said Canadian Pacific Railway, to grant to the said Company the exclusive right of building and operating branch lines of railway to the international boundary between Canada and the United States ;

And whereas it appears further that the said Company have the right of accepting only such alternate sections of land as they may think proper, and it is deemed that the powers intended to be granted to the Company would be detrimental to the best interests of the Province of Manitoba ; and while this House is of opinion that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be entrusted to a private Company, it views with alarm some of the terms of agreement between the Government and the Syndicate.

Therefore, be it Resolved : That for the present the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate should have given to them power to build only the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and that any other line or branch line should be built by the Syndicate or other Company only after their obtaining power from time to time from the Par-

liament of Canada to build such line or branch line, and that the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall not be allowed to approach at any point within fifteen miles of the international boundary line, and that Parliament should not abandon its right of authorizing the construction of railways in any direction by other companies; that the Syndicate shall not have the option of choosing and selecting their lands, but shall be compelled to take alternate sections or townships for their land grant in aid of the construction of the railway, irrespective of the quality of the same."

The arrangement however, was duly entered into with the Company. Upon the completion of the railway and the consequent opening up of new centres and territories the question soon became a burning one from the very natural and popular desire for competitive lines and rates. And this despite the efforts of the Canadian Pacific Company and the Dominion Government to open branch roads wherever required. On the 9th of June, 1887, the following Resolution was unanimously passed by the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. On motion of the Hon. Mr. Norquay, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Harrison it was

"Resolved: Whereas it is the avowed policy of the Government of the Dominion to continue to advise the disallowance of railway charters granted by the Legislature for the construction and operation of a line of railway to the southern boundary of the Province;

And whereas it is of the utmost importance to the people of the Province that a charter for such a line of railway should be left to its operation, whereby they would be able to secure competing rates with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and obtain access to the markets of the world for their surplus produce by other than one channel; and whereas the rates charged by the Canadian Pacific Railway are so excessive that the energies of this Province are crippled to an unwarrantable extent; and whereas the continuance of such a policy on the part of the Federal Government is calculated to deter immigrants from settling in the Province and to prevent the investment of capital therein; and whereas it is claimed on the part of the Province that in chartering a line of railway wholly within the limits of the old Province, as defined by 33 Vic., Cap. 3, the Legislature acts within its legal and constitutional right.

Therefore be it Resolved: That should the power of disallowance be further exercised in reference to charters granted by this Legislature for the construction and operation of a line or lines of railway wholly within the limits of the old Province of Manitoba, the Government are hereby authorized to submit the case of the Province, appealing from the action of the Federal Government, and praying that Her Majesty may be pleased to order that in future the Province may be allowed to exercise in this respect her constitutional rights."

Meanwhile the agitation continued and three Charters—the Manitoba Central Railway, the Emerson and North-Western Railway, and the Red River Valley Railway were disallowed in 1887 by the Dominion Government. Over the latter there was a determined fight both in the Provincial Legislature and the Dominion Parliament, and at one time there seemed to be danger of an actual collision between the representatives of the two Governments at the scene of construction—or attempted construction. One side of the general question has been given in the Resolutions, etc., already quoted, and the other may be seen in the following extracts from a Report prepared by two members of the Dominion Government—the Hon. Thomas White and the Hon. (afterwards Sir) J. S. D. Thompson—and approved by the Governor-General-in-Council on 4th January, 1888:

"In the autumn of 1878, as the result of a general election, another change of Ministry took place. The new Administration undertook the prosecution of the work of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway with great earnestness; and as a result of its efforts, certain gentlemen, who afterwards became incorporated as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, made a proposal to the Government for the construction of a railway from Port Arthur, on Lake Superior, through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast. Had that proposal been accepted there would have been less necessity for providing against competition on the part of the United States railways; but it was felt that such a railway would not meet the requirements of the country; that it would leave all that portion of Canada west of Lake Superior separated for six months of the year from the thickly settled Provinces in the East by a practically impassable barrier of over 600

miles of uninhabited country. To leave communication between the portions of Canada to the east and to the west respectively of Lake Superior dependent for one-half of the year upon the railway systems of a foreign country, with all the contingencies involved in such a dependence, would, on commercial grounds, have been folly, and on national grounds little short of madness.

It was with a view of avoiding this and of securing a trans-continental line of railway on Canadian territory, that the stipulation was included in the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that for twenty years, or in other words, for ten years after the term fixed for the completion of the railway, namely, 1891, 'no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such line as shall run south-west or to the westward or south-west, not within fifteen miles of latitude 49.' The object to be attained by this provision, and without which it could not be attained, namely, the construction of that section of the railway running north of Lake Superior, fully justified its inclusion in the contract; and the motive, namely, that reasonable time should be allowed for giving direction to the trade of the great West, so as to build up the commerce of the ports of Eastern Canada, was, on commercial grounds, a most natural one.

It is argued that there is no binding legal obligation on the part of the Government of Canada to protect the Canadian Pacific Railway by the exercise of the power of disallowance in respect of railways chartered by the Legislature of Manitoba, and having their termini within the old boundaries of the Province. Without discussing that question, it is sufficient to repeat that the Government of Manitoba, in their petition to Her Majesty, admit that the power was properly exercised during the period of construction, in view of the terms of the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and it may be inferred therefrom that the same acquiescence would have been yielded to it until the completion of the railway, had that completion been deferred until the period fixed in the contract, namely, 1891. The Company, by a display of great energy and at a greatly increased cost to its proprietors, completed the work of construction five years before the time fixed in the contract, thus giving to Canada the advantages of a through line of railway on its own soil, at a much earlier period than the most sanguine among the promoters of the enterprise believed to be possible. The same energy which marked the construction of the railway is being displayed in measures for the development of trade by it, from which Canada has already derived great, and in the near future must derive still greater, advantage. Under these circumstances, the undersigned submit that it would be only reasonable that the Company should not be made to suffer because of the energy and increased expenditure they have contributed to give to Canada, in advance of the time stipulated in their contract, the advantages of this magnificent inter-oceanic highway; and that the same protection, which admittedly they were entitled to during the construction of the railway, should be extended to them at least for the period fixed in the contract for the completion of the railway, to enable them to carry on successfully the policy of traffic development which they are pursuing with so much success.

It is most important on commercial as well as national grounds that this policy should be continued for some time longer. The Canadian Pacific Railway has already attracted a considerable trade between China and Japan and the Atlantic markets of this continent. It has attracted attention as the most valuable highway, under British control, between the eastern and western possessions of the Empire. The Imperial authorities have become so impressed with its importance that they have agreed to grant a subsidy of £45,000 sterling per annum towards the establishment of a line of Steamers on the Pacific Ocean to be run in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the struggle for this Pacific trade, the railway has already become a most important factor, being regarded as in some respects the most important of the trans-continental lines. Its chief competitor, the Northern Pacific Railway Company of the United States, has been making great efforts to bear up against this new competition, and it is admitted that the efforts to strike the Canadian Pacific Railway in its centre,

by an extension of the Northern Pacific Railway system from the international boundary line to Winnipeg is not with the object of affording competitive rates to the people of Manitoba, but to secure a weapon by which to control the competition for trans-continental traffic from the Pacific coast (now rapidly finding its way over the Canadian route) and thus retain it for United States railways. It would be a most suicidal policy on the part of Canada to assist a foreign railway corporation in obtaining that weapon, to be used, as it must be used, in hampering a trade from whose growth the business men of the country have so much to anticipate.

The policy of the Government of Canada, so far from being directed to secure for the Canadian Pacific Railway a monopoly of the carrying trade within the boundaries of Manitoba, has been most generous in aiding in the construction of independent local railway lines in the Province, not in any way controlled by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and built by the aid of liberal grants of land made by the Dominion Government. There are in addition over 200 miles of railway south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway to which subsidies in lands were granted when they were in the hands of an independent company. That Company was unable to enlist private capital in the construction of its railway, and transferred it to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, as the result of which the people of southern Manitoba have been afforded the advantages of railway communication, of which, but for the liberal policy of the Government of Canada and of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, they would have been probably for a long time deprived. And although the Canadian Pacific Railway controls the only line leading directly to the Great Lakes and to Eastern Canada, and the two lines southward to the international boundary, its rates on traffic to and from the Province have, in the nature of things, always been largely affected, and must continue to be largely affected, by the competition of the United States railways.

The Sub-Committee submit that the statements in the petition that the policy of the Dominion Government in preventing the construction of railways to connect with the United States railway system at the international boundary is calculated to deter immigrants from settling in the Province and to prevent the investment of capital therein, are not justified by the facts. Other circumstances, entirely unconnected with this question, have, to a limited extent, produced these results—chief among which is the wild speculation so general in the Province between the years 1881 and 1883, caused by the immense expenditure in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway among a small population, and the depression which necessarily followed the completion of the railway and the consequent cessation of expenditure. But in spite of these untoward events the progress of the Province has been, on the whole, satisfactory. All experience shows that the early years of the settlement of new territories are always the most difficult; Dakota, during ten years from 1860 to 1870, increased only about 9,000 in population; Colorado between 5,000 and 6,000 during the same period; Montana less than 9,000 between 1870 and 1880; and so with others of the States and Territories of the United States. The overflow into the new territories is always slow at first, until the attractive influence of the early settlement brings its natural result in the advent of old friends and neighbours.

The progress of Manitoba, fairly rapid as it has been, has also suffered from other causes. The agitation by the so-called Farmers' Union, which, although representing only an insignificant minority of the people, was sufficiently influential to affect the immigration into the country; the Half-breed and Indian outbreak of 1885, although the seat of disturbance was several hundred miles away from Manitoba, was used by foreign rival immigration agencies to deter immigrants from settling in the Province; and the violence of language indulged in by a portion of the people and press in connection with the controversy which forms the subject of the petition of the Manitoba Government to Her Majesty; the foolish threats of armed resistance to the law which, to those ignorant of local conditions, were apt to be mistaken for the general sentiment of the people; and the untruthful statements published by the "Associated Press" as to the intentions of the Government of Canada in relation to this controversy, have all had some influence in deterring the growth of population, which, under other cir-

cumstances, the splendid resources of the Province would have certainly attracted.

The Sub-Committee, therefore, are unable to recommend that there should be an abandonment for the present of the policy of Canada, pursued by both political parties in the past, of preventing the trade of Manitoba and the great North-West from being diverted for the advantage of foreign railway corporations and foreign commerce, and of protecting the great national inter-oceanic highway for a reasonable time to permit permanent direction to be given to the traffic of the country. Canada has made great sacrifices to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Upwards of seventy-one millions of dollars and over eighteen millions of acres of land have been voted by Parliament for that purpose. These generous subsidies have been voted under the conviction that the older Provinces of the Dominion would be greatly benefitted by the increased trade which would flow down upon them as the result of the development of those portions of the Dominion lying west of Lake Superior; and the unwillingness to forego these advantages, by permitting this great western trade to be diverted to United States railways for the advantage of the commerce of a foreign country, found its expression at the last Session of Parliament in the emphatic vote of the House of Commons, in which every Province is represented, and which has just come from a general election at which the question formed one of the leading subjects of discussion. That vote, the Sub-Committee submit, must be regarded not only as an endorsement of the policy of the Canadian Government in the past, but as a mandate to the Government to continue that policy in the future. Under all these circumstances, the Sub-Committee believe that the wisdom and constitutional propriety of the policy pursued on this subject will be fully recognized by Her Majesty's Government, to which the Government of Manitoba in their petition appeal."

While it lasted the discussion in Manitoba had been a stormy one. A Convention of North-West farmers met on 20th December, 1883, passed strong Resolutions and sent a delegation to Ottawa in the succeeding February. In May, 1884, the Legislature also despatched a deputation composed of Mr. Norquay, the Premier, the Hon. Alexander Murray, Speaker of the Assembly, and the Hon. C. P. Brown and Hon. J. A. Miller, Members of the Government. On March 4th, 1885, the Farmers' Union passed some more fiery resolutions against disallowance. Finally matters came to a head in 1888. Early in March of that year Mr. Norquay and the Hon. Joseph Martin went to Ottawa with Resolutions such as the following from the Winnipeg Conservative Association ringing in their ears:

"That the Conservative Association of Winnipeg earnestly draws the attention of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier, and the Government of Canada, to the self-evident fact that the time has passed when mere personal or political friendship, or party sentiment, can cover or smother the real state of public feeling in Manitoba and the North-West in respect to the power (assumed or otherwise) exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council of disallowing railway charters granted by the Legislature of the Province. We declare that we will not submit to struggle any longer under the burden that is crushing the country to death; we therefore demand the discontinuance of disallowance, and that this Province of Manitoba be placed in the same position in regard to railways as are all the other Provinces forming the Dominion of Canada."

Upon this occasion the negotiations were more successful, and eventually the "monopoly clauses" were waved by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in return for a fifty year Dominion guarantee of interest on a $15,000,000 issue of 3½ per cent. bonds secured upon the Company's unsold lands—about 15,000,000 acres.

Railway Subsidies to Trans-Continental Lines. In connection with the land subsidies, etc., granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway much discussion has arisen, and the following figures of grants given in the United States for the construction of railways there will facilitate judgment and prove of interest. They were compiled in 1871 by Mr. J. M. Trout for his work upon "The Railways of Canada." The first statement is a table of the amount of lands granted by Congress to the States named for the construction of these railways up to the 1st July, 1869:

States.	Acres granted.
Illinois	2,595,053
Mississippi	2,062,240

States.	Acres granted.
Alabama	3,729,120
Florida	2,360,114
Louisiana	1,578,720
Arkansas	4,744,272
Missouri	3,745,160
Iowa	7,331,208
Michigan	5,327,931
Wisconsin	5,378,360
Minnesota	7,783,403
Kansas	7,753,000
California	2,060,000
Oregon	1,660,000
Total	58,108,581

It should be borne in mind that the total land grant by the Dominion Government to the Canadian Pacific was 25,000,000 acres—of which 7,000,000 acres was aferwards taken back at $1.50 an acre.

The following group of figures indicate the direct grants to the U.S. trans-continental lines of railway:

	Acres.	
Grant to Union and Central Pacific Railway Companies	35,000,000	
Grant to Northern Pacific Company	47,000,000	
Grant to Atlantic and Pacific Company	42,000,000	
		124,000,000
Grant in aid of Canals	4,405,986	
Grant in aid of Wagon Roads	3,782,213	
		8,188,199
Forward		58,108,581
Total		190,296,780
Add grants made by 41st Congress		33,760,000
Total of all grants to 1869		224,056,780

At an average of $2.00 per acre, these figures would give a land grant to American trans-continental lines of about $248,000,000 in value. Lieut.-Colonel David Tisdale, afterwards Minister of Militia and Defence, quoted on March 20th, 1893, in the Canadian House of Commons, from the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Railways (30th June, 1892), to the effect that the amount then due on bonds of the United States delivered to the Union Pacific Company was $62,000,000, and to the Central Pacific, $64,000,000. The total mileage of these two roads was only 2,019.

The Retirement of Lord Mount Stephen. Sir George Stephen had so much to do with the inception and early financial struggles and successes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that the following farewell letter addressed on the 7th August, 1888, to the Shareholders of the Company is of historical interest and value:

"From the time when I became a party to the contract with the Dominion Government for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and consented to accept the position of President of the Company, it has always been my intention to relinquish the active chief control of the affairs of the Company as soon as the task which I then undertook should be completed. This task was partially finished when the line was open for traffic through to the Pacific Ocean, over two years ago; but at that time so much remained to be done towards the firm establishment of the enterprise, and its future development and success, that in deference to the wishes of my colleagues, I consented to continue for a time in office. Warned now by the state of my health, finding that the severe and constant strain which I have had to bear for the past eight years has unfitted me for the continuous and arduous duties of an office in which vigour and activity are essential; feeling the increasing necessity for practical railway experience; and believing that the present satisfactory and assured position of the Company offers a favourable opportunity for taking the step I have so long had in contemplation, I have this day resigned the Presidency of the Company which I have had the honour to hold since its organization.

In taking this step, it may not be out of place to say that my pecuniary interest in the enterprise remains undiminished, and that the welfare of the Company is, and always must be to me, a matter of the deepest possible interest; and that as a member of the Board of Directors, I will always be ready to aid and co-operate with my colleagues in everything calculated to protect and promote the interests of the shareholders. In resigning the position of President of the Company, it is to me a matter of the greatest possible satisfaction to be able to say that in my successor, Mr. Van Horne, the Company has a man of proved fitness for the office, in the prime of life, possessed of great energy and rare ability, having a long and thoroughly practical railway experience,

and, above all, an entire devotion to the interests of the Company.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from congratulating the shareholders upon the arrangements recently completed by Sir Donald A. Smith and myself which will have the effect of securing to the Canadian Pacific Railway the permanent friendship of the two new and important American lines, extending from Sault Ste. Marie to Minneapolis and St. Paul on the one hand, and to Duluth on the other, and reaching a traffic the importance of which it would be difficult to overestimate. It is also a matter for congratulation that arrangements have been practically settled with the Wabash Railway for the permanent connection between the Detroit River and Chicago and the South-West; and further, that the long-pending negotiations with the Imperial Government for the establishment of a first-class steamship line between Vancouver and Japan and China, have at last been concluded.

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient servant,
GEORGE STEPHEN."

George Stephen, 1st Lord Mount Stephen and first President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was born at Dufftown, Banff, Scotland, in 1829. He was educated at the Parish school of Dufftown, and at fourteen years of age was apprenticed to a draper in Aberdeen. After four years' apprenticeship he entered a shipping house in London, and in 1850 came to Canada, where he was eventually admitted into partnership with his cousin, William Stephen, of Montreal, and on the death of the latter in 1862 assumed control of the business. Mr. Stephen soon realized a fortune in the manufacture of textiles and was appointed a Director of the Bank of Montreal. From 1876 to 1881 he was President of that important institution. His first connection with railway was enterprises membership in a syndicate for the purchase of the interests of the Dutch holders of the bonds of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway. This gave control of a partially constructed line which was an important link in the chain of railway communication with the North-West via the Pembina Branch of the proposed Canadian Pacific road. It eventually became so profiable that branch lines were constructed in various directions, and the road was re-named the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway. His connection with this line and Mr. Donald A. Smith (who was a cousin and a joint shareholder) led Mr. Stephen to take up the Canadian Pacific enterprise, and of the newly formed Company he was elected President in 1881. This important position he continued to hold till 1888 when he resigned. In 1885, in connection with Sir Donald Smith, he founded the "Montreal Scholarship" in the London Royal College of Music, and in 1887 the two men again united in donating $500,000 each to found the Royal Victoria Hospital at Montreal. The Government of Canada presented Mr. Stephen with the Confederation Medal in 1885, and in the following year he was created a Baronet by the Queen in recognition of his great services to Canada and the Empire in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sir George Stephen was raised to the Peerage in 1891 and chose his title from the lofty mountain in the Rockies which had been originally named in his honour. Lord Mount Stephen's seat in England is Brocket Hall, Herts, once the home of England's Premier—Lord Palmerston.

Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, K.C.M.G., President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has attained a very prominent position by virtue of his control of the greatest railway system in the world, and through the ability with which he has made it a factor in the destinies of an Empire as well as of the Dominion of Canada. A native of Illinois, in the United States, he was born in February, 1843, and began the struggle of life at a very early age owing to the death of his father who was a lawyer of some position in Joliette. He commenced work as a telegraph operator in the service of the Illinois Central, and afterwards transferred himself to the Michigan Central, where he had some experience in various departments until 1864. In this year he was offered an appointment on the Chicago and Alton Railway and served in the position of train dispatcher, superintendent of telegraphs, and assistant superintendent of the railway until 1872, when he became General Superintendent of the St. Louis, Kansas City, and Northern Railway.

From October, 1874, till October, 1878, he was General Manager of the Southern Minnesota Line, being President of the Company from December, 1877, till December, 1879. From October, 1878, till December, 1879, he was General Superintendent of the Chicago and Alton Railway. In January, 1880, he became General Superintendent of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul's Railway, a position which he held until the autumn of 1881, when he became connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway as General Manager, and in 1884 assumed also the higher position of Vice-President of that great Company. Upon the retirement of Lord Mount-Stephen in 1888 Mr. Van Horne was elected President, and in 1894 was made a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George as a Royal and Imperial recognition of his services.

The Canadian Pacific Railway now possesses over 9,000 miles of line, covering practically the whole of the Dominion of Canada, and running through the States of Michigan, Maine, Wisconsin, Dakota, and Minnesota, while it has also established steam communication with the East. This wonderful development has been made in a remarkably short space of time, and is largely attributable in its later phases to the genius for administration exhibited by Sir William Van Horne. From boyhood upwards he has led a busy life, but he has nevertheless found time to acquire a liberal range of general knowledge. He is a deeply read man, and has no small reputation as a scientist, especially in the direction of electricity and engineering, and is also known as an artist and lover of pictures. His life is a standing lesson in the value of concentrated and continuous work when combined with business ability and intellectual shrewdness.

International Position of the Railway. The following speech delivered by Sir W. C. Van Horne before the Merchants' Club, of Boston, Massachusetts, early in December, 1892—Boston *Globe*, December 12—is of importance as illustrating the international position and policy of the Canadian Pacific:

"I am glad to believe that your invitation to me to be present on this occasion was due to the present interest you feel in the Canadian Pacific Railway as one of your principal connections with the great West, and this interest is, I assure you, reciprocated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has long regarded Boston as one of the most important outlets for its traffic, and therefore feels a lively interest in everything relating to the railway terminal facilities in your city; and, as somewhat related to this question, I feel that I cannot make better use of the opportunity you have given me than by begging your earnest attention as business men to a matter which, in my opinion, has already resulted in a great deal of injury to the business of Boston and of the whole of New England, a matter which is working as a constantly increasing handicap on your business. I refer to the excessive delay to the cars of western railways when engaged in New England traffic; this delay commonly runs into weeks, and frequently into months, and it has become such a serious matter that the managers of nearly all the western railways are now disposed to furnish cars, in the busy season, for any rather than New England traffic.

There is another matter in which it seems to me New England has a very large interest, and to which I would like briefly to refer. It is pretty clear from the evidently inspired utterances of a section of the public press, and from the reported presence of a powerful lobby at Washington, that an organized attempt is to be made to secure legislation restricting or destroying the competition of the Canadian railway lines; and in support of the movement the most absurd mis-statements are put out, calculated to excite prejudice against the Canadian railways. The Canadian Pacific Railway particularly is made to appear as an arm of the British Empire sustained and kept alive by unlimited subsidies for the purpose of destroying American commerce.

As a matter of fact the Canadian Pacific Railway is a commercial enterprise, the chief object of which is to earn dividends for its stockholders, a very considerable proportion of whom are citizens of the United States, and excepting a comparatively small mail subsidy from the Imperial Government in respect of the steamships on the Pacific, a mail subsidy which not alone covers the transportation of mails across the Pacific, but across the continent as well, it is in receipt of no

subsidy of any description from any Government, and it is sustained entirely by its legitimate earnings, more than 90 per cent. of which are from its local traffic. The Governmental assistance was exceedingly small as compared with those of the American Pacific lines and with the magnitude of the work that had to be done. It has been represented over and over again that the Canadian lines have a great advantage in competition with the American railways because of their not being amenable to the Inter-State Commerce Law.

All States to States traffic and all traffic from Canada into the States, and from the States into Canada is handled under this law, and every Canadian agent in the United States is subject to this law, and I feel safe in saying that the Inter-State Commerce Law has been more strictly observed by the Canadian railway lines than by those of the United States, not because of any superior virtue on their part, but because as a matter of policy the Canadian lines could not afford to appear as taking advantage of the law, nor could their agents afford to violate it, because they are not likely to be as charitably treated in case of its violation as are the officers of the railways nearer home. I feel justified in mentioning this matter to you to-night because the frequent and misleading statements concerning the Canadian railways seem even to have reached and been believed by President Harrison, who devoted a considerable part of his Message to Congress the other day to them.

I need hardly remind the merchants of Boston that for many years back the competition of the Canadian railways has been a sort of safety valve for them, nor need I point out what their position would be if these lines of communication should be closed to them. It is an interesting fact and a fact of special interest to Boston, that the source of the export trade of this continent is moving northward year by year, and every mile that it moves northward increases Boston's advantage as compared with New York. It is a fact little known here, I imagine, that the great agricultural development of the future must be in the extreme North-West, and that, reaching hundreds of miles north of the International boundary, away towards the Peace River, 2,300 miles or more from Chicago, is a region equal in agricultural value and favourable climatic conditions to the western country which has built up Chicago and added so enormously to the wealth of the United States. And I am sure that it will be most interesting to you, merchants of Boston, to stand before a map of this region and consider what the effect will be when this vast area is fully developed, which it will be before many years."

The Canadian Pacific as a Short Route. The following comparison of distances *via* New York and San Francisco, and *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway was given by Mr. Alexander Begg in a paper read before the Society of Arts in London on March 23rd, 1886 :

	Miles.
From London to Adelaide *via* Quebec and C.P.R.	14,444
From London to Adelaide *via* New York and San Francisco	14,882
From London to Melbourne *via* C.P.R.	13,959
From London to Melbourne *via* New York and San Francisco	14,397
From London to Sydney *via* C.P.R.	13,399
From London to Sydney *via* New York and San Francisco	13,837
From London to Auckland *via* C.P.R.	12,899
From London to Auckland *via* New York and San Francisco	12,687
From London to Vancouver City *via* Quebec and C.P.R.	6,073
From London to San Francisco *via* shortest connecting lines in the United States	6,510
From London to Yokohama *via* C.P.R.	10,299
From London to Yokohama *via* New York and San Francisco	11,277

The Crow's Nest Pass Arrangement. As a result of the immense mineral development of British Columbia it became necessary in 1896-7 to open up the interior mining country by means of railways. After a prolonged public discussion and controversy in Parliament and the press an arrangement was made by the Laurier Government in August, 1897, with the Canadian Pacific Railway to build what was called the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. The terms of the agreement were summarized by the Toronto *Globe* of August 12th

as follows—the addition to the public debt being estimated at $3,630,000:

"The Government grants to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, in respect of the Crow's Nest Pass line a subsidy of $11,000 a mile for 330 miles of railway from Lethbridge by way of Fort McLeod to Nelson, on the following terms:

First. The local freight rates on the line to be built, as well as the freight rates between points on the new line and other points on the Canadian Pacific system, are to be under the control of the Governor-in-Council, or of a permanent Railway Commission, in the event of such a Commission being established.

Second. West-bound rates from points east of the great lakes to points west thereof on certain commodities of special importance to the settler are to be reduced from ten to thirty-three per cent.

Third. Rates on wheat and flour from Manitoba and farther west to Fort William are to be reduced to one and one-half cents per 100 pounds, beginning with the crop of 1898, and an additional one and one-half cents per 100 pounds beginning with the crop of 1899, making three cents per 100 pounds in all.

Fourth. Of the coal lands granted by the British Columbia Government in aid of the construction of a line through the Crow's Nest Pass, 50,000 acres are to be transferred to the Dominion Government, these lands to be equitably selected so as to afford the Government a fair average and an ample amount of coal for the protection of the public interests.

Fifth. The Canadian Pacific Company undertakes that the price of coal on cars at the mines in the Crow's Nest Pass shall not exceed $2 per ton.

Sixth. The selling price of the lands received by the Company from the British Columbia Government and the regulations concerning timber and mineral licenses in respect thereto are to be subject to the control of the Dominion Government.

Seventh. The new line to be built is to be subject to the provisions of the general Railway Act in respect of trackage rights to other companies."

Officials of the Canadian Pacific. The chief officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—the men who have made the great highway in a financial and business sense—were as follows:

PRESIDENTS

Sir George Stephen, Bart., from 1881 to August, 1888.
Sir William C. Van Horne, K.C.M.G., since August, 1888.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Mr. Duncan McIntyre, from 1881 to May, 1884.
Mr. R. B. Angus, 2nd Vice-President, December, 1881, to June, 1885.
Sir W. C. Van Horne, K.C.M.G., Vice-President and General Manager from May, 1884, to August, 1888.
Mr. Thomas G. Shaughnessy, Asst. President, 1889 to 1891.
Mr. Thomas G. Shaughnessy, Vice-President since 1891.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

From 1881 to 1882.

Sir George Stephen, Bart.
Mr. Duncan McIntyre.
Mr. R. B. Angus.
Mr. James J. Hill.

From 1882 to 1884.

Sir George Stephen, Bart.
Mr. Duncan McIntyre.
Mr. R. B. Angus.
Hon. Donald A. Smith.

From 1884 to 1890.

Sir George Stephen, Bart.
Sir Donald A. Smith, K.C.M.G.
Sir William C. Van Horne, K.C.M.G.
Mr. R. B. Angus.

From 1891 to date (1898).

Sir William C. Van Horne, K.C.M.G.
Lord Strathcona and Mount-Royal.
Mr. R. B. Angus.
Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy.

The original incorporators of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as given in its Charter were George Stephen and Duncan McIntyre of Montreal; John S. Kennedy, Banker, of New York; Messrs. Morton, Rose & Co., Merchants, of London; the firm of Kohn, Reinach & Co., Bankers, of Paris; Richard B. Angus and James J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minn. The Company organized in Toronto in 1880 for the purpose of obtaining the Charter offered to build the road for

$22,000,000 in cash and 22,000,000 acres of land. It was declared by Mr. Blake in a speech in the House of Commons on January 18th, 1881, to be composed of Canadian capitalists of high standing and ample means, credit, and business ability, and to include Sir William P. Howland, H. H. Cook, ex-M.P., A. R. McMaster, William Hendrie, John Stuart, and John Proctor, of Hamilton; P. S. Stephenson, John Walker, D. Macfie, Peleg Howland, A. T. Wood, Allan Gilmour, J. Carruthers, K. Chisholm, A. W. Ross, George A. Cox, P. Larkin, W. D. Lovitt, Barnet & McKay, James McLaren and Alexander Gibson. They undertook to complete those parts of the Railway to be built by the contractors, and to equip, and maintain, and work the whole Railway from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean, and to perform all the obligations undertaken by the contractors. But for various reasons the offer was not entertained by the Government.

The Canadian Pacific and the Rates Question. The subject of Railway rates and competition, both internal and international, has been an important one ever since the inauguration of the Canadian Pacific enterprise. The popular side of the question is best known, and indeed is familiar to every one. The position of the Railway is ably indicated in the following sworn testimony presented to the Canadian Railway Rates Commission by Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy, Vice-President of the C.P.R., on April 18th, 1895, and published in the Report of the Commission on May 7th, 1895:

"The subject of railway rates has been a leading source of discusson in Manitoba and the North-West Territories for a considerable time, and some of the newspapers, Boards of Trade, Farmers' Associations and individuals, who took part in the discussion have assumed a position of hostility to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company without due cause, and as a result of a misunderstanding of the real situation. I have no doubt that most of those engaged in the agitation are actuated by patriotic motives, and that the hard words which some of them used in speaking of the 'giant monopoly' are provoked by the assumption that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and its officers, in their anxiety to take as many dollars as possible out of the traffic, are imposing unnecessary burdens on the community, are ignoring representations which those who make them believe to be for the best interests of the Railway Company, as well as of the country, and are, generally speaking, disregarding the great future prosperity of Manitoba and the Territories.

It has often been explained, and I think it may with propriety be repeated here, that the Canadian Pacific Company, with about three thousand miles of railway and nearly eighteen million acres of land in the territory in question, has an interest in the future prosperity of that section of Canada, far beyond any individual or community, and that the Company's effort, therefore, should be, as I can truthfully assert it always has been, to make it as easy as possible for the producer to earn a livelihood, and therefore to induce him to come and stay there. If in view of the interests to which I have referred, the management of the Company ignored or neglected anything that might tend to this direction it would be grossly stupid and incompetent. Since the work was commenced, the Company has invested in the country nearly two hundred millions of dollars in excess of all cash subsidies and cash bonuses received from governments and municipalities, and a considerable portion of this amount has been invested in railway extensions between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains; so that to-day there is in Manitoba one mile of railway per one hundred and seven population, and in the Territories there is one mile of railway per fifty-nine population. Other large sums were invested in branch lines and feeders in other portions of Canada for the purpose of bringing traffic to the main stem, and thus decreasing the percentage of expense that would have been involved in handling only the traffic tributary to the main line, if the main line were dependent upon the traffic only.

To obtain these vast sums of money for a railway enterprise in a new country, in the face of determined opposition from existing enterprises whose interests were likely to be injuriously affected, required some assurance that those who invested would receive an adequate return. The Company was able, until the last half-year, to pay all its fixed charges and rentals of every descrip-

tion, to pay a dividend on the capital stock, without charging the carriage of traffic over its line higher rates than were charged by railways similarly situated in more thickly populated portions of the United States. This fact has been largely due to two causes, and in both of these the people living along its lines are interested. In the first place, the Company's capital account represents the honest expenditure for the construction and acquisition of the properties owned by the Company, without the intervention of construction companies, speculative rings, or barnacles of any description, and secondly, most rigid economy has been exercised in the operation of the railway and the general administration of its affairs.

The excellent credit which the Company has had abroad because of the above record has been, and if maintained will continue to be, an essential factor in the prosperity of the North-West. Without it the extensive net-work of branch lines between Winnipeg and Moosejaw, furnishing railway facilities to an area more than six times as large as that tributary to the main line only, would have been an impossibility, and should that credit be seriously damaged at any time in the near future by such a further shrinkage in the earnings of the property resulting from whatever cause, as would arouse apprehension among investors, every Dominion and Provincial security would feel the effect immediately, and capitalists and intending settlers would alike view North-Western Canada with doubts and suspicions. But, it may be said, cannot you make a substantial reduction in your rates west of Fort William without risking any large decrease in your earnings? Before answering that question in detail, let me give you some figures which, I think, convey their own conclusions. During the year ending June 30th, 1893, the railways of Canada earned $52,042,396, equivalent to $3,465 gross earnings per mile of railway. Deducting the mileage and earnings of the Canadian Pacific System from these figures, we find that all the other railways of Canada earned $3,383 gross per mile, while the Canadian Pacific earned $3,595 per mile. But in the earnings of the Canadian Pacific are included the earnings from steamships, telegraph lines, sleeping cars and other revenue-producing attributes of that system which do not serve to increase the revenue of other lines. Eliminating the profits from these sources, the gross earnings per mile of this Company's lines would be somewhat below the average of the other Canadian railways. With the exception of the Canadian Pacific Company and possibly one or two of the smaller companies operating very few miles of railway, not a single one of these Canadian railways gave to its owners a penny in the way of interest upon the capital invested. The Intercolonial System, representing a large share of the total mileage, did not earn enough to pay operating expenses, and a still larger portion of the entire mileage of the country was unable to meet its mandatory obligations.

It may be considered beyond doubt, I think, that the Canadian Pacific lines east of the great lakes are as productive of earnings per mile as the average of the other lines operated in the same territory. If so, the average per mile of railway owned by the Company west of the lakes, being the same as that in the east, there can be no good ground for complaint upon the part of anybody that the Company is receiving an undue gross revenue from its property in the western sections of the Dominion, particularly when a higher rate of wages, increased cost of fuel and supplies, the other conditions which involve greater expense in the handling of traffic in the west, are taken into account, and when it is observed that other Canadian lines receiving the same revenue per mile are doing business not only without a profit, but at an actual loss. By reference to the Report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission for the year ending June 30, 1893, you will find that the railways in operation in the States bordering on the Canadian frontier and the great lakes between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, had in that year gross earnings averaging $8,211 per mile—about two and a half times as much as the Canadian railways; and the railways included in groups six and seven representing the lines in operation in Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois, had gross earnings averaging $5,350 per mile—about fifty per cent. more than the Canadian Pacific earnings per mile. I refer to these two groups (six and seven), because they include

the territory which in general conditions resembles most closely our territory between Port Arthur and the Rocky Mountains.

The large gross earnings of these railways in the United States are, of course, due to the fact that they have a large population and a larger tonnage and variety of freight traffic per mile, from which to derive revenue than have the Canadian lines. Under these circumstances the railways south of the boundary can in many cases afford to quote lower local rates on certain commodities than can their Canadian neighbours in corresponding territory, and indeed it might fairly be expected that the whole range of rates for the carriage of passengers and freight would be lower where the volume of traffic so largely preponderates. But you will find upon comparing the statistics for 1893, that the rates per passenger per mile and per ton of freight per mile received by the Canadian Pacific Company were 1·69 and 0·87 respectively, while the railways in the States bordering on the Canadian frontier between the two oceans received 2·19 and 1·02 respectively, so that the United States railways in question were paid twenty-nine and a half per cent. more for each passenger and twenty-one and four-tenths per cent. more for each ton of freight carried one mile, than was the Canadian Pacific. If we confine our comparisons to the lines west of the great lakes, we find that the railways in the United States comprising groups six, seven and ten, being the railways in the territory between Wisconsin and the Pacific coast, received for the carriage of freight in 1892 an average of 1·31 c., and in 1893 an average of 1·23 c. per ton per mile, while the average on the line of the Canadian Pacific between Lake Superior and the Pacific coast was 1·29 c. per ton per mile in 1892, and 1·23 c. per ton per mile in 1893. The average per passenger per mile was 2·32 c. on the United States lines, and 1·88 c. on the Canadian Pacific.

Notwithstanding the fact that the United States railways to which I have last referred received a higher average per passenger and per ton of freight per mile, and therefore better rates than did the lines of the Canadian Pacific System in corresponding territory, we find that in 1892 about sixty-three per cent. of the mileage included in groups six, seven and ten gave the shareholders no dividend whatever, and that there was default in interest in fourteen per cent. of its funded debt. It may not be out of place here to say that these three groups with which comparison is made embrace the greater portion of the Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, Union Pacific systems and other railways which received from the Federal and States Governments and from municipalities, cash and land subsidies approximating one hundred million dollars and seventy-five million acres. A mistake and probably a natural mistake, which is made by those engaged in the agitation about freight rates, to and from points in the North-West, is that they base their comparison of rates almost entirely upon distance, without taking into consideration the very great difference in conditions. The Inter-State Commerce Commission in passing judgment upon the complaint of Evans vs. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company says: 'In determining what is a just and reasonable rate for a particular commodity (for example wheat) the Commission will take into consideration the earnings and expenses of operating rates charged upon the same commodity upon other roads as nearly similarly situated as may be, the diversities between the railway in question and such other roads, the relative amount of through and local business, the proportion borne by the commodity in question to the remainder of the local traffic, etc.'

You will find that in almost every instance the through rate on wheat from Winnipeg to the seaboard is compared with the through rate on the same commodity from St. Paul to the seaboard. This comparison is quite unreasonable. The Northern Pacific Railway Company, whose lines extend into Manitoba, find it impossible to carry the products of the farm from Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, etc., to Eastern Canadian and Atlantic points at the same rates as obtain from St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth to these eastern points, but owing to the comparatively lower rates charged by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to Fort William and points east, the Northern Pacific Railway Company is compelled to accept lower rates, mile for mile, on the farm products of Manitoba to Minneapolis and Duluth than it charges on light traffic from equally distant points in North Dakota and Minnesota to

Minneapolis and Duluth. It is a well-known fact that the western railways in the United States, having their termini in Minneapolis and Duluth, give practically the same rates to these two points. By reference to their tariff it will be found that the rates from the west to Minneapolis, St. Paul, Como, West Superior and Duluth are uniform. Duluth is at the head of lake navigation for the territory in question, and because of the prevailing practice to which I have alluded above, St. Paul and Minneapolis are in the same position as Duluth, so that in making a comparison of rates St. Paul or Minneapolis should be compared with Fort William, the head of navigation for the Canadian North-West, and not with Winnipeg.

Winnipeg rates should be compared with points as far west of St. Paul as Winnipeg is west of Fort William, say 425 miles. The statement about rates which Mr. Kerr will make in detail makes that comparison, and shows that in every instance the Canadian Pacific rates to Fort William are lower than the rates to corresponding points, than either the Great Northern or Northern Pacific Railway, to the head of the lakes, and that the rates, all rail, to the seaboard are lower in nearly every case via the Canadian Pacific than by way of either of the other lines from corresponding points. But as a matter of fact these all-rail rates to the seaboard by either route cut a very small figure. I think it may be safely asserted that less than one per cent. of the wheat crop of Minnesota and Dakota is shipped direct from the points of production into New York or any other seaport. This is attributable to the enormous demand for milling purposes at Minneapolis and Duluth. Wheat produced in Minnesota and Dakota, when shipped as wheat goes from or via Duluth during the season of navigation, and for several years past it has not been practicable to move it by all-rail routes to the seaboard in any quantity. When an occasional shipment of that kind is now made it is due, as a rule, to the fact that the Millers' Association finds that the markets favour the shipment of wheat instead of flour, or that a surplus of inferior grades has accumulated at Duluth or Minneapolis.

We can say from our own experience that our direct connection, the Soo Line, has, during the past four years delivered to us in the aggregate less than two hundred thousand bushels of wheat for shipment to Eastern States and for export via eastern ports. During the winter of 1893-4 practically no grain was moved, all-rail, from North-Western Canada to Montreal, very little during the winter of 1892-93, and only five hundred thousand bushels during 1891-2. So that in dealing with the question of grain rates the cost of transportation from interior points to Fort William, and the summer rate by water, or by rail and water, from Fort William to the point of export or consumption, are the only items worthy of consideration. I think that the statements showing the comparative rates from interior points to the lake ports via the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Great Northern Railway and the Northern Railway are sufficient to show that the farmers of North-Western Canada have no grounds for complaint as to that portion of the route. The wheat having reached the elevator at Fort William is open to the broadest possible competition. We have no interest in its carriage from that point, apart from the quantity required to ballast our lake steamers, and this we carry at very low rates, the highest obtained being 9c. per bushel—Fort William to Montreal—and during the past two years we are quite within the mark in stating that the average did not exceed 7½c. per bushel. The greater portion of the grain is, of course, distributed from Fort William by the all-water route."

GENERAL RAILWAY PROGRESS IN CANADA—EDITOR'S NOTES

Pioneer Methods of Transportation. The history of transportation in a pioneer community is a most instructive and interesting study. From the days of the canoe and forest path to that of the railway and the steamer, there is a transformation not always appreciated or even thought of. In 1863, Mr. T. C. Keefer wrote an elaborate sketch of development in Canadian road-making and general means of communication, from which the following summary is taken—"Eighty Years' Progress of British North America."

In the first Parliament of Upper Canada, held at Newark in 1793, an Act was passed by which the roads were placed under overseers to be appointed by the rate-paying inhabitant householders at their annual town meetings. Every person was required to bring tools, and work three to twelve days; and owners of carts and teams at least six days. The power of altering or opening new roads was vested in the Quarter Sessions, by whom a surveyor was appointed to report upon any application for such alteration or new road if signed by twelve freeholders. In its infancy, Upper Canada had neither revenue nor taxes, the civil list being at first wholly and afterwards partially sustained by the military chest of the Imperial Government. In 1795 the revenue was £900 sterling, and the only tax 4d. per gallon on wine; and it was not until 1804 that there appeared any surplus for roads. In that year an appropriation of £1,000 (or $4,000) was made for this purpose, which proved premature, and was repealed in 1806, when £1,600 in Halifax currency (or $6,400) was granted; and this grant, increased to £2,000 (or $8,000) and £3,000 (or $12,000), was annually maintained till 1812, when it rose to £6,000 (or $24,000). Interrupted two years by the war, it increased in 1815 to £20,000 (or $80,000), and in 1816 to £21,000 (or $84,000), after which little was done until 1830, when, between that date and 1833, £128,000 (or $512,000) was granted. Between 1836 and 1840 over £100,000 (or $400,000) more was granted, the whole of which was not expended until after the Union.

In the Province of Quebec the European system of travelling by post was in force, and regulated by law. The distance between Quebec and Montreal, commonly called sixty leagues, was divided into twenty-four stages. The *maitres de poste* were obliged to keep four calêches and four carioles, and to be ready at quarter of an hour's notice to forward the traveller, who was usually received with much ceremony on alighting after each stage, by the lady of the house. They had the exclusive right of passenger transport by land, the charge being fixed at twenty to twenty-five cents per league—twelve to fifteen dollars for the journey between Quebec and Montreal, which occupied three days.

A public mail-stage was established between St. John's and Quebec before the expiration of the last century; but although facilities existed for land travel before the era of steamboats, the water route, where it was down stream or slack water, was generally preferred. Water carriage along the whole frontier from Quebec to Lake Huron, and abundance of snow (east of Kingston) while the navigation was closed, checked the early establishment of a good road throughout. Before the War of 1812, the land route from Montreal westward was broken, not only by the necessary ferries across the Ottawa at Isle Perrot, but by the long ferry in Lake St. Francis, where a horse-boat traversed the slack water because of the wet land route along the front of Glengarry. In 1796, with the exception of about fifty miles, a road had been opened from Montreal to Kingston, and the journey could be made by land from Montreal to Lake St. Francis, and from Cornwall to Prescott, along which latter route the United Empire Loyalists, who came in in 1784, had established themselves. The intermediate portions, having slack water, or nearly so, opposite them, were not completed until the necessity for them was demonstrated by the War of 1812-1815.

During the infancy of Upper Canada the road extension from Prescott to Burlington—with the exception of those portions where the Loyalists were settled, which extended as high as the Bay of Quinte—was retarded by the slack water navi-

gation between these points; but to avoid the *detour* by Queenstown, Fort Erie, and Lake St. Clair, a road was opened as early as 1794 from Ancaster (the point to which the Loyalists had extended their settlements from Niagara, and made their road by private subscription) to the Mohawk village on the Grand River, to which place Brant had removed his Six Nations. From Brantford it was carried through to a point (London) on the river La Tranche (now called the Thames), from whence a boat navigation existed to Lake St. Clair. Thus, from the French Seigneuries on her eastern boundary to the American border on the west, Upper Canada sought first to connect the natural navigation by what may be called *portage* roads of greater or less length; and so to diminish the time, cost, and fatigue of land transport.

Governor Simcoe, who seems to have been fully impressed with the importance of his mission as the founder of a nation, also opened out, in 1794, by the labour of the Queen's Rangers, the *portage* of thirty-three miles from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, called Yonge Street, which shortened and cheapened the route to Mackinaw, then the great depot of the fur trade. On the opening of this route the North-West Fur Company, which was established by Frobisher and McTavish of Montreal, in 1782, and which in 1793 employed 2,000 men, instead of sending their supplies up the Ottawa by canoes sent *batteaux* up the St. Lawrence, which were carted across the *portages* at the carrying place and Yonge Street, and delivered their cargoes at Mackinaw at a saving of £10 (or $40) to £15 (or $60) per ton. Even the Spanish settlements down the Mississippi were supplied by British goods thus taken to the great peltry fair at Mackinaw. Dundas Street, as the main post road traversing the Province was called, was also established by Governor Simcoe, lots being granted along it on condition of building and improving in one year, and so provision was made for a continuous land communication throughout the Province; but it was not until after the War of 1812 that any portion of it was so far improved and bridged as to become a stage route.

The first stage in Upper Canada was established by Mr. Macklem, of Chippewa, in 1798, between Queenstown and Fort Erie, running every other day at the moderate fare of one dollar; distance about twenty-five miles. On the 1st of January, 1816, the first stage between Montreal and Kingston was established by Barnabas Dickinson. Covered sleighs left Samuel Hodge's, in St. Paul Street, Montreal, and Robert Walker's Hotel, Kingston, every Monday and Thursday, and arrived every Wednesday and Saturday. In January, 1817, Samuel Purdy established the first stage between Kingston and York. It left Daniel Brown's Inn, Kingston, every Monday morning, and York every Thursday morning, stopping at Spaulding's Inn, Grafton, as a half-way house. The fare was eighteen dollars with twenty-eight pounds of baggage allowed. The next winter Purdy reduced the fare to ten dollars, three dollars to Belleville, and six dollars to Spaulding's Inn. On the opening of navigation the stages between Prescott and York were discontinued, as a steamboat was then on this route. The mail, which, as late as 1807, was so light as to be carried by pedestrian white men between Montreal and Toronto, and by an Indian between Toronto and Niagara, all of whom carried axes to aid them in crossing streams, went by the King's vessels in summer, and after 1817 by the steamers, which also took the local traffic between the frontier towns; so that there was no travel to maintain a summer stage except on the *portages* below Prescott. The first steamers were placed on Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis in 1826, when four-horse, covered coaches were put on the road between Montreal and Lachine, and stages were run from the Cascades to Coteau Landing, and from Cornwall to Prescott, no steamboat having yet ventured below the latter point. In 1832, a stern-wheel steamer, the Iroquois, was built to overcome the rapids between the Longue Sault and Prescott.

In 1826, the first stage was established between Niagara and York; time, seventeen hours; fare, five dollars. In 1827, the exclusive right to run a stage for twenty-one years from Ancaster, through Brantford, Burford, "the Ling Woods," and Delaware, to Detroit River, was obtained, after two years' effort, by a public-spirited physician of St. Catharines, for the purpose of inducing other parties to provide this much-needed accommoda-

tion. Under this stimulus, a line of four-horse coaches was started in 1828, which not paying, was reduced to an uncovered wagon, and after a time even that was abandoned. It was some years after this before a stage was established between Lake Ontario and the Detroit River, and not until 1842 that a daily line was established throughout the Province, which was done in consequence of Deputy Postmaster-General Stayner's requirements with regard to the mails. Benjamin Franklin, Deputy Postmaster-General of North America in 1766, stated before a Committee of the House of Commons that the only post-road then in Canada was between Montreal and Quebec. In 1791 the post-road extended eastward to New Brunswick, and westward as far as Kingston. As late as 1807, the mail to Amherstburgh was only quarterly, a Canadian once in three months appearing with a mail-bag on his shoulders. The progress of the country in this connection, as gathered from the number of miles of established post-roads, was as follows :

Dates	No of Post Offices	Miles of Establisbed Post Roads	Miles of Mail Travel
1766.....	3	170	.....
1791.....	10	600	.....
1817.....	25	1,200	.....
1824.....	69	1,992	369,616
1828.....	101	2,368	455,936
1831.....	151	2,896	713,076
1832.....	227	3,460	787,472
1836.....	289	4,377	1,005,524
1837.....	375	5,370	1,176,708
1840.....	405	5,736	1,473,264
1851.....	601	7,595	2,487,000
1852.....	840	8,618	2,930,000
1854.....	1,166	10,027	4,000,000
1857.....	1,506	13,253	5,383,000
1860.....	1,698	14,202	5,712,000

Provincial Expenditure upon Roads. Incidental to the expenditure of a people upon railways is the amount spent upon ordinary roads. This in a new country is necessarily somewhat heavy, as the following table will indicate. As stated by Mr. T. C. Keefer in 1863, it gives the amount expended by the Legislature of Upper Canada (Ontario) from 1791 to 1861, for roads and bridges; also the sums expended between the Union of 1841 and the year 1861 in the construction of turnpike roads by the municipalities and road companies :

	Cost before 1841.	Cost from 1841 to 1861.	Total Cost.
General grants for roads and bridges..	$762,200.00	.....	$762,200.00
Special appropriation for roads.....	753,466.65	$1,392,707.00	2,146,173.65
Special appropriation for bridges (50)..	13,456.00	91,537.75	104,993.75
Grants for colonization roads.....	.....	528,739.21	528,739.21
Roads built by Municipalities and Joint Stock Companies	.....	4,366,522.00	4,366,522.00
Total Upper Canada....	$1,529,122.65	$6,379,505.96	$7,908,628.61

The figures for Lower Canada (Quebec) during the same period were as follows :

	Cost before 1841.	Cost from 1841 to 1861.	Total Cost.
General grants for roads and bridges..	$782,210.00	.....	$782,210 00
Special appropriation for roads.....	230,380.00	$780,711.19	1,011,091 19
Special appropriation for bridges.... .	21,500.00	218,909.00	240,409.00
Grants for colonization roads.....	.....	446,786.32	446,786.32
Turnpike trusts....	.....	425,265.72	425,265.72
Roads built by Municipalities and Joint Stock Companies..... ...	.....	20,000.00	20 000.00
Total Lower Canada..... ...	$1,034,120.00	$1,891,672.23	$2,925 792.23
Total for the Canadas.....	2,563,242.65	8,271,178.19	10,831,420 84

The total figures for the two Provinces were therefore $2,563,242.65 prior to 1841, $8,271,-178.19 from 1841 to 1861, and $10,834,420.84 for the whole period. Since Confederation most of the Provinces have spent certain annual sums in opening up new roads in freshly settled districts from time to time.

Pioneer Canadian Railways. Canada owes her first railway as well as her first steamboat to Montreal. In 1831, when the news of the success of the Liverpool and Manchester Line came across the water, measures were taken to obtain a charter, which was granted on 25th February, 1832, for the construction of a railway from Laprairie, on the St. Lawrence, to St. John's, a village above the rapids of the Richelieu River, the outlet for the waters of Lake Champlain. The length was sixteen miles, and the capital £50,000, in 1,000 shares of £50 each, or a little over £3,000 per mile. The work was commenced in 1835, opened with horses in July, 1836, and first worked with locomotives in 1837. It was a "straprail" road until 1847, when the heavy "T" iron was laid.

The next movement was a premature one in Upper Canada. A charter was obtained, 6th March, 1834, for a railway from Cobourg to any

point on Rice Lake; and though the distance is no greater than that between Laprairie and St. John's, no less than £400,000 capital was provided. In the same year a charter was granted to the London and Gore Railway Company, for a road from London to Burlington Bay, to be extended to the navigable waters of the Thames and Lake Huron. This was the legislative beginning of that important line, the Great Western Railway. Writing in 1863 Mr. T. C. Keefer pointed out that the first railway actually constructed in Upper Canada was by the old "Erie and Ontario Company," and was designed to restore the ancient *portage* route around the Falls of Niagara, between Queenstown and Chippewa, which had been superseded by the Welland Canal. This line was chartered in 1835, and was opened in 1839 as a horse railway, the steepness of the grades near Queenstown being beyond the capacity of the locomotive power of that day. But as it stopped at the bank of the Niagara, over one hundred feet above the water level, the road soon fell into disuse. In 1852 the charter was amended, and the line altered so as to run from Lake Ontario at Niagara, to Suspension Bridge and the Falls of Niagara.

Between 1832 and 1845 over a dozen charters were granted in the two Provinces, none of which, except the horse railway just mentioned, were followed up; and the Laprairie road continued the sole representative of the system, using locomotives, for ten years, or until 1847. In 1845 the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway Company was chartered to connect with the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, an American line from Portland. This road, though an international rather than a Canadian one, became, by subsequent amalgamation, part of the Grand Trunk; and is, therefore, the beginning of that extensive line. It is worthy of remark, that up to this time the railway efforts of Montreal had been directed to divert the trade of Canada to American cities, her rivals as seaports. In 1846 the first look westward was made in the commencement of the Lachine Railway, but this was undertaken rather as a suburban *portage* road than as part of the main western line. Although some thirty charters had been granted up to 1850, work had been done upon only four or five roads.

Mileage of Canadian Railways. The mileage of track laid and square miles of area to each mile of railway in the Dominion of Canada was in 1895 as follows—Government Year Book:

Province.	Miles of track laid.	Square miles of area to each mile of track laid.
Ontario	6,403	24
Quebec	3,139	72
New Brunswick	1,404	20
Nova Scotia	891	23
Prince Edward Island	210	9½
Manitoba	1,472	44
The four Northwest Territories	1,772	225
British Columbia	800	478

The total number of miles of track laid was 16,091. In 1869, according to the Government Year Book of that date the earlier mileage of railways in British America had developed as follows:

Year	Ontario.	Quebec.	New Brunswick.	Nova Scotia.	Total.
1847	...	43	...	...	43
1850	...	12	...	...	12
1851	...	22	...	...	22
1852	...	119	...	...	119
1853	181	30	...	...	211
1854	225	109	...	...	234
1855	113	83	...	2	198
1856	435	...	...	6	441
1857	65	...	53	14	132
1858	116	..	40	70	226
1859	237	81	35	...	353
Total	1,372	499	128	92	1,991

At the conclusion of the period of Grand Trunk construction in 1859 there was a sudden and almost complete cessation of new work. Between that year and the beginning of 1869 there were only forty-five miles of new road built in Ontario, seventy-six in Quebec, ninety-eight in New Brunswick, and fifty-three in Nova Scotia. Then came the era of the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific.

The Railway Committee of the Privy Council. One of the most important Canadian institutions, and the only controlling Government influence in connection with railways, is the Railway Com-

mittee of the Privy Council. In the Statutes of Canada 51 Victoria (1888), Chap. 29, beginning with Section 8, the position and powers of the Committee are fully given and in the following terms:

"The Railway Committee of the Privy Council shall consist of the Minister of Railways and Canals, who shall be Chairman thereof, of the Minister of Justice and of two or more of the other members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada to be from time to time appointed by the Governor-in-Council, three of whom shall form a quorum; and such Committee shall have the powers and perform the duties assigned to it by this Act. The deputy of the Minister of Railways and Canals, or some other fit person appointed by the Committee, shall be Secretary of the Committee.

The Railway Committee may:—

(1) Regulate and limit the rate of speed at which railway trains and locomotives may be run in any city, town or village, or in any class of cities, towns or villages, described in any regulation, limiting, if the said Railway Committee thinks fit, the rate of speed within certain described portions of any city, town or village, and allowing another rate of speed in other portions thereof—which rate of speed shall not in any case exceed six miles an hour, unless the track is properly fenced; (2) Make regulations with respect to the use of the steam whistle within any city, town or village, or any portion therof; (3) Make regulations with respect to the method of passing from one car to another, either inside or overhead, and for the safety of railway employés while passing from one car to another and for the coupling of cars; (4) Impose penalties, not exceeding twenty dollars for each offence, on every person who offends against any regulation made under this section—which penalties shall be recoverable upon summary conviction; (5) The imposition of any such penalties shall not lessen or affect any other liability which any person may have incurred.

The Railway Committee shall have power to enquire into, hear and determine any application, complaint or dispute respecting:

(1) Any right of way over or through lands owned or occupied by any company;

(2) Changes in location for lessening a curve, reducing a gradient, or benefitting the railway, or for other purposes of public advantage;

(3) The construction of branch lines exceeding one-quarter of a mile in length, but not exceeding six miles;

(4) The crossing of the tracks of one company by the tracks of another company;

(5) The alignment, arrangement, disposition or location of tracks;

(6) The use by one company of the tracks, stations or station grounds of another company;

(7) The construction of works in navigable waters;

(8) The construction of railways upon, along and across highways;

(9) The proportion in which the cost of fencing the approaches to crossings on railways constructed or under construction on the nineteenth of April, one thousand, eight hundred and eighty-four, shall be borne by the company and the municipality or person interested;

(10) The compensation to be made to any person or company in respect of any work or measure directed to be made or taken, or the cost thereof, or the proportion of such cost to be borne by any person or company;

(11) Tolls and rates for the transportation of passengers and freight;

(12) The adjustment of such tolls and rates between companies;

(13) Running power or haulage;

(14) Traffic arrangements;

(15) Transhipment or interchange of freight;

(16) Unjust preferences, discrimination or extortion;

(17) Any highway or street, ditch or sewer, water, gas or other pipes or mains over or through lands owned or occupied by the company;

(18) Or any matter, act or thing, which by this or the special Act is sanctioned, required to be done, or prohibited.

The Railway Committee or the Minister may appoint or direct any person to make an enquiry and report upon any application, complaint or dispute pending before such Committee, or any matter or thing connected therewith or incident thereto. The Railway Committee, the Minister,

inspecting engineer, commissioner for enquiry into any accident or casualty, or person appointed to make any enquiry or report may—

(1) Enter into and inspect any place or building being the property or under the control of any company, the entry or inspection of which appears to it or him requisite;

(2) Inspect any works, engines, cars, carriages or property of the company;

(3) Require the attendance of all such persons as it or he thinks fit to call before it or him, and examine, and require answers or returns to such enquiries as it or he thinks fit to make;

(4) Require the production of all books, papers, plans, specifications, drawings and documents relating to the matters before it or him;

(5) Administer oaths, affirmations or declarations.

Whenever, after due notice of application therefor, the Railway Committee decides that it is necessary in the interest of any municipality that means of drainage should be provided, or lines of water pipes or other pipes should be laid, or streets made through, along, across or under any works or lands of the company, it may, after hearing the parties, direct how and on what terms such drainage may be effected, or water pipes or other pipes laid or streets made; and thereupon such municipality may construct the works necessary to carry out such direction, but only under the supervision of such official as the Railway Committee appoints—or at its option the company may construct such works under the like supervision; and the cost of constructing such works, the cost of supervision, and the continued maintenance of the same shall be paid by such municipality, unless the Railway Committee direct that the company bear some proportion thereof—in which case the company shall bear such proportion as the Railway Committee decides.

The Railway Committee, the Minister and every such engineer, commissioner or person, shall have the same power to enforce the attendance of witnesses and to compel them to give evidence and produce the books, papers or things which they are required to produce, as is vested in any Court in civil cases. Every person summoned to attend before the Railway Committee or the Minister, or before any such engineer, commissioner, or person, shall receive the same fees and allowances for so doing as if summoned to attend before a Court of civil jurisdiction in the Province in which he is required to appear. Any decision or order made by the Railway Committee under this Act may be made an order of the Exchequer Court of Canada, or of any superior Court of any Province of Canada, and shall be enforced in like manner as any rule or order of such Court.

The Railway Committee may review and rescind or vary any decision or order previously made by it. The Railway Committee may, if it thinks fit, at the instance of any party to the proceedings before it, and upon such security being given as it directs, state a case in writing for the opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada upon any question which in the opinion of the Committee is a question of law. The Supreme Court of Canada shall hear and determine the question or questions of law arising thereon and remit the matter to the Railway Committee, with the opinion of the Court thereon.

Subject to the provisions of section eighteen, every decision and order of the Railway Committee shall be final; provided always, that either party may petition the Governor-in-Council, and the Governor-in-Council may, in his discretion, rescind, change or vary such order as he deems just and proper. The costs of and incidental to any proceeding before the Railway Committee shall be in the discretion of the Committee. Every document purporting to be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Railway Committee, or by either of them, or by the Minister, shall be received in evidence without proof of any such signature, and until the contrary is proved shall be deemed to have been so signed and to have been duly executed or issued by such Committee or by the Minister as the case may be. Every decision and order of the Railway Committee shall be considered as made known to the Company by a notice thereof, signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of the Committee or by either of them, and delivered to the president, vice-president, managing-director, secretary or superintendent of the company, or at the office of the company; and every order of the Minister or of the inspecting engineer shall be deemed to be made known to the company by a notice

thereof, signed respectively by the Minister or the engineer, and delivered as above mentioned.

Every Company shall, as soon as possible after the receipt of any order or notice of the Railway Committee or the Minister or the inspecting engineer, give cognizance thereof to each of its officers and servants, by delivering a copy to him or by posting up a copy thereof in some place where his work or his duties, or some of them are to be performed. Every company, and the officers and directors thereof, shall afford to any inspecting engineer such information as is within their knowledge and power in all matters enquired into by him, and shall submit to such inspecting engineer all plans, specifications, drawings and documents relating to the construction, repair, or state of repair, of the railway or any portion thereof. Every such inspecting engineer shall have the right, while engaged in the business of such inspection, to travel without charge on any of the ordinary trains running on the railway, and to use the telegraph wires and machinery in the offices of or under the control of any such company.

The operators or officers employed in the telegraph offices of or under the control of the company shall, without unnecessary delay, obey all orders of any such inspecting engineer for transmitting messages; and every such operator or officer who neglects or refuses so to do shall, for every such offence, be liable, on summary conviction, to a penalty of forty dollars.

The production of instructions in writing, signed by the Chairman of the Railway Committee and the Secretary thereof, or by either of them, or by the Minister, shall be sufficient evidence of the authority of such inspecting engineer. Every person who wilfully obstructs any inspecting engineer in the execution of his duty is liable, on summary conviction, to a penalty not exceeding forty dollars; and in default of payment thereof forthwith, or within such time as the convicting justice or justices of the peace appoint, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any term not exceeeding three months."

By an amendment to the Act, assented to July 23, 1894 (57-58 Vic., Cap. 23) it was enacted that the Railway Committee should have power to "make regulations requiring proper shelter to be provided for motormen and other employés operating electric and other railway cars." Legislation in this direction had also been made in 1893 (56 Vic., Cap. 27) in the following terms:

"The railway of any company shall not be crossed, intersected, joined or united by or with any other railway, nor shall any railway be intersected or crossed by any street railway, electric railway or tramway, whether constructed under Dominion or Provincial or Municipal authority or otherwise, unless the place and mode of the proposed crossing, intersection, or junction, or union, are first approved by the Railway Committee, on application therefor—of which application ten clear days' notice in writing shall be given by the party or company desiring the approval, such notice to be sent by mail, addressed to the president, general manager, managing-director, secretary, or superintendent of the company whose railway is to be so crossed, intersected, joined or united; and in the case of crossing by street railways, electric railways, or tramways respectively, the Railway Committee shall have the same powers in all respects as to the protection of such crossing and otherwise as are given the Railway Committee by this Act in regard to one railway crossing another.

A person shall be stationed at every point where two main lines of railway cross each other at rail level, and no train shall proceed over such crossing until signal has been made to the conductor or engineer thereof that the way is clear; provided always that in the case of an electric street railway car crossing an electric street railway track, it shall be the duty of the conductor before crossing to go forward and see that the track to be crossed is clear, before giving the signal to the motorman that the way is clear and to proceed. Every main track of a branch line is a main line within the meaning of this section, which shall apply whether the said lines be owned by different companies or by the same company. Every locomotive or railway engine, or train of cars, on any railway, shall, before it proceeds over any such crossing as in the next preceding section mentioned, be stopped for the space of at least one minute; but whenever there is in use at any such crossing an interlocking switch and signal system, or other device which, in the opinion

of the Railway Committee, renders it safe to permit engines and trains to pass over such crossing without being brought to a stop, the Railway Committee may, by an order in writing, give permission for engines and trains to pass over such crossing without stopping, under such regulations as to speed and other matters as the Railway Committee deems proper."

The Nova Scotia Railway and other Roads. In the Province of Nova Scotia the construction of railways was first authorized by an Act of the Legislature, passed on 31st March, 1854. During the same year another Act authorized the issue of Provincial six per cent. debentures having twenty years to run in order to raise the necessary capital to proceed with the work of construction determined upon. These bonds were mostly sold in London, through Messrs. Baring Bros. and Company, the Hon. Joseph Howe having been sent thither as a Delegate with that object in view; while a small amount found purchasers in the Province. It was provided that the proposed railways should be constructed under the supervision of one or more Commissioners, who were empowered to draw on the Receiver-General for the moneys disbursed to the contractors. They were restricted to the expenditure of $800,000 in one year, beyond which amount they could not incur any liabilities. The first sod of the Nova Scotia Railway, which is interesting as being the first constructed in that Province, was turned at Richmond on the 13th June, 1854. Sixty-one miles of railway to Truro were completed by the 15th December, 1858, and the Windsor branch of the same road by June 3rd, 1858. An extension from Truro to Pictou on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, fifty-two miles in length, was afterwards built and opened for traffic on the 31st May, 1867, making in all 145 miles of railway. The Windsor branch of thirty-two miles in length extended westward from Halifax to Windsor on the Bay of Minas, connecting with the Bay of Fundy. The total cost of the railway, with equipment, to 30th June, 1868, was $6,699,647.69, and the total amount expended on construction account alone up to the 30th June, 1869, was $6,781,254.50.

The Pictou extension was surveyed by Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.E., and was estimated to cost, including rolling stock, $2,314,500. Some of the original contractors abandoned their contracts, and work proceeding very slowly, the Government took the work out of their hands and re-let the whole to Mr. Fleming for the sum of $2,116,500. The road was satisfactorily completed within the time specified, under the superintendence of another Engineer. This extension cost to the 30th June, 1868, the sum of $2,321,567.88. When the Intercolonial Railway was completed, the Nova Scotia Line was taken over by the Government, and has since formed a part of its system.

Details of this nature might, however, be continued almost indefinitely in connection with the many minor railways of Canada—past, present, and projected—but considerations of space make it impossible to deal with more than the principal lines. Information up to 1871 concerning the early history of the smaller roads such as the London and Port Stanley, the Cobourg and Peterborough, the European and North American, the Western Extension, the New Brunswick and Canada, the Windsor and Annapolis, the Whitby and Port Perry, the Brockville and Ottawa, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, the Toronto, Grey, and Bruce, the Toronto and Nipissing, the Wellington, Grey, and Bruce, the Quebec and Gosford, and the Montreal and Champlain may be found in Mr. J. M. Trout's valuable little Hand-book upon Canadian Railways, published in the year mentioned, and from which several quotations have been already made.

Heads of the Canadian Railway Department. The Ministers of Railways and Canals in Canada since the creation of a separate Department to take them in charge, have been as follows:

May 20, 1879—Sir Charles Tupper.
Sept. 25, 1885—Hon. John Henry Pope.
Nov. 28, 1889—Sir John A. Macdonald.
Jan. 11, 1892—Hon. John Graham Haggart.
July 13, 1896—Hon. Andrew G. Blair.

The Deputy-Ministers have been only two—Mr. Touissant Trudeau, who was appointed on May 20th, 1879, and Mr. Collingwood Schrieber, C.E., C.M.G., who succeeded him on November 30th, 1892, and still (1898) holds the post.

Business done by Canadian Railways. The following is a statement compiled by the Dominion Statistician of the business done by Canadian Railways in the year 1895, particulars of the principal lines being given separately:

Railways.	Miles in operation. No.	Capital paid up. Amount.	Passengers carried. No.	Freight carried. Tons.	Train mileage. No.	Receipts. Amount.	Expenses. Amount.
Canada Atlantic.....	159	$7,736,355	165,980	476,303	431,799	$583,778	$407,656
Canada Southern.....	381	35,439,266	470,062	2,864,673	2,979,514	4,028,508	2,717,864
C. P. Ry. System.....	6,174	315,015,823	2,892,995	3,720,567	12,319,525	17,912,274	11,282,506
Central Ontario.....	104	3,170,000	46,171	62,841	111,000	84,700	71,642
Grand Trunk System	3,162	335,644,203	5,054,145	7,002,612	15,381,209	16,091,207	11,093,723
Manitoba and N.W.	250	10,527,134	23,634	94,388	101,557	224,035	181,115
Quebec Central.....	154	9,258,288	111,674	195,271	264,596	330,124	214,346
Montreal & Atlantic.	201	6,096,990	161,662	553,415	436,584	452,138	321,542
Dominion Atlantic...	221	7,541,512	171,159	196,035	434,857	423,017	291,104
Other lines.....	3,819	105,452,483	3,412,342	5,041,975	3,971,650	3,565,333	2,998,363
Total.....	14,625	$835,882,054	12,509,824	20,208,080	36,432,291	$43,695,114	$29,579,861
Governm't Railw'ys	1,352	58,758,505	1,477,756	1,316,341	4,229,599	3,090,373	3,169,808
Total for Canada.....	15,977	$894,640,559	13,987,580	21,524,421	40,661,890	$46,785,487	$32,749,669

George Laidlaw was born near Kintoul, Rossshire, Scotland, on Feb. 28, 1828. He ran away to sea at an early age and spent some years in California. In 1855 he came to Toronto and obtained a situation as wheat buyer for Messrs. Gooderham and Worts, and afterwards became the lessee of the Church Street Wharf. Here he engaged largely in Lake shipping and wheat transit, and by this means obtained a knowledge of the country's needs in the direction of railway development. Taking advantage of the impetus given to the narrow gauge system of railways by the action of the Province of New Brunswick at this time, Mr. Laidlaw pressed their suitability for the back townships of Ontario. The Province was then traversed simply by the trunk line of the Grand Trunk, and the whole country to the north and west of Toronto was undeveloped, when Mr. Laidlaw propounded and persistently advocated his scheme of light narrow gauge roads to carry the local trade. He succeeded to some extent in this project, and as a result the Toronto, Grey and Bruce and the Toronto and Nipissing Railways were pushed out through the region which they opened up. Some years later Mr. Laidlaw went into the Credit Valley Railway scheme which was to connect the growing railway centre of St. Thomas directly with Toronto. In the inception of this project he had to go to London, England, and obtain his rails on credit in face of the strong opposition of the Grand Trunk Railway. All through the undertaking he sank money, and would have lost everything he had in it, if the Canadian Pacific Railway had not ultimately made the Credit Valley a part of its main line. Mr. Laidlaw then retired to his farm at Balsam Lake, near Coboconk, Ontario, where he died in 1889, leaving a reputation as one of the most enterprising railway pioneers of the Province and of Canada.

Railway Accidents in Canada. During the twenty-one years from 1875 to 1895, inclusive, there have been the following accidents upon the railways of Canada—See Government Year Book, 1896:

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Year.	Killed.	Injured.
1875.....	92	289	1886.....	144	571
1876.....	109	304	1887.....	178	633
1877.....	111	317	1888.....	231	775
1878.....	97	361	1889.....	210	875
1879.....	107	66	1890.....	218	838
1880.....	80	102	1891.....	196	818
1881.....	99	147	1892.....	233	879
1882.....	147	397	1893.....	216	708
1883.....	169	550	1894.....	211	694
1884.....	227	796	1895.....	187	658
1885.....	157	684	1896.....	161	619

Canadian Railway Financial Methods. According to Mr. George Johnson and other authorities the many varieties of railway finance which have been resorted to in the Dominion include the following:

1. Authority given to the Government to guarantee the interest for a term of years.

2. Authority given to the Government to issue debentures by way of loan to railway companies.

3. Authority to grant a like loan with a provision that if the Company did not pay the interest on the Government debentures, the property of the cities and towns benefitted should be assessed for the same.

4. Government guarantee of railway companies' bonds as well as of interest thereon.

5. Direct issue of Government bonds to railways with a first mortgage on the property of the companies as security.

6. Municipal bonus to companies.

7. Municipal subscriptions to railway stock.

8. Municipal bonuses to railway companies.

9. Government bonuses to railway companies.

10. Imperial Government guarantee of capital with which to construct the Intercolonial.

11. Share capital locally distributed and issue of bonds.

12. Share capital, chiefly English, combined with Government aid in some of the forms mentioned, and issue of various degrees of bonds under different names.

13. Aid in the form of lands through which the roads were to be constructed.

14. Practical release of a Government loan by placing it behind other claims upon railway companies becoming embarrassed.

15. Composition of Government claims accepted when railways became embarrassed.

16. Assumption by Government of liabilities incurred by municipalities in aid of railways, the Government becoming the creditor of the municipalities.

17. Direct construction of railways by Government.

18. Grants of land and money subsidies combined with Government construction of portions of the railway.

Opening of Railways in Canada. The date of opening and other particulars of the various railways of Canada up to 1870 is given in the following table compiled by Mr. J. M. Trout, in his History of Canadian Railways:

	Date of Opening.	Length of Sec.	Total Length.
GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY—			
To Hamilton	Nov. 10, 1853	43	
Hamilton to London	Dec. 31, 1853	76	
London to Windsor	Jan. 27, 1854	110	
Harrisburg to Galt	Aug. 21, 1854	12	
Galt to Guelph	Sept. 28, 1857	15	
Hamilton to Toronto	Dec. 3, 1855	38	
Komoka to Sarnia	Dec. 27, 1858	51	
Petrolea and Berlin Branches		15	
			360
GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY—			
Toronto to Guelph	July, 1856	50	
Guelph to Stratford	Nov. 17, 1856	39	
Stratford to London	Sept. 27, 1858	31	
St. Mary's to Sarnia	Nov. 21, 1856	70	
Toronto to Oshawa	August, 1856	33	
Oshawa to Brockville	Oct. 27, 1856	175	
Brockville to Montreal	Nov. 29, 1855	125	
Victoria Bay and Approaches	Dec. 16, 1859	6	
Montreal to St. Hyaciothe	Spring, 1847	30	
St. Hyacinthe to Sherbrooke	August, 1852	66	
Sherbrooke to Province Line	July, 1853	30	
Richmond to Quebec	Nov. 27, 1854	96	
Chaudiére Junction to St. Thomas	Dec. 23, 1855	41	
St. Thomas to St. Paschal	Dec. 31, 1859	53	
St. Paschal to Riviére du Loup	July 2, 1860	25	
Kingston Branch	Nov. 10, 1860	2	
			872
NORTHERN RAILWAY—			
Toronto to Bradford	June 13, 1853	42	
Bradford to Barrie	Oct. 11, 1853	21	
Barrie to Collingwood	Jan. 2, 1855	33.96	
Bell-Ewart Branch		1.34	
Barrie Branch	1869	1.23	
			99.53
BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON—			
Fort Erie to Paris	Nov. 1, 1856	83	
Paris to Stratford	Dec. 22, 1856	33	
Stratford to Goderich	June 28, 1858	45	
From tempo'ry terminus to Station East St	May 15, 1860	1 27	
			162.27
LONDON AND PORT STANLEY—			
Lake Erie to London	Oct. 1, 1856	25	
ERIE AND ONTARIO—			
Lake Ontario to Chippewa	July 3, 1854	17	
OTTAWA AND PRESCOTT—			
From the St. Lawrence to Ottawa City	Dec., 1854	54	
MONTREAL AND CHAMPLAIN—			
Montreal to Lachine	Nov., 1847	8	
Caughnawaga to Moers' Junction	Aug., 1852	32	
St. Lambert to St. John's (old portion, July, 1836)	Jan., 1852	20	
St. John's to Rouse's Point	Aug., 1851	21.76	
			177.76
CARILLON AND GRENVILLE—			
	Oct., 1854		12.75
ST. LAWRENCE AND INDUSTRY—			
Lanoraie to St. Industrie	May, 1850		12
PORT HOPE, LINDSAY AND BEAVERTON—			
Port Hope to Lindsay	Dec. 30, 1857	43	
Millbrook to Peterboro	Aug. 18, 1858	23	
Lindsay to Beaverton	Jan., 1870	23	
			89
WELLAND RAILWAY—			
Port Dalhousie to Port Colborne	June 27, 1859		25

Brockville and Ottawa—			
Brockville to Almonte	Feb.17, Aug.1859	51.25	
Smith's Falls to Perth	Feb. 17, 1859	11.54	
Tunnel from Temporary Stat'n to Harb'r	Dec. 31, 1860	75	
			63.54
Stanstead, Shefford and Chambly—			
St. John's to W. Farnham	Jan. 1, 1859	13	
W. Farnham to Granby	Dec. 31, 1859	15	
			28
Cobourg and Peterboro'—			
Cobourg to Harwood	May, 1851	11	
Junction to Ore Bridge		9	
			23
Nova Scotia Railway—			
To Mile House	Feb., 1855	4	
Mile House to Bedford	July, 1855	8	
Bedford to Grand Lake	Jan., 1857	23	
Grand Lake to Elmsdale	Jan., 1858	30	
Elmsdale to Sbubenacadie	March, 1858	39	
Shubenacadie to Truro	Dec. 15, 1858	61	
Truro to Pictou	May 31, 1867	52	
			217
Windsor Branch—			
Junction to Windsor	June 3, 1858	32	32
Windsor and Annapolis—			
Windsor to Annapolis, N.S.		85	85
Wellington, Grey and Bruce—			
To Elora	Sept. 15, 1870	16	
To Alma	Dec., 1870	5	
			21
New Brunswick and Canada—			
St. Andrew's to Barber Dam	Oct. 1, 1857	54	
Barber Dam to Canterbury	Dec., 1858	31	
St. Stephen's Branch		19	
Woodstock Branch		11	
To Richmond	July, 1862	23	
Houlton Branch		8	
			123
European and North-American Railway—			
N.B. Western Ext'n Fairville to St. Croix	Dec., 1859	88	
Fredericton Road		22½	
Eastern Extension		36½	
			147.25
Quebec and Gosford—			
Quebec to Gosford	Dec., 1870	26	
Add for lines under construction		100	
			126
Total			2,679.10

The Canadian Pacific Railway with its numerous branches is, of course, not included in this list. The main line was opened in 1886 and the following facts extracted from a lengthy table in Mr. F. A. McCord's "Hand-book of Dates" will give the time at which many of its branches, and other new lines independent of the Canadian Pacific, have since been opened:

Lennoxville, P.Q., to Vermont boundary.....1870
Ottawa to Carleton Place, Ont..... Sept. 30, 1870
St. John to Bangor, Maine.....Oct. 18, 1871
Collingwood to Meaford, Ont.....1872
Moncton to Truro, N.S.....1872
Toronto to Coboconk, Ont.....Nov. 26, 1872
Fort Erie to Glencoe, Ont.....1873
St. John to Halifax, N.S.....1873
Fredericton to Woodstock, N.B.....May 1, 1873
Guelph to Southampton, Ont.....May 29, 1873
Toronto to Owen Sound, Ont.....June, 1873
St. Thomas to Courtright, Ont.....Nov., 1873
Fort Erie to Amherstburg, Ont.....Nov. 15, 1873
Palmerston to Kincardine, Ont.....1874
Orangeville to Teeswater, Ont..... May, 1874
Allandale to Gravenhurst, Ont.....1875
Farnham to U.S. boundary... ... ...March 1, 1875
Prince Edward Island Railway... ...May 12, 1875
Lennoxville, P.Q., to Maine boundary, July 1, 1875
Port Dover to Stratford, Ont.....Oct. 7, 1875
London to Wingham, Ont.... .....Jan., 1876
Quebec to St. Joseph, P.Q.....May, 1876
Quebec to Halifax, N.S.....July 3, 1876
Longueuil to Farnham, P.Q.....1877
Salisbury to Albert, N.B.....1877
Spring Hill to Parrsboro', N.S.....1877
Whitby to Lindsay, Ont.....1877
Stratford to Listowell, Ont.....Dec., 1877
Montreal to Hull (Ottawa).....Dec. 27, 1877
Brantford to Port Burwell, Ont.....1878
Port Hope to Midland, Ont.....1878
Fredericton to Edmundston, N.B.....Oct. 1, 1878
Lindsay to Haliburton, Ont., Nov. 23... 1878
Cataract to Elora, Ont.....1879
Port Dover to Collingwood, Ont.... 1879
Toronto to St. Thomas (Credit Valley), Ont., 1879
Winnipeg to Emerson, Man.....1879
Montreal to Quebec, P.Q.....Feb. 8, 1879
New Glasgow to Port Mulgrave, N.S...Sept., 1879
Yarmouth to Digby, N.S.....Sept. 29, 1879
Stanbridge to St. Guillaume, P.Q.....Oct., 1879
Picton to Trenton, Ont.....Oct. 27, 1879
Belleville to Peterborough, Ont.....Dec., 1879
Winnipeg to Stonewall, Man.....1880
St. John to St. Stephen, N.B.....Dec., 1880
Palmerston to Durham, Ont..... 1881
Port Dover to Wiarton, Ont..... 1881
Quebec to Sherbrooke (via St. Joseph), P.Q., Oct. 18, 1881
Winnipeg to Gretna, Man.....1882
Montreal to Sorel, P.Q.....April 1, 1882
Ottawa to Coteau, P.Q.,.....Oct. 30, 1882
Winnipeg to Selkirk, Man.....1883
Richibucto to Kent Junction, N.B.....Nov., 1883
Portage la Prairie to Minnedosa, Man., Nov. 28, 1883
Napanee to Tamworth, Ont.... 1884
Picton to Wollaston, Ont..... 1884
Quebec to St. Charles, P.Q.....July 21, 1884
Montreal to Toronto (via Smith's Falls) Aug. 11, 1884
Kingston to Renfrew, Ont.....Dec. 29, 1884
Cape Traverse Branch, P.E.I.....Jan. 22, 1885
Dunmore to Lethbridge, N.W.T.....Sep. 24, 1885
Montreal to Winnipeg, Man.....Nov. 2, 1885
Bathurst to Caraquette, N.B..... 1886
Ottawa to Lacoile, P.Q..... 1886

Winnipeg to Deloraine, Man..... 1886
Gravenhurst to North Bay, Ont.....Jan. 27, 1886
Regina to Long Lake, N.W.T.....May, 1886
Montreal to Port Moody, B.C.....June 28, 1886
Rondeau to Sarnia, Ont..... ..... Sep., 1886
Esquimault to Nanaimo, B.C.....Nov., 1886
Ottawa to Coulonge, P.Q.....Nov., 1886
Fredericton to Chatham, N.B..... 1887
Portage la Prairie to Langenberg, N.W.T... 1887
Winnipeg to Glenboro, Man..... 1887
Montreal to Vancouver, B.C.....May, 1887
Joggins to Maccan, N.S..... Nov., 1887
Sault Ste. Marie to Sudbury, Ont.....Jan. 9, 1888
Quebec to Lake St. John, P.Q.....June 18, 1888

Colonel Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski, K.C.M.G., Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, was born at St. Petersburg, Russia, of an ancient Polish family, in 1813. He was educated at Kremnetz, Russia, and in 1830, having graduated as an Engineer, he entered the Russian army. In the same year Poland rose in revolt and the young man took a prominent part in it. The attempt at liberty was fruitless, and Mr. Gzowski, with many others, was exiled to America in 1833. He immediately started to learn English and study Law, and at the same time supported himself by teaching other languages, drawing and fencing. In 1837 he passed his Law examination and went to Pennsylvania, where he found employment as an Engineer in the coal regions of that district which were just being opened up. Mr. Gzowski came to Toronto in 1841 and obtained a position in the Department of Public Works. Five years later he became a naturalized British subject, and in 1848 entered upon some engineering enterprises of his own. In 1849 the Railway Guarantee Act, authorizing grants for the construction of railways, was passed, and Mr. Gzowski became Chief Engineer of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad Company. When this Company was merged into the Grand Trunk Railway Mr. Gzowski resigned, and formed a partnership with the late Sir A. T. Galt, the Hon. L. H. Holton and Sir D. L. Macpherson. During 1853 the firm obtained the contract for the construction of the line from Toronto to Sarnia. They also constructed the line from Port Huron to Detroit, and from London to St. Mary's. In connection with this, in 1857, they established the Toronto Rolling Mills but these were closed in 1869 when steel rails superseded the iron ones.

In 1861, when there was some prospect of a war between England and the United States, Mr. Gzowski planned an arsenal for Canada, for which he offered to supply the capital. This, however, was refused, though there is reason to believe that his patriotic proposals and suggestions were fully appreciated by the Imperial Government. He also took a prominent part in developing the Rifle Association of Ontario, and became its President, and was also President of the Dominion Rifle Association. He was instrumental in sending the first team of representative riflemen from Canada to Wimbledon in 1870. In 1872 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Central division of Toronto Volunteers, and in 1873 became Lieutenant-Colonel on the staff. In 1879 he was appointed Honorary Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Mr. Gzowski's firm in 1870 had been given the contract for the International Bridge at Buffalo, which was completed in 1873, at a cost of $1,500,000. After its completion Colonel Gzowski

Colonel Sir Casimir S. Gzowski, K.C.M.G.

wrote an elaborate account of the work. He has published many pamphlets and reports upon engineering matters and has shared in much of the work which has resulted in making Ontario a network of railways. Sir Casimir Gzowski, who was knighted by the Queen in 1890, acted as Administrator of the Ontario Government in 1896.

Capital of Railways in the Dominion. The source of the capital invested in Canadian Railways, according to the Government Year Book of 1895, is as follows:

Sources of capital.	Amount.
Ordinary share capital	$255,769,556
Preference	105,680,034
Bonded debt	330,785,546
Aid from Dominion Government	150,763,283
Ontario Government	6,747,238
Quebec	14,426,304
New Brunswick Government	4,453,800
Nova Scotia Government	1,437,108
Manitoba Government	2,625,562
British Columbia Government	37,500
Municipalities	14,017,957
Capital from other sources	7,733,941
Total	$894,477,829

A Government Return presented to the House of Commons in 1897, showed the amount by Provinces expended by the Dominion Government from July 1, 1873, to September 28, 1896, for constructing, equipping and subsidizing railways. The figures were as follows:

Ontario	$29,889,153
Quebec	14,666,937
New Brunswick	9,045,538
Nova Scotia	14,718,155
Manitoba	8,024,432
British Columbia	21,441,700
Prince Edward Island	635,830
North-West Territories	7,604,819

The Hudson's Bay Railway Project. Upon the scheme of a railway to Hudson's Bay, with a line of steamships from a port on that water to Liverpool, the hopes of the people of Manitoba and the North-West Territories rested for a number of years as promising the cheapest outlet for their products to the markets of the world. The unanimity with which the settlers of the Province joined in approving the enterprise, and calling for its completion at any sacrifice, was no more striking than the unbounded confidence which the great mass of the people showed in its entire practicability. Each political party vied with the other in bidding for popular support by the promotion of this project. During the years immediately past (1898) however this enthusiasm has somewhat lessened.

Mr. James Fisher, Q.C., M.P.P., was for years a strong advocate of the proposal, together with Mr. Hugh Sutherland, ex-M.P., and from a pamphlet of the former's published at Winnipeg in December, 1891, entitled "Our Highways to the Sea" most of the following data is obtained. The first measure for Provincial aid was introduced by the late Mr. Norquay in 1885, in the shape of an Act pledging the Province to give a bonus of one million of dollars to the enterprise on completion of the Road within five years from that time. The expectation was that with such an endorsement the promoters would be enabled to float their scheme on the English money market. But they failed; and in the Session of 1886 sought from the Province a more liberal bonus in the shape of a guarantee of the interest on the bonds of the Company, to the extent of four and a half million dollars for twenty-five years, at the rate of four per cent. per annum—a Provincial bonus, in effect, of $180,000 a year for twenty-five years. Mr. Norquay appeared unwilling at first to grant this measure of aid, and he proposed the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the matter—a proposition which was met by a move on the part of Messrs. Thomas Greenway and Joseph Martin to ask the House to vote the guarantee asked. To this Mr. Norquay yielded, and the Act of 1885 was passed, authorizing the Government to give such a guarantee for 25 years from the completion of the Road.

Again the promoters of the Road were unable to float their scheme in the financial markets, and in 1887 they once more sought to extend the terms of assistance. As before, Mr. Norquay halted, and was unwilling to go as far as his opponents in meeting the demands of the promoters, but a decided declaration of the intention of Messrs. Greenway and Martin to go further than he, brought the Premier once more to time, and the Act of 1887 was passed, authorizing

the same guarantee on four and one-half millions to be given, but on more liberal terms in some respects than those of the Act of 1886. The scheme was taken up in the succeeding year by Messrs. Onderdonk and Ross, the well-known railway contractors, and they proposed to proceed at once with the enterprise. It was at this stage that the new Greenway Government declared its unwillingness to give the guarantee authorized by the Act, notwithstanding the Premier's pledge when in opposition. Ministers rested their objection largely on the view that while the

Hugh Sutherland, ex.-M.P.

Province had for the sake of procuring a line of railway to compete with the Canadian Pacific, proposed to give a bonus equal to $180,000 a year for 25 years, it had since that time, in the shape of aid granted to the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Road, pledged its credit for about $80,000 a year, in return for which it had secured competition from at least one quarter. For that reason, the Government contended, the Province could not now afford, or be expected to give, more than $100,000 a year at the most to the Hudson's Bay Railway—that being the interest at four per cent. on $2,500,000. The correspondence which was published at the time indicated that Messrs. Onderdonk and Ross would have been disposed, on certain conditions, to accept aid to that extent, and to proceed with construction. But although the promoters stated that they had obtained means in London to go on with the Road if their terms were accepted, the negotiations eventually came to nothing.

The Aid Act of 1887 was repealed, however, and in 1889 a Resolution was passed by the House, on motion of Mr. Greenway, offering to grant aid to the Road to the extent of $2,000 a mile for the part of it within the Province, not exceeding 300 miles—in other words offering aid to the extent of $600,000 to the enterprise. In 1890, the Government introduced a Bill, which was passed by the House, authorizing aid to the extent of $3,000 per mile for 250 miles of the Line within the Province, equal to $750,000. Neither of these propositions, however, seemed of much service in floating the scheme. During the Session of 1891 another Act was passed, not simply containing an offer of assistance, but undertaking on the part of the Province, by formal contract, to grant a bonus of a million and a half of dollars to the Company on completion of the Road within five years. The burden on the Province involved in this grant was a little more onerous than the guarantee of interest on two and a half millions, as previously suggested. Apart from its being a much more liberal bonus than either of those offered in 1889 and 1890, it had the decided advantage of being made as the result of negotiations between the Government and the promoters of the Road, affording evidence that the latter, at all events, were content to accept such aid, and were hopeful at least that with such backing they would be successful in completing the undertaking. At the same time the Premier admitted in the House that while proposing this measure he had no evidence whatever that any definite financial arrangements had yet been made toward that end, nor had any assurance been given him that such was likely to be effected in the near future. It was generally considered that the necessary means could hardly be raised in the English or foreign money markets without an additional bonus from

the Dominion Government. The hopes of the people in this direction were soon greatly encouraged, however, by a scheme of financial aid to the Company, introduced and carried by the Dominion Government in the 1891 Session of the Federal Parliament. The general opinion throughout the Province at that time was that a completed railway to Hudson's Bay was practically secured.

In reality the assistance pledged was not very great. No sum was absolutely granted by way of bonus, and the proposed railway was only to extend as far as the Saskatchewan. The aid pledged by the Dominion Parliament was simply an undertaking in advance that the Government, for public services, would pay the Company a certain specific yearly sum for a definite number of years after the Road should have been built. The sum announced was $80,000 a year, and it was to be given for twenty years. The value of this promise in advance to the Company was the help it might prove to the promoters in raising money to build the Road. None of these schemes and Legislative efforts have so far come to anything—except in the construction of some forty miles of now useless railway.

Cost of Canadian Railways. The total cost and cost per mile of some of the principal railways in Canada up to 1895 is stated in the Government Year Book for 1895 as follows:

Railways.	No. of Miles.	Actual Cost Total.	Per Mile.
Calgary and Edmonton	295	$ 6,458,940	$21,895
Canada Atlantic	159	7,736,355	48,656
Canada Southern	381	35,439,266	93,016
Canadian Pacific System	6,161	309,535,732	50,241
Central Ontario	104	3,170,000	30,481
Erie and Huron	77	1,331,922	17,298
Esquimault and Nanaimo	78	3,134,078	17,076
Grand Trunk System	3,162	335,645,007	106,150
Intercolonial	1,136	55,007,939	48,422
Kingston and Pembroke	113	5,994,613	53,050
Manitoba and North-Western	250	10,078,174	40,312
Northern Pacific and Manitoba	266	7,542,250	28,354
Pontiac and Pacific Junction	71	1,019 578	14,360
Prince Edward Island	211	3,750,565	17,775
Quebec Central	154	9,258,288	60,119
Quebec and Lake St. John	242	11,585,152	47,872
Shore Line	82	1,517,000	18,500
Montreal and Atlantic	201	6,096,989	30,333
Dominion Atlantic	220	7,541,512	34,279
Total	13,363	$821,843,360	$61,501

Progress of Canadian Railways. The following figures taken from the Government Year Book of Canada for 1896 indicate the progress and position of the railways in the Dominion during a period of twenty-one years:

Year ended 30th June.	Miles in operation.	Train mileage.	No. of passengers.	Tons of freight.	Earnings.	Working expenses.	Proportion of expenses to receipts.
1875	4,856½	17,680,168	5,190,415	5,670,836	19,470,539	15,775,532	81
1876	5,157½	18,103,628	5,511 814	6,331,757	19,358,085	15,802 721	82
1877	5,571½	19,450 813	6,073 233	6,859,796	18,742,053	15 290,091	82
1878	6,143½	19 669,117	6 443,921	7,883,472	20,520,078	16,100 102	78
1879	6,481½	20,731,689	6 523,816	8,348,810	19,925,066	16,188,102	81
1880	6,891½	22 127,119	6,462 948	9,938,858	23,561 447	16,810,705	71
1881	7,260	27,301 306	6,943 671	12,065,323	27 987,509	20,121 118	72
1882	7,530	27,816,111	9,352,335	13,575,787	29,027,790	22,390,709	77
1883	8,726	30 072,910	9,579,948	13,266,255	33,241,585	24,691,667	74
1884	9,575	29,758,676	9,982,358	13,712,269	33,421,705	25,595 341	77
1885	10,150	30,623,689	9,672,599	14,659,271	32,227,469	24,015 351	75
1886	10,697	30,481,088	9,861,024	15,670,460	33,389,382	24,177 582	72
1887	11,691	33,638,718	10,698 638	16,356,335	38,842,010	27,624,683	71
1888	12,163	37,391,206	11,416 791	17,173,759	42,159,153	30,652,018	73
1889	12,628	38,819,380	12 151,051	17,928 626	42,149,615	31,038,015	71
1890	13,256	41,819 329	12,821 262	20,787,469	46,843,826	32,913,350	70
1891	14,009	43 399,178	13,222,568	21,753,021	48,192 099	34,960,449	73
1892	14,588	44,148 468	13,533,414	22,189,923	51,685,768	33,188,228	70
1893	15,020	44,385,953	13,618,027	22,003,599	52,042,397	36 616 033	70
1894	15,627	43,770,029	14 162,498	20,721 116	49,552 528	35,218,433	71
1895	15,977	40,661 890	13,987,580	21,521,421	46,785,487	32,719,669	70
1896	16,270	44,500,602	14,810,407	24 266,825	50,545 569	35,042,655	69

Horse Railways in the Cities. The Street Railways in Canadian towns were at first entirely of this nature, and it is only within the last ten years that they have been replaced by the fast electric cars of the present day.

The first Street Railway Company in Canada was organized on the 29th of May, 1861, in the City of Toronto. After the materials were prepared the Yonge Street Line was commenced on the 26th of August, and opened to the public on the 11th of September in the same year. The Queen Street Line was also commenced on the 16th October, and opened the 2nd December. This Company claimed about 1863 to have six miles of single track, eleven cars, and seventy horses, which with stables, car houses, etc., were put down at a cost of $175,000 in stock and bonds. Mr. T. C. Keefer writing at that time, however, estimated the cash outlay at something under half of these figures. The Montreal Street Railway was also commenced in September, 1861, and opened in the following November. The total length of track was, in 1863, six miles and a quarter, and the cost, including eight cars, brick

stable, forty stalls, and car house, was $89,263.13. Of this sum $42,500 was paid the contractor in stock. The Company had besides four one-horse cars convertible into close sleighs, three covered sleighs, five open sleighs, and sixty-three horses, with harness and other equipments, costing $10,164.52, or a total cost of about $100,000. Other Horse Railways followed in Hamilton, London, Winnipeg, and all the important towns and cities of the Dominion, and held a most useful and necessary place in civic development and business until finally superseded by electricity.

The Municipal Loan Fund and the Railways. One of the most important factors in the early railway development of Upper and Lower Canada was the Municipal Loan Fund Act, under the operations and assumed control of which many lines were built and large sums of money expended. Perhaps the best explanation of the objects and operation of this historic but now almost forgotten legislation will be found in the following extract from a speech by Mr. (now Sir) Oliver Mowat in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario on March 7th, 1873. His review of the question was as follows:

"In 1856 an Act was passed which provided for a Fund of a million and a half sterling for Upper Canada and the same for Lower Canada. In this way it was intended to enable municipalities to raise money under more advantageous terms than could be done by these municipalities issuing debentures on their own sole credit, and the general effect of the Act was to place the management of the Fund in the hands of the Governor-in-Council. It provided for the issue of debentures on the credit of the various municipalities, with certain restrictions which it was thought to be sufficient to make the transaction an extremely safe one for the Government and a safe one for the municipalities who were interested in the Fund and who might borrow on the strength of it. It was provided that the amount borrowed by any municipality should not exceed one-fifth of the value of the assessable property of the municipality; that the money should be applied to certain specific purposes of a permanent character; that every loan should receive the assent of the ratepayers; that it should also be subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council so that he should see to the expediency or inexpediency of the proposed loan; and in order to make the payments by the municipalities upon their loans quite safe, it was provided that every treasurer and clerk and collector should discharge the duties assigned to him for the purpose of paying to the Fund the annual interest of the sum which the municipality borrowed, and that these officers were bound to act without the order of the municipal council.

It was made the duty of the municipal officers to perform the offices of assessing the property of the municipality, of collecting the dues, and of paying them over to the Inspector-General without any control of the municipal bodies; that in case of default the Government might, three months after the default, issue its warrant to the sheriff, so that if the money had not been assessed or paid over as it ought to have been the sheriff could sell the property of the municipality; that revenues that might be derived from investments of money borrowed from the Fund were all to be paid over to the Receiver-General. Thus these provisions provided as well as possible that no debt should be contracted by a municipality which it was impossible for it to pay, that no debt should be contracted which it was not prudent to contract, and that the sums for recouping the Government should year by year be paid. That, however, was not the result of the Act. Large sums were borrowed under it, and in some cases sums which proved far beyond the power of the borrowing municipalities to repay, so that they went to default almost immediately. Legislation was called for to provide a remedy, and in 1859 an Act was passed, the substance and material object of which was (with respect to the large debts which were found to be too large to make it practicable to enforce payment of the annual sums that they involved) that a limit was placed upon the annual payment, which was fixed at five cents in the dollar of the actual assessment from year to year, it being provided, however, that the proportion for no year should be less than five cents on the dollar for the assessment of 1858.

The object of this was to make the debts such as the different municipalities could pay. The statute did not discharge the balance of the

debts. The assessment then made upon the municipalities was a very moderate one and one which it was reasonable to think the municipalities could afford and that would lead them in the future to discharge their obligations. An attempt was made to make the security still greater than existed under the previous Act, and so it was provided that the annual charge under this Act should be the first charge on all money raised in the municipality for whatever purpose it was raised. It was made a misdemeanour for any officer of a municipality not to pay over its money from time to time, and that he should be personally liable for the amount. The additional provisions, it was thought, would make certain that the balances should be paid, but there was again disappointment.

Default commenced immediately and has been going on from that time till the present (1873). Very few, indeed, paid the full amount of their debts, some literally paid nothing since 1859, others not more able have paid their whole debt, or a considerable portion of it, while more have made partial payments and some very trifling ones. It seemed a mere matter of caprice on the part of the municipalities, and gradually those who paid in the first instance discontinued paying. The effect was to diminish the value of municipal securities generally and to corrupt the moral sense of the people with reference to public obligations. These debts, though of the nominal value of over six millions were not of a greater value than three million dollars. The average amount received from 1859-73 was $150,000. The sums, however, had varied very much. In 1859 the amount received was $152,000, in 1860 $163,000, in 1861 $120,000, in 1862 $86,000. It then went on increasing a little, and in 1868 the Government managed to collect over $151,000, in 1869 $159,000, in 1870 $156,000, in 1871 $38,000, in 1872 $43,000. These figures capitalized at 20 per cent. would represent less than a million of capital. Under the Act of 1859 there was no obligation on any municipality which it could not fulfil, but now some of them were less able with the interest now due, to pay up, and he had no hesitation in saying that it was utterly impossible for some of them to pay."

Mr. Thomas C. Keefer, in 1863, dealt with this subject at some length in "Eighty Years' Progress of British America." He there gave elaborate figures of the population, the amount of the loans and the names of the towns, villages or municipalities interested. The population may be omitted from present consideration, though it will be understood that it was generally very small, and sometimes ludicrously so in comparison with the amount of money borrowed. The table is as follows, and gives the sums taken from the Municipal Loan Fund for railway purposes up to the end of 1861 :

Municipalities in Upper Canada.	Amount of Loan.	Arrears of interest due Dec. 31, 1861.
Town of Port Hope	$740,000	$312,303.31
Township of Hope	60,000	25,862.56
Town of Niagara	280,000	148,974.02
Town of Cobourg	500,000	313,426.61
Village of Chippewa	20,000	7,109.71
Township of Bertie	40,000	8,873.36
Township of Brantford	50,000	2,428.11
Town of Brantford	500,000	186,754.87
Township of Wainfleet	20,000	1,446.37
Township of Canboro.	8,000	330.80
Counties of Huron and Bruce	125 000	.....
Townships of Moulton and Sherbrooke	20,000	.....
Village of Paris	40,000	172.23
City of Ottawa	200,000	113,411.37
Town of Prescott	100,000	62,625.53
Town of Woodstock	100 000	47,824.27
Town of St. Catharines	100,000	47,748.29
Township of Woodhouse	10,000	31.04
Township of Norwich	200,000	101,508.96
Township of Ops	80,000	39,897.36
County of Elgin	80,000	35.95
City of London	375,400	155,412.56
Township of Windham	100 000	50,251.66
Town of Simcoe	100,000	52,276.99
Counties of Lanark and Renfrew	800,000	306,189.16
Town of Brockville	400 000	187,432.01
Township of Elizabethtown	154,000	51,794.00
Village of Stratford	100,000	56,871.79
Town of Goderich	100,000	35,174 92
Town of Barrie	12,000	2,564.69
Town of Guelph	80,000	13.400.12
Town of Peterborough	100,000	27.274.12
Total	$5,594,400	$2,359 406.74
Municipalities in Lower Canada		
County of Ottawa	131,600	84,740.19
County of Terrebonne	94,000	60,498.17
County of Shefford	215,000	63,340 53
County of Stanstead	71,000	17,581.02
County of Megantic	5,840	3,580.57
Township of Shefford	57,500	21,895.59
Town of Three Rivers	220,000	53,855.61
Township of Granby	30,000	10,938.37
Township of Bolton	13,000	2,834.39
Township of Stukely North	16,000	3,763.29
Township of Stukely South	10,000	2,364.00
Village of Fermont	32,000	6.393.00
Total	$925 940	$343,208 41
Add Upper Canada	5.594,400	2.359,406.74
Total	$6,520,340	$2,702,615.15

Besides this amount nearly three millions more were contributed to the building of railways by municipalities which did not borrow from the Fund at all. Mr. Keefer summarizes the situation at that time in the following somewhat scathing terms: "The municipalities, relieved from contributing to the Trunk Railway, were thus at liberty to embark in branch lines. Contractors controlled the Board of Directors and appointed the Engineer; a scamped road, barely practicable for traffic, was made, on which the whole receipts for the present generation must be applied before it can be considered completed. To enable the municipalities to carry out their local improvements the Province virtually endorsed their bonds by exchanging them for others, in which it acted as a broker, undertaking to collect from the borrower and pay over to the lender. The by-laws by which counties, cities and townships voted their loans or subscriptions to public works, required the approval of the Governor-in-Council before they could take the benefit of the Municipal Loan Fund Act. This provision was intended as a check upon extravagance, but the practical effect of it was to place the members from every county and city, seeking to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act, at the mercy of the Ministry of the day. Those who were most subservient obtained most money, and one village was allowed to borrow three hundred dollars per head for every soul of the population. Of course default was made in the interest on such loans, and one delinquent produced others; the Province as an endorser in the meantime paying for them, and in the end accepting in lieu of the dues an annual assessment of five per cent."

Hugh McKay Sutherland, ex-M.P., was born in New London, P.E.I., in 1843, his family having emigrated from Scotland some years previously. In 1849 they removed to Oxford County, Upper Canada, where Mr. Sutherland was educated. At the age of twenty-five he became engaged in lumbering in Orillia, where he also fulfilled important contracts for the Northern and Midland Railways. In 1873 he went to the North-West Territory, where he held the position of Superintendent of Public Works for the Dominion until 1878. In this latter year he settled in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and engaged extensively in lumbering and railway enterprises. He was one of the original promoters and Vice-Presidents of the Manitoba and South-Western Railway—the first local railway in the Province. He built large mills at Rat Portage and Winnipeg, and in 1883 became President of the Winnipeg and Hudson Bay Railway, of which he was such a zealous and indefatigable promoter. Mr. Sutherland was the first to bring into prominence the coal fields of the North-West by developing the Souris coal-mine in 1879, and floating coal down in barges 900 miles by water to Winnipeg. He became President of the British and North-West, and the Prince Albert Colonization Companies and also of the Rainy Lake Lumber Company. He was an unsuccessful candidate for East Simcoe in the Ontario elections of 1875, and was returned to the Dominion House as an Independent member for Selkirk, Man., in 1882, for which constituency he sat until 1887, when he withdrew from politics.

Canadian Railways and the Bonding Privilege. A most important matter in connection with Canadian railways is their international relationship. All the chief lines have American branches or interests, and are more or less affected by American regulations, international treaties, and the Inter-State Commerce Act, while the struggle for supremacy as a trans-continental route between the Canadian Pacific and its United States rivals is one of historical import, and is not yet settled by any means. The railway bonding privilege is perhaps the chief point, and is of vital concern to the business interests of both countries. In 1890 a Committee of the United States Senate was appointed to investigate American "Relations with Canada." Senator Hoar was Chairman, and considerable attention was given to the demand from certain sources for the abrogation of the Treaty of Washington clause dealing with the bonding privilege. On April 26th, Mr. Joseph Nimmo, jr., a well-known and hostile critic of everything British and Canadian gave some interesting testimony upon the subject. So far as his remarks were of a purely historical nature they may be quoted here as of value in giving a clear account of the development of this situation.

He pointed out that the first intimation of a United States and Canadian "transit trade" is found in Article III. of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, concluded between Great Britain and the United States on Nov. 19th, 1794. It was therein provided that "no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the *portages* or carrying-places on either side, for the purpose of being immediately re-embarked and carried to some other place or places." About the year 1848, the inference was raised from this that if, under American laws, imported goods held in a Government store or bonded warehouse—for example, in New York City—could be transported thence through the streets of that city upon a truck or cart to a wharf and there placed on board a ship for re-exportation to a foreign country without payment of duty, it might be lawful under proper customs regulations, to deliver goods on board of a railroad car, or on a canal boat, and to transport them in bond and free of duty across the State of New York to Canada. This was done, and it constituted the beginning of the transit trade.

At the same time the privilege was accorded to Canadians of shipping their products through the United States to foreign countries in bond and free of duty. Both these privileges were of importance to the Canadians, while "American ship-owners, American sea-ports and American transportation lines secured the advantage arising from handling Canadian goods." Upon the completion of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals in 1848, the Canadian Government accorded to citizens of the United States the privilege of importing goods from foreign countries and of exporting domestic produce to foreign countries by the Canadian route without payment of customs duties in Canada. This afforded to the people of the Western and North-Western States the competitive advantages of an alternative route, and at the same time it brought a large amount of commerce to the Canadian canals and to sea-going vessels at the port of Montreal. Mr. Nimmo adds in significant words that "Both sides of the foreign transit trade are marked by characteristics of reciprocity which fully justified its existence." He then described the legal origin of the present arrangement so far as the United States was concerned, as follows:

"About the 1st of April, 1855, the Railway Suspension Bridge, two miles below Niagara Falls, was completed. By this means the New York Central Railroad, the Great Western Railway of Canada, and the Michigan Central Railroad formed the first all-rail line from New York to Chicago, with the single break caused by the Detroit River, which was crossed by ferry. Westward the course of empire was taking its way with impetuous tread. A large freight traffic at once sprang into existence, and there arose an instant demand for the privileges of transportation 'in bond' across Canada without payment of duty. Franklin Pierce was then President of the United States. The question was raised as to whether American goods could be loaded into a foreign railroad car at Suspension Bridge and carried across the interjecting territory of Canada to Detroit without payment of duty. The analogy furnished by our navigation laws which forbid the carriage of goods from one point in the United States to another point in the United States in any other than an American vessel was set aside as inapplicable to the exigencies of the case. In the absence of any specific Statute upon the subject the authorities at Washington yielded to the popular demand. Thus the domestic transit trade had its origin in a mere exercise of Administration discretion. The Canadian Government gladly acceded to the arrangement, for it was of inestimable advantage to the traffic interests of the then most important railroad of Canada."

The arrangement continued to subsist on both sides as a matter of administrative discretion and without any specific law or treaty until July 28, 1866, when the following Act of Congress was passed (Revised U.S. Statutes, Secs. 3,005 and 3,006):

"An Act to protect the revenue and for other purposes. Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted.* That from and after the passage of this Act, all goods, wares, or merchandize arriving at the ports of New York, Boston, or Portland, or any other port of the United States, which may be specially designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and destined for places in the adjacent British Provinces, or arriving at the port of Point Isabel, Texas, or any other port of the United States which may be specially designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and destined for places in the Republic of Mexico, may be entered at the custom-house, and conveyed in transit through

the territory of the United States without the payment of duties, under such rules, regulations, and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Sec 6. *And be it further enacted.* That imported goods, wares, or merchandize in bond, or duty paid, and products or manufactures of the United States, may, with the consent of the proper authorities of the Provinces or Republic aforesaid, be transported from one port or place in the United States to another port or place therein, over the territory of said Provinces or Republic, by such routes, and under such rules, regulations and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and the goods, wares, or merchandize, so transported, shall upon arrival in the United States from the Provinces or Republic aforesaid, be treated in regard to the liability to, or exemption from duty, or tax, as if the transportation had taken place entirely within the limits of the United States."

Mr. Nimmo points out that this Act was passed before the Canadian Pacific Railway was begun, and that under the provisions of the Act the extension of the privileges of both branches of the transit trade was to be dependent upon the discretion of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. The next measure in the order of time which had reference to the legal establishment of the "United States and Canadian Transit Trade" is found in Article XXIV. of the Treaty of Washington, which was concluded on May 8, 1871. It was as follows:

"It is agreed that, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII. of this Treaty, goods, wares, or merchandize arriving at the ports of New York, Boston, and Portland, and any other ports in the United States, which have been, or may from time to time, be specially designated by the President of the United States, and destined for Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America, may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, through the territory of the United States, under such rules, regulations, and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Government of the United States may from time to time prescribe; and, under like rules, regulations, and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandize may be conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties, from such possessions through the territory of the United States for export from the said ports of the United States. It is further agreed, that, for the like period, goods, wares, or merchandize arriving at any of the ports of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America and destined for the United States may be entered at the proper custom-house and conveyed in transit, without the payment of duties through the said Possessions, under such rules, and regulations, and conditions for the protection of the revenue as the Governments of the said Possessions may from time to time prescribe; and, under like rules, regulations, and conditions, goods, wares, or merchandize may be conveyed in transit, without payment of duties, from the United States through the said Possessions, to other places in the United States, or for export from ports in the said Possessions."

The particulars of Canadian action in connection with this international bonding system include Orders-in-Council passed in 1856, in 1860, in December 1883, and on the 29th of July, 1888, dealing with details of arrangement not affecting the general and accepted principles.

Miscellaneous Railway Facts. The municipal bonuses to the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway up to 1871 formed a total of $761,000 and to the Toronto and Nipissing of $386,500. A Royal Commission on Canadian Railways composed of Sir A. T. Galt as Chairman and Messrs. Collingwood, Schreiber, G. Moberly, T. E. Kenny, and E. R. Burpee was appointed on August 14th, 1886, and reported January, 1888—Sessional Papers 8 (a) Volume 9, 1888. It recommended the Railway Committee of the Privy Council as being the best possible railway tribunal for the Dominion if its powers were enlarged. It did not favour the creation of a special permanent Railway Commission apart from that body. Its Report also favoured a general railway law in place of special charters. The Railway Committee during 1895 had 76 matters submitted to it for decision and 55 in 1896. The original gauge of Canadian railways was 5 ft. 6 in. In order to assimilate the roads in a commercial sense with connecting American lines this was changed to 4 ft. 8½ in. In all the Dominion there are now only 340 miles of railway different in gauge from this. The Prince Edward Island Line was opened in April, 1875. It was built by the Dominion Government, is a narrow gauge road, and is 211 miles in length. Its earnings in

1877 were $130,665 and expenses $228,595. In 1896 the earnings were $146,477 and the expenses $225,139. The Railway Rates Commission referred to elsewhere was appointed by the Minister of Railways and held its first meeting in Winnipeg, 20th November, 1894. Mr. George Johnson in his "First Things in Canada" states that it had eighteen sittings in as many different places. The Hon. Mr. Haggart presented the Report to Parliament on May 10th, 1895—Sessional Papers No. 39, Volume 11, 1895.

Dominion Legislation regarding railway traffic on Sunday has been frequently attempted—chiefly by Mr. John Charlton, M.P., but so far without success. Mr. A. E. O'Meara, of Toronto, and Secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Association, makes the following statement in this connection—10th March, 1898:

"So far the Dominion Government and Parliament seem to have treated the subject of such legislation as falling within the jurisdiction of the Provinces, and this position has been more than once taken by, I believe, the Attorney-General of the Dominion. The Lord's Day Act of this Province, of course, makes an exception in favour of 'conveying travellers,' so that if the matter falls within the jurisdiction of the Province, this exception would clearly permit the through traffic—that is to say, the inter-provincial and international passenger traffic of Dominion railways. So far as freight traffic is concerned, if the Ontario law applies to Dominion railways, it would seem clearly to prohibit all freight traffic except such as may for special reasons be held to be a 'work of necessity.' In other words, while the Ontario law would permit the Dominion railways to carry a through passenger traffic, it would not permit a through freight traffic, except in such cases as live stock and perishable goods. I believe the situation to be that, except so far as prevented by any Provincial law, the Dominion railways are at liberty to carry on their traffic as freely on Sunday as on any other day."

The legislation relating to accidents on railways is an important matter, and is under Provincial control except in so far as the working of the law may be effected by the action of the Railway Committee at Ottawa. Of the points involved, one of the chief is the limit of time for bringing actions for damages, and Mr. Angus MacMurchy, a well-known legal authority on railway matters, states (1898) that in Manitoba, Ontario and Nova Scotia the period is six months; in Quebec, British Columbia, New Brunswick and the North-West Territories, one year; while in Prince Edward Island there does not appear to be any limitation.

Trans-Continental Railway Projects. The following resumé of references during the last fifty years to a Pacific Railway across the British part of the continent, is condensed from a list published by Mr. George Johnson in his valuable little book, "First Things in Canada." Only the most important are given:

1834. Thomas Dalton, Editor of the *Toronto Patriot*, strongly advocated the idea.

1846. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Bonnycastle, of the Royal Engineers and Commandant of the Militia in Canada West, urged it in his book entitled "Canada in 1846."

1847. Sir John Harvey, in his "Speech from the Throne" to the Nova Scotian Legislature, January, 1847, and in reference to the Intercolonial Railway, said that "it would constitute the most important link in that great line of communication which may be destined, at no remote period, to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean.

1847. Robert Christie in the fourth chapter of his first volume of the "History of Lower Canada," prophesied most enthusiastically concerning such a project.

1848. Major Carmichael-Smyth, R.E., wrote an "open letter" in this year to Thomas C. Haliburton (Sam Slick) urging the construction of an inter-oceanic railway from Halifax to the mouth of the Fraser River. He also wrote an able pamphlet upon the subject.

1848. Lieut. Synge, R.E., when stationed in Ottawa (then Bytown), wrote a pamphlet entitled "Canada in 1848," in which he broached the idea.

1851. The Hon. Joseph Howe, at a public meeting in Halifax, 15th July, 1851, said: "I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

1851. Alan MacDonell, of Toronto, presented a petition and a Bill to the Legislature of the Province of Canada for the incorporation of the Lake Superior and the Pacific Railway Company, with a proposed capital of £1,000,000 currency, in shares of £25 currency. The gauge was to be five feet six inches, and the incorporators asked for aid in the form of a belt of land of the width of thirty miles on each side of the railway. The Railway Committee opposed the Bill, but said in their report that they "are strongly inclined to believe that this great work will at some future day (should this continent continue to advance as heretofore in prosperity and population) be undertaken by Great Britain and the United States."

1854. In 1854 the Hon. John Young, of Montreal, presented to the Legislature of Canada a petition asking for a charter by the name of the "Northern Pacific Railway Company."

1857. Chief Justice Draper of Canada, in his evidence before the English House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Territory, in 1857, said: "I hope to see, or at least that my children will see, a railway wholly in British territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans."

1857. Lord Bury, in *Fraser's Magazine*, urged upon the British Government the duty of the immediate construction of such a railway.

1858. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in a speech introducing the Bill founding the Colony of British Columbia, referred to the railway as "that great viaduct by which we hope one day to connect the harbours of Vancouver with the Gulf of St. Lawrence." Mr. Roebuck, Viscount Bury and Lord John Russell spoke in favour of the idea.

1858. The Legislature of the Province of Canada incorporated the North-West Transportation, Navigation, and Railway Company, which was "empowered to construct links of railway between navigable lakes and rivers, so as to provide facilities for transport from the shores of Lake Superior to Fraser's River."

1859. The Earl of Carnarvon, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on May 23, favoured such a project.

1861. Alexander Rattray, M.D., in a book published by him in this year, wrote: "The formation of a trans-American railway and telegraph to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific is a project intimately connected with the commercial interests of both the Colonies and of Great Britain."

1862. Henry Yule Hind, in his "Overland Route to British Columbia," advocated the construction of the railway.

1862-3. Sir Sandford Fleming, in a pamphlet published in this year said: "A continuous line of railway, with electric telegraph is better calculated to meet the permanent wants of this country, and serve the interests of the Colonial Empire, than any other means of communication between the two oceans."

During 1863 the people of the Red River Valley at a meeting held in their settlement passed resolutions supporting an inter-oceanic railway on British territory, and appointed Mr. Sandford Fleming to represent their interests. He accordingly prepared a statement which, with the Memorial of the people of the Red River Settlement, he submitted by special request to the Governor-General, Lord Monck, and then proceeding to England submitted it to the British Government —the Duke of Newcastle then being Colonial Minister. With him Mr. Fleming had several interviews. His document is an interesting one, and is to be found in the Sessional Papers of 1863 (No. 83).

1865. In the Debates on Confederation, many of the public men of British North America declared that before very long the inter-oceanic railway would become a commercial and a political necessity.

1865. Lord Milton and Mr. Cheadle in their "North-West Passage to British Columbia" strongly favoured the policy.

1868. Alfred Waddington urged the construction of a railway from Ottawa to the Pacific Ocean in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, in pamphlets and in numerous newspaper articles. Waddington, by his efforts, aroused public attention and created in the public mind of British Columbia the determination to make the construction of the trans-continental railway a *sine-qua-non* in the terms of Union. The British Columbian Legislature voted Mr. Waddington a town site at Bute Inlet in recognition of his unremitting efforts in behalf of the project.

SECTION III.

HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF CANADIAN METHODISM

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CANADIAN METHODISM

BY

THE REV DR. CARMAN, General Superintendent.

TO understand the River St. Lawrence in its course through the Province of Quebec we must know something of its volume and tributaries in the Province of Ontario, and of its source of supply far out on the uplands of the Continent, as well as from the Ottawa valley and its abounding confluent streams. To be acquainted with the Red River at Winnipeg we must study the water-sheds in Minnesota and Dakota. The Bow at Calgary can be explained in the grandeur of its sweep and the coolness of its reviving waters only by the everlasting snows of the Rockies, out of whose gorges it leaps to rush down their foot-hills and gladden all the plain. The Canadian Pacific Railway at Montreal is now clearly seen in the light of Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Halifax. Liverpool is partly the reason for the existence and life of New York, and Canton and Calcutta for the miles of docks in the Mersey. The literature and politics of the present take their colouring from the records, writings, policies, and conflicts of the past. We cannot expel Shakespeare or Cobden from Canada, or Cicero and Horace from Britain. In this mundane sphere things do not stand alone. No man liveth to himself; no system is comprehended by itself. There are relations and connections; far extended and widely distributed channels for living waters; far reaching lines and routes for the heart-throbs of government, the vigour of communities, and the pulsations of trade.

Canadian Methodism had its origin a little over a century ago from the Methodism of Great Britain and the United States, and drew its youthful life-blood largely from the same sources. Hence, to understand Canadian Methodism we must know something of the Methodism of Britain and the United States. Their history is a part of the Canadian history, just as we trace our literature and our government backward into the centuries of British progress. In Epworth Rectory, Lincolnshire, England, in 1703, was born that marvellous man who under Divine Providence, in the direction of the growth and development of the Church of God, gave start to the mightiest evangelism of modern times, and impetus to a doctrinal and spiritual movement which has gone forth into all lands and more or less affected all branches of the Christian Church. In the commonwealth of Protestantism, John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, may well rank with Latimer, Ridley, Luther, Knox, and the recent Church Fathers; men of revival, restoration, and aggression, seeking the removal of ancient abuses and the establishment of the true Kingdom of God.

The Methodist constituency of earth's inhabitants numbers nearly thirty millions, or about the population of Great Britain. Especially for the continent of America and the opening Empires of the distant East with their teeming millions, does this energetic and orderly evangelism appear to have been provided. As it took form in England the Presbyterian organization was preferred, while in America the rapidly extending societies were organized under Episcopal Government. But this Episcopacy, proposed and provided by Mr. Wesley, himself an ordained Presbyter of the Church of England, was accepted by the Conference in the United States, just as the present Constitutional Monarchy in Great Britain was accepted by the Convention and Parliament. Wherefore this limited Episcopacy arises out of the Presbytery and is controlled by it. "*Primus inter pares*" is the status of the Methodist Bishops, as is also held to be the status of their Bishops by the Evangelical section of the Church of England.

Hierarchial and ecclesiastical assumption have always been abhorrent to the followers of Mr. Wesley. They read Holy Scripture and Church history as uniformly in favour of liberty of conscience, and of the proper succession and government of the Christian ministry in their essential quality and official direction according to the principles of the living Word. With ministers equal in order, of divine zeal and authorization, but varying in qualities of human adaptation and directorial requirements, they avoid sacerdotalism and extravagant ecclesiasticism on the one hand, and disorderly or defective management and contempt for authority on the other. Under this system of supervision and aggression Evangelical Methodism grew rapidly in the United States and to the ends of the earth. The latest planted of the Churches on this continent, it soon pushed its way into the upper air and overtopped all others.

In the United States its adherents number about twenty-four millions; its communicants nearly six millions. In Great Britain, with the affiliated churches, its figures are, for adherents over five millions, and for communicants nearly a million and a quarter. These British churches have 6,192 ministers, 52,270 lay preachers, 26,138 church edifices, and two and one-half million Sabbath-school scholars and teachers. In the American Methodist churches the figures are: Ministers, 37,350; church edifices, 53,789; about 30,000 lay preachers; and over six millions of Sabbath-school teachers and scholars. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States alone has 22,844 church edifices, valued at nearly one hundred millions of dollars, and 220 educational institutions, home and foreign, with 45,000 students, and valued at over sixteen millions of dollars.

Considering the population of Canada and the mode of its settlement, one Province (Quebec) being wholly, we may say, of a different nationality and religion, the showing of the figures is gratifying to those who take pleasure in this form of Protestant Christianity. The number of ministers of the Canadian Methodist Church is 2,054; of communicants, 272,392, which gives a constituency of over 800,000 in the Dominion; of lay preachers and helpers, 11,296; of Sabbath-school officers and teachers, 25,789; and of scholars, 262,915. Over and above its missionary schools among the Indians and in foreign parts it has eleven educational institutions of first rank and full of efficiency in university and academic training. Besides this main body, known as "The Methodist Church," there are smaller branches from the parent stock, such as the Evangelical Association. These are German Methodists, as also are the United Brethren very largely. Further, there are African Methodists, called the American Methodist Episcopal and British Methodist Episcopal Churches.

We may now trace out somewhat in detail the course of events by which these results have been reached. From what has already been said it will be seen that Methodism found its way into Canada from two sources—Britain and the United States. The first Methodist preaching in what is now the Dominion was from Britain by some of the early lay preachers, who, after the manner of primitive Christianity, went everywhere preaching the Word. The first organic Methodism in Canada was from the United States. As the revival fires under the labours of Mr. Wesley and his assistants flamed upward in Britain, living sparks and blazing embers were wafted to all quarters of the globe on the air-currents of colonization and commerce. Also missionary zeal begotten by the Spirit from on high urged men and women outward in all directions carrying the Word of Life. The development in any particular country was but the throb and strength of a mighty Providential movement that was quickening religious thought and activity amongst all the tribes of men. It was the heave of the tide, the swell of the sea, the uplifting of humanity by the power of God.

In 1760 we have Robert Strawbridge, a Wesleyan preacher from Ireland, preaching in Maryland. In 1766 we find an active Methodist Colony from Ireland in New York City. In 1775, Lawrence Coughlin was sent out as a missionary from England to the most ancient colony, Newfoundland. In 1779 several Yorkshire families recently from England, in their prayer meetings near Amherst, Nova Scotia, were instrumental in the conversion of William Black, who, known as Bishop Black, became the apostle and founder of

Methodism in our Maritime Provinces. In 1780 a Mr. Tuffey, a commissary of the 44th Regiment, preached to the soldiers and Protestant immigrants in Quebec. The first Methodist preacher in Upper Canada was another British officer, Major George Neal, who, in 1786 began to preach on the Niagara frontier. In 1790, William Losee, a Methodist itinerant, came to Canada from New York to see some of his United Empire Loyalist relatives and friends who had settled on the Bay of Quinte.

A flame of revival was kindled under his preaching, and these Loyalist settlers petitioned the New York Conference for a missionary to dwell among them. In answer to the petition, Losee was appointed to Canada, and founded a circuit, which reached, we may say, from Cornwall to Cobourg. The first Methodist *Class* in Canada—the germ and unit of Methodism the world over—was organized at Hay Bay, near Napanee, Sunday, February 20th, 1791; the second, in the village of Bath, on February 27th; and the third, in Fredericksburg, on March 2nd, 1791, the day of Mr. Wesley's death. So at the close of the career of the Apostolic founder of Methodism a seed of his sowing was planted in this country which has been nourished to a goodly growth.

The Rev. Dr. Carman.

We shall better understand the various developments of this Church and Evangelism in our fair Dominion if we survey some of the events of the career of Mr. Wesley and his immediate followers in the Old World. Born, as we have seen, in 1703, duly graduated as a Master of Arts in the University of Oxford and as a clergyman in the Church of England, after years of experience in college, in evangelism, in mission work in America, in fellowship with the devoted Moravians, he startled the Church by the emphasis and power with which he declared old and admitted, but forgotten truths—the new birth, the witness of the Spirit, and the doctrine of Sanctification. He, and Whitfield, and their co-labourers were excluded from the pulpits of London and Bristol. They took to the open fields, and thousands of colliers and peasants stood weeping around them. Mr. Wesley describes the genius of the movement in these words: "In 1729 my brother and I read the Bible; saw inward and outward holiness therein; followed after it and incited others so to do. In 1737 we saw this holiness come by faith. In 1738 we saw we must be justified before we are sanctified. But still holiness was our point, inward and outward holiness. God then thrust us out to raise a holy people."

Such a Divine and Scriptural energy must gather societies even within the rule of the Church. The Societies, rejected by the Clergy, and persecuted, must have instructors; so began the Methodist itinerancy, and the lay service of local preaching. Compelled of circumstances and so led of Providence in due time, exhorters, class leaders, Official Boards and Trust Boards came into their several places. In 1739 Mr. Wesley opened the old Foundry in London for his meetings, and organized in it his first class. The same year the first Methodist Chapel in the world was built at Bristol. In 1744 was held the first Conference—a meeting of the itinerants for consultation and arrangement of fields of labour. And that first little Conference was the seed from which sprang the hundreds of strong Conferences that now fill the earth; and that feeble class in

the Foundry was the germ of the thousands of class meetings that now sing and pray, relate their religious experience, and triumph by faith in the thousands of churches all around the globe.

In his aggressive evangelism in the year 1758 Mr. Wesley visited Ireland, where in the County of Limerick, he found a Teutonic community which for their Protestantism had been driven out of the Palatinate on the Rhine by Louis XIV. The great Marlborough sheltered them, and like many other refugees from bigotry and tyranny they found an asylum under Britain's flag, and by their industry and ingenuity added to Britain's wealth. How marvelous is the Providence of God! How evident are the dealings and guidance of His hand! These people, converted under the labours of Mr. Wesley and his itinerants, laid the foundations of Methodism in the United States and Canada. They were the Emburys, Hecks, Switzers, Detlors, Vandusens, Dulmages, Lawrences, and many other representative families which made bone and sinew for the Colonies before the Revolutionary War; and, true to the Crown and flag that had protected them, bore that flag onward into the northern wilds and gave us by their sturdy self-sacrificing loyalty our good Dominion. As the Puritans of Plymouth Rock gave form and vigour to the laws and institutions of the United States, so did these United Empire Loyalists impart shape and strength to our Canadian Commonwealth.

Under the patronage of the British Government these Teutons at various intervals came over to America and settled largely in New York and vicinity. As was natural and easy, religious fervour abated, but in 1766 the little community, aroused by the appeals of Barbara Heck, renewed their devotion and started upon a march of evangelization and organization through the years and over the continents; yea, through all the centuries and throughout all lands. So, both in Britain and America, Methodism owes much to consecrated and intelligent womanhood. Under God, Susannah Wesley in England and Barbara Heck in the United States sounded the key-note; and their faithful successors, a great company of women, have had much to do with the anthem and chorus. Whatever other forms of Christianity may say of women or allot to them, no wonder Methodism believes in their "talking in meetings," working in the churches and sharing in the bravest, highest, and broadest philanthropies of this human race. From 1769, onward, Mr. Wesley, in response to calls from America, supplied the opening opportunities of the western world as best he could with preachers. Heroic souls, devoted missionaries, carried the Gospel through the forests and kept it well in advance of the cabins of the settlers.

In 1784, both in England and America, after the growing and prayerful convictions of years, and under the plainest indications of Divine Providence, Mr. Wesley was compelled at length by the attitude of the Established Church and the results of the American Revolution, to duly organize his Societies by definite action into the Churchly form—under the Conference and Poll Deed in England, and under Episcopal bond and direction in America. He thus provided the parent stock, the British Wesleyan Methodist Church on the Eastern Continent, and the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Western Continent. And what will deserve notice is the fact that the ecclesiastical policy of Methodism in the United States has grown to be thoroughly British and constitutional in its character; while in Britain it far more closely resembles the democratic arrangements of the American Republic.

Both of these main bodies, from occasions that have arisen, political and ecclesiastical, and from principles that have been in conflict, have put forth healthy shoots which have been nourished into powerful and fruitful branches. One would scarcely expect that a Church which, under Providential inspiration, arose out of the body of the people with just enough of the clerical element to transmit ecclesiastical life and orders, would be slow to recognize the rights of laymen in the management of affairs. Yet it seemed necessary to make a special strike for liberty, and in 1797, under Alexander Kilham, the Methodist New Connexion was established, mainly on the claim for lay representation in District meetings and annual Conferences. Again, it appears strange that a zealous people, who began their work by preaching everywhere in the open air, should deny to their toilers the privilege of open air preaching. Yet in 1810 the Primitive Methodist body arose

asserting and exercising this right and proving its value as of yore in the conversion of thousands. Ecclesiastical and clerical assumption anywhere in this world is just one of the things which need to be most closely watched. Again, in 1815, to meet pressing demands of spiritual destitution, and to elicit the sympathies and activities of the toiling masses, especially in Wales, the Bible Christians sprang into being, using the same agency of open air preaching and utilizing the same element of power in lay ministry and representation; proving further the Scripturalness and efficiency of the employment of women in the grand domain of Evangelism. There were other offshoots in England, but the several bodies named are the only ones that appreciably affected Methodism in Canada.

To Methodism in Canada, then, we may again turn our attention. We have seen that in 1791 it was organically planted from the United States. This, of course, brought it under the Districts and Conferences of United States Methodism and under the Episcopal form of government with which, in Ontario and Quebec, it continued in full official and vital connection till 1828. In that year, by mutual agreement, it took organic form with a view to the same polity as an independent Canadian Church. Before carrying these chronicles onward from 1828 we should dwell for a little upon the formative forces and events of, say, the preceding forty years. To call this the wilderness life of the Church would scarcely be a faithful description, though there were no doubt many wanderings, many privations and hardships, and there were also many victories and great strength and glory. The political and national movements of the times gave colourings to events, let loose forces that bore heavily upon the Church of God in all its branches, and raised questions in religious enterprises and relationships which were not always easy of settlement.

The very connection of the Methodists in Canada with their brethren in the United States was often and for many years the source of much trouble. It was easy to raise a cry against even loyal people who had such ecclesiastical alliances. After the Revolutionary War the political atmosphere was always explosive, and in the conflict of 1812-15 there was, of course, all the violence, destruction and hate of actual explosion. Rancour cut deep the wounds that, perhaps, were never healed. Besides this, Canada was in the cauldron of her own agitations. Colonial administration at home was inefficient; constitutional and responsible government was locally ill-understood and was worse applied; anything like Dominion autonomy or Provincial rights was unknown even in name. Arbitrary governors and their juntos of favourites had almost a free hand in building up Family Compacts and Church establishments, and could readily turn the Royal bounty in full force to affect their unpatriotic purposes. Privations and disabilities were inflicted without stint or compunction upon those who were not in the favoured circles. A Bill, the very necessity of which might require explanation, was introduced to allow Methodist ministers to solemnize matrimony in Upper Canada, but though passed by the Assembly, it was rejected by the Legislative Council. This was but a sample of the spirit and policy of the times. These same Methodists, United Empire Loyalists, were branded as disloyal by those in the high places of Church and State, and denied the right of possession of land for the erection of churches. Bishop Strachan's claim that the Clergy Reserves, set apart by the Constitutional Act of 1791 on the organization of the Government of Canada, for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, belonged wholly to the Church of England, long kept the land in a ferment, and so contributed largely to a condition of things that culminated in the rebellion of 1837.

Notwithstanding difficulties, privations, and opposition, Methodism advanced apace. The very struggles built up men and women of heroic character. New people had come to the Northern wilds seeking freedom under the flag of England. They were here to lay the foundations of a nation, and were not to be turned aside from their purpose. They had faith in God and the Christian religion, in the British Empire and in their own right arms, and were not to be brought under heavier oppressions than they had dreamed of in the Colonies to the south. At the New York Methodist Conference of 1794, Canada was set off as a separate district, comprising Oswegatchie, Bay of Quinte and Niagara Circuits, and covering

nearly the whole of Upper Canada. In that year there were 334 members; in the next year 483. In 1801 the work had so extended that ten preachers were appointed to the Canada District. There were two new Circuits—Ottawa and Upper Canada—and a membership of 1,159 on the list. In 1810 there was an Upper Canada District of the Genesee Conference, with Henry Ryan as Presiding Elder, and a Lower Canada District of the New York Conference, with Nathan Bangs as Presiding Elder. These two men subsequently figured largely in Methodism, the latter in the United States, the former in Canada. On the 1st of June, 1812, President Madison, in his message to Congress, recommended war with Great Britain; on the 18th, war was formally declared. The Canadian Government issued an order that all American citizens should leave the country by July 3rd. Just prior to the war, the statistics for both Canadas included two Districts and eleven Circuits, with a membership of 2,863.

From all these conditions it could not but be that national strife and political animosity should put a strain upon ecclesiastical relationship. While many loved the ministers sent from the United States, and loved their doctrine and polity, and their devotion to the spiritual interests of the churches, there could not but arise a conviction, and during years of hostilities, even a determination, that national ecclesiastical alliances should look in the same direction. During the War of 1812-15 Henry Ryan, above spoken of, prosecuted and sustained the work as best he could with the few helpers available, holding a Conference in 1812 near Lundy's Lane, one of the battlefields; in 1813 at Ancaster; and in 1814 at the High Shore meeting house near Picton. At the close of the War the reported membership was 1,765. Organization was again effected in two Districts, viz., Upper Canada District, under Presiding Elder, William Case, so prominent and so favourably known during the early years of Canadian Methodism; and Lower Canada under Henry Ryan. In 1817 the Genesee Conference held its session at Elizabethtown, near Brockville, under the Presidency of Bishop George; and in 1820 at Lundy's Lane, Bishop George again presiding. The report of the latter year gave 2 districts, 17 circuits, 28 travelling preachers, 47 local preachers, 65 exhorters and 5,557 members. In 1822 the membership was 5,601, and in 1825 it was 6,875, thus indicating steady growth in the societies. The Conference of the latter year, 1825, was presided over by Bishop Hedding and admitted two men, Egerton Ryerson and James Richardson, who subsequently occupied distinguished positions both in Canada and Canadian Methodism. In 1826 there were three districts with 7,501 members, and Thomas Madden, William Case and Philander Smith, all eminent

The Rev. William Case.

men in Methodism as presiding elders. In 1827 the Conference was held in the Old First Church, Hamilton, Bishop Hedding again presiding. The reported membership was 8,633.

The political antipathies of which we have spoken, and likely other causes, led in 1824 to the organization of the work into a separate Annual Conference known as the "Canada Conference"; and in 1828, on representations from the Canada Conference, measures were taken by the General Conference of the Methodist Episco-

pal Church in the United States to organize Canadian Methodism into a distinct Church. For the preceding decade, and even further back, as was natural enough, British Wesleyan ministers had been sent forward from the English Conference to occupy places in Canada as a dependency of the British Crown. These Methodist ministers from England and the United States were naturally much in conflict, and the Societies were disturbed and hindered in growth by their contentions. In 1820 a compact was formed betwixt the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the British Wesleyan Conference as to the territory to be occupied under their respective jurisdictions, Lower Canada going to the latter and Upper Canada to the former. Failure of strict observance of the terms of the compact, disagreements in these matters among Methodist people and preachers themselves, and perhaps more than all the attacks made upon them as defenders of civil and religious liberty by the ruling powers of the country in Church and State, turned the whole stream of Methodist history aside into rough and stormy channels.

It was easy to raise the cry of disloyalty and foreign control, whose echoes have not yet died in our ears. No less a personage than Bishop Strachan of the English Church entered the field, calm history compels us to say, with misleading charts of Church statistics, and with statements that were vigourously characterized at the time as "ungenerous, unfounded and false." The Legislative Assembly reported upon many similar allegations that : " No one doubts that the Methodists are as loyal as any of His Majesty's subjects." A right in the proceeds of lands set apart for a Protestant Clergy; a right to solemnize matrimony and to hold land for Church purposes ; truly, when it is necessary to fight to the death for such rights, it is a terrible conflict. Little wonder amid all these distractions that in 1834 we find for the larger part the Methodism of the country under Presidential form in connection with the British Conference ; while a fragment wholly independent of United States' Methodism preferred their former Episcopal organization.

In the years intervening between 1828 and 1834, Fisk, Bangs and Stratton, all from the United States, had been successively elected as Bishop under the arrangements of 1828, but had, no doubt largely on account of the state of feeling in the country, declined the office. Had the choice been made from Canadian Methodism or British Methodism no question the results would have been very different, as also the course of the overflowing stream of this ever-widening and deepening movement. Political sentiments tinge Church history; and ecclesiastical forces assist in modifying and modelling political institutions. There is, and there may well be, a jealousy among all peoples that their religious power and authority should come from foreign nations and kingdoms. Liberty has been more than once endangered by such an influence ; and our own times and country on such issues as the School Question give us proof. Considerations of this kind deterred acceptance of the offered Bishopric, but the very offer of it showed how strong were the Church ties. During this interregnum also the *Christian Guardian* was established, and Upper Canada Academy, afterward Victoria University, founded. So the stormy time of battle for political autonomy and civil rights was the favourable time for laying deep and firm the foundations of institutions that promote and guard them. Also during these troublous years, in 1829, Elder Ryan, who had so faithfully stood by Church and country in trial and conflict, organized the Canadian Wesleyan Church, which was subsequently united to the Methodist New Connection of England.

The half century from 1834 to 1883, the year of the latest union, is with little exception a period of intense activity in the Methodism of Canada, in evangelization, foundation of institutions, separations and unions, and all the time with increasing moral and spiritual power and enlarging prosperity. The Wesleyan section has continually been the largest body, and despite many changes and some discord attained through a splendid career the position held in 1874. Divided from the British Conference in 1840, reunited with it in 1847, receiving the addition of Eastern Canadian Methodism in 1854, and in 1874 uniting with the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America, and with the Canadian Conference of the Methodist New Connection

Church ; fifty years from the time of the organization of the Canada Conference in 1824, the Methodist Church of Canada (as it was named to harmonize and embrace all sections that had come into this first Union, and to cover the Dominion), had 718 Ministers, over 75,000 members, and church property to the value of nearly three and one-half million dollars.

In conformity with the polity of Wesleyan Methodism in Britain, the Presidents of the Conference and the Connection were elected annually, as were also the Chairmen of Districts who were stationed year by year in their respective districts. The itinerancy was kept in vigourous operation under the limit of the three years' term ; the Missionary Society was aggressive and successful in its operations; the Publishing House grew to great strength and influence, and the educational institutions raised many of the ministry and laity to seats of power in the country and the Church. In the editorial chair, the presidency of Colleges and Conferences, the Missionary secretaryships and other official positions there were many mighty men, while the pastorate was adorned and strengthened with faithful and earnest labourers in the Lord's vineyard. A Church that had its Punshon, Wood, Rice, Williams, Ryerson, Nelles and their peers could not, under God, but be a leader in the hosts of Israel. There had indeed been a wonderful growth from the day when the Canada Conference gathered in its 6,000 members, thirty-six preachers and about $25,000 worth of Church property. And besides smaller communities, there had grown up alongside of the larger body the Methodist Episcopal, the Primitive Methodist and the Bible Christian Churches—thrifty stems from the vigourous parent stock in England and America.

We have seen that all the Methodism of Canada was originally Episcopal in its government, according to the forms instituted by Mr. Wesley for his work in America; that in 1824 Canadian Methodism was made a separate Annual Conference under the jurisdiction and control of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States; and that in 1828, by agreement on both sides, Canadian Methodism was organized into an independent Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1834 there came out of a period of stress and confusion the Wesleyan Methodist Church (the stronger body), united to the British Wesleyan Conference; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, struggling to maintain the status of independent organization under the Episcopal form contemplated in 1828. John Reynolds was appointed the first Bishop in 1834. In 1845 the Rev. J. Allen, of the Black River Conference, New York, was elected an Associate, the Canadians not having yet learned that a Bishop from abroad was a besetting trouble. Their successors in this office were the Rev. Philander

The Rev. Philander Smith.

Smith, appointed in 1847, the Rev. James Richardson, in 1858, and the Rev. Albert Carman, in 1874.

The Districts were under the supervision of travelling Presiding Elders appointed by the Bishop, thus giving efficiency to the itinerant system, and wide and strong administration of discipline. A Connectional journal, the *Canada Christian Advocate*, was founded in 1845, and an educational institution, Albert College, Belleville, afterward Albert University, was organized in

1857. Alma College, for the higher education of women, was established at St. Thomas in 1881. From a membership of 1,243 in 1835, with twenty-one ministers, this Church in 1883 had risen to a membership of nearly 27,000, with 228 ministers, 24,000 Sabbath School scholars, and Church property worth over a million and a half dollars.

Primitive Methodism was planted in Canada in 1829 at Little York, now Toronto, by three faithful laymen from England, Messrs. Lawson, Walker, and Thompson. In 1830 Mr. Watkins, and in 1833 Messrs. Partington and Lyle, came over as ministers to aid the spreading societies. In 1844 there were ten travelling preachers, eighty-three local preachers, 1,176 members and twelve churches. In 1849 the membership was 1,526; in 1853, 2,326; and in 1883 (the year of the Union), 8090. There were over 9,000 Sabbath Schools, and Church property valued at nearly a half million of dollars. The lay element was a powerful factor in the Church Government, and was fully recognized in the constitution framed by the uniting Churches in 1883.

Direct missionary enterprise was the origin of the Bible Christian Church in Canada. In 1831 John Glass was sent to Canada West and Francis Metherall to Prince Edward Island. John H. Eynon and his wife, Elizabeth Dart, raised the standard in Cobourg, Ontario, and pressing onward with zeal and daring soon reached many of the adjacent settlements and amid hardships laid the foundations of flourishing societies and churches. The first Canadian Conference was constituted at Columbus in 1855 with twenty-one preachers, and 2,186 members. At the time of the Union in 1883 there were 181 Churches and fifty-five parsonages valued at $400,000, eighty ministers and about 7,500 members. So that every one of the four uniting bodies had been growing through the years and every one contributed in polity, property, membership, and in moral and spiritual power to the united Canadian Methodism of the present hour. What were Societies at times almost antagonistic in their efforts became an united Church with improved facilities, nobler purposes, higher hopes and grander achievements.

Canadian Methodism as now before the public eye is one Church from the Atlantic to the Pacific and beyond the seas in Newfoundland, Japan and China; with a membership of a quarter of a million, which means a constituency of about a million; with fully as many Sabbath School scholars and teachers; with about a quarter of a million dollars of annual contribution to its missionary work; and with some $12,000,000 worth of Church property. Its Publishing Houses are among the first in the Dominion, and its Universities, Colleges and Schools have achieved and attained first rank. Catholic in its spirit, broad in its sympathies, earnest in its faith, unremitting in labour, national and patriotic in its relation to the British Empire, and cosmopolitan in its outlook and sacrifice for the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, with confidence and hope it accepts the future beckoning onward, and opening its opportunities amid sister churches for the evangelization of the world.

METHODISM IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

THE REV. T. WATSON SMITH, D.D.

FOR what reason Lieut-Governor Franklin of Nova Scotia, in 1770, sought English settlers for the Province from the East Riding of Yorkshire is not quite clear. He himself was a native of the South of England who had come to Halifax about 1752, and had engaged in mercantile life. In 1759 he had been elected to the House of Assembly; a few years later was appointed to the Council; and in 1776 was made Lieut.-Governor of the Province. Whatever his motive, the fact remains that through his proposals there arrived in Nova Scotia during the years 1770-75 a large number of Yorkshire families, whose descendants are prominent at present in religious, literary, legislative, legal and business circles throughout the Canadian Dominion, and indeed far beyond it. It is not improbable that the 20,000 acres granted to Franklin at Nappan, after the generous fashion of that day, had something to do with his policy. Certain, at least, it is that most of these North of England families purchased lands in the County of Cumberland, which then included the present New Brunswick counties of Westmoreland and Albert. A few only broke off from the main body and found homes in Halifax, Hants and Annapolis counties.

Michael Franklin's judgment as to a recruiting ground was soon proved to be exceedingly wise. The Englishmen who crossed the ocean were rich in common sense, if not always in culture; were as hardy and thrifty as the New England, German and Scotch-Irish settlers who had preceded them; were possessed of considerable money for that day, and—an important fact on the very verge of the Revolutionary War—were beyond suspicion in the matter of loyalty to Great Britain. This could not have been said of all the earlier settlers, for many of them were known to have a decided twist in the neck towards Washington and his compatriots. So strong was this bias, that at the beginning of the struggle one Congregational pastor after another left the Province for the revolting colonies, till the churches of that order were nearly all scattered. To Michael Franklin himself, as Administrator of the Government, and to the Yorkshire men whom he brought over the seas, England was greatly indebted for the quiet preserved in Nova Scotia at a time when its possession by rebel forces must have imperiled British supremacy on the whole American continent. It was observed but the other day, by a gentleman descended from one of these Yorkshire families, that to them, in great measure, Britain is indebted for her retention of Canada. To them, in part, Colonel John Allen, one of the leaders of the attack upon Fort Cumberland, owed the defeat of that scheme and the failure of his further plan to follow the capture of the fort by an immediate march upon Halifax.

Disarmed though they were by the rebels and plundered by them, and but little acquainted with warfare, tradition credits these English settlers with the use of "arguments" much more convincing than moral suasion at such times. It is vouched for as a fact that Richard John Uniacke, a young Irishman, afterwards Attorney-General of Nova Scotia and one of the most prominent men of the Province, when captured among the Machias party and taken to Halifax on suspicion of complicity with the rebels, was "bound and thrown into an ox-cart and driven to the Fort" by a young Yorkshireman, afterwards of Dorchester. Certainly no mere negative loyalty would have called forth such encomiums as were bestowed upon them by John Eagleson—the Episcopal missionary, Michael Franklin himself, and his successor, Lieut.-Governor Arbuthnot.

In another respect Governor Franklin acted

THE REV. DR. EGERTON RYERSON.

wisely in enticing these Yorkshiremen across the sea. Among them were the earliest Methodists of the Canadian Dominion. Possibly Franklin may have "builded better that he knew," but it is not by any means probable that the man who deeded the old Protestant burying-ground at Windsor, about which Dr. H. Youle Hind has given the public an interesting volume, to the "Christian people of the said township," can have been a bigot. If Methodism be what the great Scotch divine, Thomas Chalmers, called it: "Christianity in earnest," then the arrival of any friends of Wesley could be nothing short of a blessing. These Yorkshiremen were not all Methodists, but a good proportion, if not the majority, were. A Presbyterian minister of Truro, in reporting a visit to Cumberland in 1791, said: "The Methodists bear the sway, most of them from Yorkshire." Many of them, at their firesides in the new world, recalled the visits of Wesley to their former neighbourhoods if not to their homes; the names of John Nelson, John Manners and Duncan Wright, and other early Methodist heroes were household words among them; a few even recalled the blessing that Wesley had pronounced upon them before they sailed; and one, whose descendants are prominent in Halifax Methodism to-day, was wont to tell how John Wesley had made an out-door desk of his broad shoulders, and had whispered to him as the leader in song, "Sing faster, John!" The names of Dixon, Trueman, Chapman, Fawcett, Weldon, Read, Smith, Black, Bulmer, Atkinson, Trenholm, Humphrey, Oxley, Bowser, Donkin, and many others are common to the later as well as to the earlier Methodism of the Maritime Provinces. The Rev. John Read, a former pastor of the Grafton Street church in Halifax, and now of Moncton, N.B., claims for the family of Stephen Read, his grandfather, who came from Flamborough, Yorkshire, in 1770, and settled at Nappan, the distinction of having been the first Methodist family in Nova Scotia, or, in fact, in the whole Dominion. William Black preached in Stephen Read's house in 1782, during one of his earliest evangelistic tours, and the "prophet's chamber," which the good man added soon after that time to his dwelling, sheltered among others, in 1791, William P. Early, a discouraged young preacher, just from the Southern States, whose depression vanished ere he left the hospitable home of "Mr. Read, a Methodist who loved and feared the Lord."

These Cumberland Methodists gave Canada her first Methodist evangelist, William Black, of Amherst. Black's father was a Scotchman from Paisley, his mother a member of a good Yorkshire family, and the son was born in Huddersfield. Converted in Nova Scotia, in 1779, in his nineteenth year, he left his father's house as soon as he had reached his majority, and commenced

The Rev. William Black.

those evangelistic labours which made him everywhere known and caused him to be revered and remembered by tens of thousands as "Bishop" Black. Henry Alleine, the celebrated "New Light" preacher, was then at the height of his career. Alleine had no doubt a work to do—the work of breaking up the established order of things, and this work he in some cases did only too faithfully. More than once Black and he, crossing each other's paths, expended ammunition in attack or defence which ought to have been

used in a combined assault upon the evil which so often exists under various forms in a newly settled country.

Black was often sorely grieved by Alleine's efforts to break up the Societies he had formed, yet he possessed his soul in patience. One day, however, when patience seemed exhausted, he wrote in his Journal: "O Satan, a wicked man could not have served thy purpose so well!" The opportunity for conflict, however, was brief. Alleine, in August, 1783, sailed from Windsor for New England to seek further preparation for his work, but in reality to die. Black went on in his evangelistic careeer until the once solitary labourer could see in every direction in the Maritime Provinces churches of which he had been founder and the earliest pastor. In 1789 he sailed in a vessel of Philip Marchinton's for Philadelphia, and in that city received ordination in company with John and James Mann, who had come from New York to Shelburne with the Loyalists in 1783, the ordination parchments of all bearing the signatures of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. Very precious to the scattered Methodists of the Province must have been the opportunity of receiving the Lord's Supper, when persons from Horton and Halifax were ready to meet their brethren at Windsor and Newport for the sacred purpose, on Black's return. The Gospel message was precious in days when Black stood on a table near Robert Barry's tent in Shelburne to preach the first sermon ever preached in the old Loyalist town; when he walked forty-five miles to Windsor on Saturday to preach there on Sunday to people who had walked from Newport and elsewhere; and when he moved on foot from point to point in the Annapolis valley, or crossing to Parrsboro', took the River Hebert Route to Cumberland and Westmoreland, dependent in all directions upon the chance of finding a stray traveller as guide, or the help of some possible boat. Of the exposure in travelling in those days none can form any idea. More than one Methodist minister was on the point of perishing; one Episcopal minister was frozen to death in 1795, on his way from Chester to Windsor.

Black's efforts were not confined to Nova Scotia. In Prince Edward Island he preached the first Methodist sermon; in New Brunswick he was also the Methodist pioneer. In Newfoundland he organized the churches in the neighbourhood of Conception Bay, and was about to sail for Bermuda, when some unworthy sons of those beautiful islands conspired to prevent his departure. When on his way from Baltimore, Maryland, where the celebrated Christmas Conference had been held, he preached in Boston, Massachusetts, the first Methodist sermon ever heard in that city. At the Conference named, he met Dr. Coke, whom Methodists call the "Father of our Missions," and who thirty years later found a resting place in the Indian Ocean on his way to Ceylon as the leader of a party of missionaries. Grand thoughts respecting the Gospel for the world had no doubt been revolving in his mind at an earlier period, yet as Abel Stevens, one of the leading Methodist historians, has said: "He seemed to have received in North America that anointing of the missionary spirit which originated at last, through his agency, the whole Wesleyan missionary system. It was in Baltimore," adds Stevens, "that he heard the appeal of Black from Nova Scotia. He responded to it with his whole heart, begging money for a mission to that Province, ordaining preachers for it, and especially commissioning Garretson for it. Upon his return to Europe, this and similar missionary opportunities kept his soul kindled with interest, and were the themes of his appeals to the people of England, Scotland and Ireland."

William Black first preached in Halifax on June 11th, 1782. His fourth sermon was given at the house of Mr. Wells, probably a Yorkshireman. Nearly three years later, Freeborn Garretson, a young minister from Virginia, sent by Dr. Coke in response to Black's appeal, commenced a short Provincial ministry in Halifax, in a house capable of containing three hundred people, which a leading Methodist, Philip Marchinton, a Loyalist from Philadelphia, had rented at ten dollars a month and fitted up with seats. There, both Black and Garretson preached. A few months later, Marchinton, through a friend, offered to raise five hundred pounds for a Methodist church if Wesley would undertake to raise five hundred more. Wesley wrote in approval of "Bro. Marchinton's noble proposal," but dared

not guarantee the sum asked for. Marchinton then, in the spring of 1786, proceeded to erect a church capable of accommodating one thousand hearers, upon his own property on Argyle Street. Black preached the first sermon in it on Easter Sunday morning, 1787.

In Marchinton's meeting-house some men of precious memory in Methodism preached. Freeborn Garretson, who met with a pleasing reception from Dr. Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's, was frequently there. His stay in Nova Scotia was short, but in the United States he became a recognized and trusted leader in the Church, and died at a good old age in his beautiful home on the Hudson, where his wife, a member of the well-known Livingston family, had long resided. Abraham J. Bishop, too, preached there his first sermons on this side of the Atlantic. A gentleman from Nova Scotia, interested in the French at Memramcook, had asked the English Methodists to send out someone able to preach in the French language. Bishop, of Jersey, a local preacher, volunteered for the work. A letter of introduction from the Under-Secretary of State procured him an early interview with Governor Parr, and Bishop Inglis offered him Episcopal ordination, which, by advice of his friends, he declined. The pressing claims of St. John, N.B., however, led him thither, and from that place, where his ministry was most successful, he was ordered away to the Island of Grenada, to preach to the French-speaking negroes. From thence he was soon carried off by fever. Probably no more saintly man ever trod our streets. From the proceeds of the investment of his property, bequeathed to the English Missionary Society, the managers of that society only the other day made special grants.

And in that place, too, Duncan McColl, the founder of the Methodist churches about St. Andrew's and St. Stephen, first met the Methodists of Halifax. Thirteen years before he had come to Halifax from Scotland as a pay-sergeant in the Seventy-Fourth Regiment. At Penobscot Bay he had had to carry a message during an action to another part of the field. The enemy, suspecting his purpose, fired on him. The bullets fell around him like hailstones, and the very hair was cut from his head and his clothing was reduced to rags. Three volleys were fired; then the firing suddenly ceased. Years after, McColl was visiting at the house of the gentleman in Maine who had been in command of the enemy. The host told the incident, and said, ignorant of the fact that McColl was the man: "When I saw after the third volley that he was neither killed nor wounded, I immediately ordered the men to cease firing at him, and said, 'God has some work for that man to do on earth—let him alone.'" To preach the Gospel was the work, and faithfully he did it, in Halifax as well as elsewhere. This church, which was used for a time for services conducted by Marchinton himself, then occupied by a Presbyterian congregation, and still later by the seceders from St. Paul's under Dr. Twining, has entirely disappeared. Within its walls, on November 27th, 1788, William Black preached the funeral sermon of Marchinton's wife, Elizabeth, in the presence of about eight hundred persons.

On his return from Newfoundland in 1791 Black found his flock in Halifax without a place for public worship. Unworthy conduct had led to the exercise of Church discipline upon Marchinton, the wealthiest member of the rising church, and awakened a determinatian on his part neither to rent nor sell the building to his former friends. Driven again to a dwelling and shut out by prejudice from any Government grant, they resolved to appeal to the public for aid in the erection of a new sanctuary, and their appeal met a ready response. Persons familiar with the Halifax of a century ago would recognize the names of leading men on the subscription list. Alexander Anderson, subscriber for the largest sum, was a Scotchman. While attending the University of Aberdeen in 1777, he was asked by a Mr. Cort, who was about taking his family out to Miramichi, to accompany them as tutor. After four years there, spent "in the midst of alarms," he had come to Halifax and obtained a good position in the dockyard. In 1786 he began to hear Methodist preachers, and became charmed with their preaching. "I am just," he wrote to a friend in England, "from hearing one of that description who preached near Blackadar's. His instruction was great, but his audince small." In spite of the reproach certain to be incurred at

that day by the act, he became a Methodist and a pillar of the church, until in 1833 his venerable form ceased to be seen. He was indebted for a number of years to the Christian counsel of the Rev. John Newton, Vicar of Olney and friend of the poet Cowper, conveyed in an annual letter. Some of these letters are still extant. Another name demands a passing notice—that of Richard John Uniacke—because of the note which accompanied his subscription of three guineas. This note is interesting because it proves that Mr. Uniacke's youthful experience among the loyal Methodist farmers of Fort Lawrence had left no unfavourable impression, and that he had learned to hold the Methodists irresponsible for extravagances which some others—Bishop Inglis among them—charged upon the Methodists equally with the "New Lights." Mr. Uniacke was the father of the Rev. R. F. Uniacke, for many years the Rector of St. George's parish in Halifax. After expressing regrets for absence at the time of Mr. Anderson's call and assuming a knowledge of its purpose, he went on to say:

"The experience we have had in this community of the good effect produced by the assembling of persons of your persuasion for the purposes of public worship, gives me good hopes for the zeal manifested by many in support thereof, that its good effect will be further felt, and that in time it may extend itself as far into the country parts as to produce a return of that decency and decorum so necessary to be observed on all solemn occasions; which, I am sorry to say, in so many instances in the country parts of this Province has been sadly violated by the mistaken methods pursued by ignorant persons whose errors have arisen from an over-heated imagination and the want of improved teachers to lead them to moderate their passions, and to instruct them that the worship of a Supreme Being does not require the neglect of the established duties of civil society."

Sergeant John Watts, through whom seventeen pounds were received from British soldiers, was the son of a captain of infantry who had fought under the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden. His father was also a first cousin of Dr. Isaac Watts, the celebrated hymn-writer. As a Methodist local preacher John Watts stood in the pulpit of the new church after its completion. In the spring of 1793, the 21st North British Fusiliers, in which corps he served, left Halifax for the West Indies under H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, and at the storming of Fort Bourbon, Martinique, John Watts was among the slain. His widow and her two children returned to Halifax, where the son, George, was brought under the notice of the Duke of Kent, who, pleased with the boy, immediately placed him on board a man-of-war as midshipman, and made him an allowance for several years from his private purse. Though forty times under fire and seven times wounded—on the last occasion so severely as to unfit him for further active service—the son lived to realize, as a Vice-Admiral, the dreams of his boyhood.

Thus encouraged, the Methodist leaders pushed their enterprise as rapidly as possible. Edward G. Wisdom was the builder. Methodist soldiers prepared the foundation on a lot on Argyle Street nearly opposite Marchinton's chapel. In a bundle of old documents labelled "Zoar Chapel papers" is the agreement between the trustees and the builders, carefully drawn up and signed and sealed by hands long since turned to dust. William Jessop, a young minister from Delaware, and John Watts, the brave Sergeant, were witnesses. While awaiting the erection of the new building, Halifax Methodists as a matter of necessity anticipated the "Forward movement" of modern days under the Reverends Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearce, by hiring the theatre for their services. In was in that building on Argyle Street, known later as the Duke of Kent's Theatre and afterwards used by Walter Bromley for a school on the Lancaster system, that there took place the conversion of a young man belonging to one of the most influential families of the Province. This was Joshua Newton, a son of Henry Newton—first Collector of Customs at Halifax and a brother of Gilbert Stuart Newton, an artist of distinction whose paintings may be seen at South Kensington and other British Art Galleries. While at Charlottetown a short time as Collector, Joshua Newton helped Benjamin Chappell and the handful of Methodists looking to him as leader; and during a long life at Liverpool, in a similar position, was regarded as belonging to the highest type of the true Christian gentleman. His younger brother, Francis, who soon followed him into the Meth-

odist Church, was lost, early in the present century, when on his way to the United States.

The new church was opened November 25th, 1792. William Black was away in Baltimore, where he had been summoned by Dr. Coke, who had resolved to appoint him chairman of the St. Kitts district, which included a large number of the West India Islands. He attended the Conference in Antigua, and came back in the spring to remove his family, but the determined protests of the ministers in Nova Scotia prevailed, and the removal was indefinitely postponed. In his absence the opening services were conducted by William Jessop, one of the best beloved of the ministers whom Black had secured in the United States. Jessop preached the first sermon from Genesis 19, 23: "The sun was risen on the earth when Lot entered into Zoar." Thenceforth the new building was known as "Zoar Chapel."

This building—the "Argyle Street Church," as it came to be called in time, was considerably enlarged in 1815. Until 1834 it was the only Methodist church in Halifax. It was the first Methodist church in Nova Scotia, but not the first in the Maritime Provinces. The first Methodist church in the territory of the present Canadian Dominion was opened at Sackville, N.B., during the summer of 1790. The "Stone Chapel" at Point de Bute was probably opened just a little later, the ground on which it stands having been deeded to John Wesley in December, 1788. Duncan McColl's chapel at St. Stephen, built in 1790, was not then Conference property. During the summer of 1792 the first Methodist church in the Upper Provinces was erected near Adolphustown, Prince Edward County, Ontario, where it still stands, though no longer used for purposes of worship. Early in 1792 the Methodists of St. John purchased the building in which the Episcopalians had worshipped previous to the completion of Trinity Church in 1791. At Windsor, a church begun in 1792 was not finished until 1811. At Liverpool, the first service in the church was held in June, 1795; at Newport, the building long known as "John Smith's Chapel," because situated on John Smith's farm, and because in it the sons and daughters of that old Yorkshire singer gave rare music, was put up in 1794, at which date Horton Methodists had also provided themselves with a sanctuary of their own. Several of these old churches were used principally in summer months, the larger dwellings of the neighbourhood being resorted to in the winter. In the Shelburne Methodist Church, built in 1804, no stove was placed until 1825. In Trinity Episcopal Church, St. John, no stove was seen until 1802, ten years after its opening. In winter, the Rector and some of his hearers kept on fur coats.

The opening of Zoar Chapel marked a new era in Halifax Methodism. Regard for the purity of the membership, with the exercise of discipline in the face of consequences of no trifling kind, had won for its adherents the respect of the public, and had drawn towards them several persons who in that age of lax morals had determined to lead a really Christian life. In the number of these was John Jost, a German, whose children took a prominent place in later days in the Church of their father's adoption, one as a minister, another as one of her leading laymen in Halifax, a third as the devoted wife of a Methodist minister, and two other sons as leading laymen in the eastern parts of the Province. At the present day the name has a worthy representative in the Rev. Dr. Cranswick Jost, one of Provincial Methodism's most scholarly men. Another family which then cast in its lot with the membership at Zoar Chapel was that of David Seabury, a brother of Samuel Seabury, D.D., the first Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. At the close of the Revolutionary war the family had come to Annapolis County, which county Mr. Seabury for a time represented in the House of Assembly. One daughter went to England as the wife of Joshua Marsden, an English Methodist missionary to Nova Scotia, a second returned to the United States as the wife of William Grandin, another Methodist minister, and in 1806 reverses in business led the other members of the family back to New York.

In that old church many visitors from the country districts of the Province found it pleasant to worship. For representatives from various counties it was a favourite Sunday resort during the sessions of the Assembly. From the diaries, yet extant, of Simeon Perkins (a Congregational-

ist when he left Connecticut for Liverpool, but later a leading Methodist and a representative of Queen's for thirty-five years) one may judge how he, and John Homer, and the Sargeants of Barrington and others were welcomed, as year after year they made their appearance. In the same list was John Allison, Member of the Assembly for Newport, one of whose relatives founded the Methodist educational institutions at Sackville, of which a grandson of John Allison, Dr. David Allison, is now the successful head. The reading of John Fletcher's works had scattered his Calvinistic predilections and sent him and his wife toward the Methodist Church, of which throughout life they proved worthy members. One day as the venerable John Sprott, of the Presbyterian Church, went up the pulpit stairs after the baptism of a babe to whom had been given the name of "John Allison", he was heard to repeat, "Very good name, very good name." The man who bore it certainly deserved the blessing of the peacemaker, for as magistrate he so successfully reconciled militant neighbours that his fees would not, it is said, meet the cost of the office stationery. And no less cheerily would the Methodist sisters at Zoar meet John Allison's sister, Rebecca (wife of Colonel Crane, Member of the Assembly from Horton), who was the acknowledged centre of a group of godly women.

Others than legislators also occasionally looked in and listened and worshipped in the old church. Among these was Samuel Vetch Bayard, whose presence seemed marvellous to men and women who remembered him as he had arrived in the garrison as Major of the King's Orange Rangers in 1778, and one of the proudest and gayest officers of the day. With this character, he had gone to an estate at Wilmot, retiring on half pay when the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment was disbanded in 1802. In this new home, at first a favourite resort of the wealthy and gay, he was led by a train of happy circumstances to hear the Word of God and to believe. In response to a note Black called upon him, at his request preached at his residence, and rejoiced in his accession to the membership. Never was transformation more thorough. He even wrote to the Duke of Kent, who had returned to England, an account of the great change in his life. The Duke, who had not hesitated when in Halifax to give expression of his esteem for the Methodists, replied that it was not probable that he should again meet the Colonel on the field or in the ballroom, but asked to be remembered in his devotions. It has been supposed that this faithful letter of a former companion-in-arms had something to do with the reformation so evident in the later years of the Duke of Kent's life.

The three great gatherings in Annapolis County in 1817-19, similar to modern camp-meetings, took place through Colonel Bayard's influence. Of all visitors, none, perhaps, were received with more cordial greeting than Robert Barry and his sister, Elizabeth Hooze, wife of the surgeon of a disbanded Hessian regiment. Under Robert Barry's tent William Black spent his first night at Shelburne; from a table on his lot the same minister preached the first sermon ever preached in the old Loyalist town. His schooner was a sort of Methodist mission ship on the southern shore; mainly through his efforts the old Methodist church in Shelburne was erected, and the death of a child led his brother-in-law, Dr. John Hoose, to give for a burying-ground at Shelburne the lot now crowded with the dust of the Methodist dead. The interesting correspondence between John Wesley and Robert Barry was called forth by a Christmas incident. At the request of the Rector, Dr. Walter, Mr. Barry for a time had acted as "clerk," an arrangement which at length proved unfortunate for the Rector. The sermons of the pleasure-loving preacher were not heard with entire satisfaction by his Methodist listeners, but on the Christmas in question his very worldly counsels led Mr. Barry to announce as the closing hymn the first Psalm (Tate and Brady's version):

"How blest is he who ne'er consents
By ill advice to walk,
Who shuns the sinner's path, nor sits
Where men profanely talk."

The Rector and clerk, contrary to their usual custom, walked home apart that day, and shortly after the latter wrote to Wesley asking the appointment of a Methodist minister from Britain. About 1811 Robert Barry removed to Liverpool, where to a ripe old age he bore a reputation for rare goodness. The old church proved a Bethes-

da to many a British soldier. Several went from its fellowship to die with John Watts on West Indian battlefields. A regiment which sailed for Quebec in 1799 from Halifax contained twenty-six men from its membership. When the 34th left Halifax for New Brunswick there were in it about forty members of the Methodist Church. Another of the many converts in the old church and its schoolroom was Robert Cooney, afterwards a minister in both the Maritime and Upper Provinces. He had been in training for the Roman Catholic priesthood, but certain things he saw in the Bishop's course in relation to an election contest in New Brunswick so displeased him that he left his station and withdrew from the Church. Methodist ministers and laymen at Miramichi gave him their aid at this critical period. During special services in "Old Zoar," the publication of his "History of New Brunswick" called him to Halifax, and as a seeker of salvation he knelt one evening beside his Irish fellow-countryman, Francis Johnson, as Archibald Morton counselled them, and other friends offered prayer on their behalf. While Methodist pastor at Odelltown, Quebec, he saw his church turned into a fort in one of the severest fights of the Canadian rebellion, and found its doors, pews and pulpit cut by bullets, and its floors reddened by the life-blood of loyal militia.

Some splendid men looked down from the pulpit upon the audiences gathered in the old church. For nearly forty years William Black's benignant face gazed upon old and new friends there. The late Hon. S. L. Shannon, who remembered him well, says that "In the pulpit his appearance was truly apostolical. A round, rosy face, encircled with thin white hair, a benevolent smile and sweet voice were most attractive. Whenever my mind carries me back to those scenes, the vision of the Apostolic John in his old age addressing the church at Ephesus as his little children, comes up before me as I think of the good old man, the real father of Methodism in Halifax." There was William Jessop, an American preacher, and brother-in-law of Robert Barry, of Shelburne. "Jessop's Lamentation," a favourite funeral anthem in Stephen Humbert's collection of church music, published in St. John, commemorated the death of a favourite sister. After several years of hard and successful labour in various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, failing health sent him home to die. In Halifax, in particular, the news of his early death produced a profound impression. There was seen often in this old church in its earliest years the fine form of the gentlemanly Thomas Whitehead, another minister from the United States, whose talents were of a superior order. After his marriage to a Miss Andrews of Windsor he went into business, but removing to Ontario he returned to the ministry, took a high place as a man and minister in the hearts of his Canadian brethren, and so late as 1846 died at Brantford. There too Regan, and Boyd, and Fidler, and Wilson, and Early, and Lunsford, and other young preachers sent to Black's assistance from the middle and southern States, had preached more or less frequently. And often there were heard the strong voices of John and James Mann, of one of the old Dutch families of New York, and sons of a Lutheran mother. John had been in charge of the old John Street Methodist Church, New York, and had preached in it when the British had taken most of the churches for barracks or stables. James had had a narrow escape from death as a spy. John made a home in the neighbourhood of Burlington, Hants, where his descendants have been among leaders in the business enterprises of the country. James, who never married, was in Shelburne County (his earliest home and the place of his death), and in all other parts of the Lower Provinces as well, ever a welcomed guest. Few men have left a nobler record.

It was in Zoar Chapel that Halifax Methodists welcomed William Black when, in 1800, he arrived from England with four young ministers—Joshua Marsden, James Lowry, Thomas Olivant and William Bennett. It was war time, and as the crew would be required at the guns, the missionaries, with Black at their head, had been trained and equipped as marines, but had happily not been required to defend their freedom. Marsden frequently preached in the old church; Bennett died in Halifax, having been for many years chaplain in the local Penitentiary. Two years later there marched ashore in the band of the Twenty-Ninth Regiment, Stephen Bamford, a

local preacher, whose name later became a household word in Methodist circles in Halifax and in all parts of the Lower Provinces—a man who combined the simplicity of a child with the spirit of a true British soldier. A volume might be written respecting this eccentric man, in whose preaching humour was sanctified as never before. On his appointment to Zoar the officials were alarmed; before his term ended they almost idolized the man. Every inch a soldier, tall, finely-proportioned, and up to his death erect as a statue, he was in all respects one of the most

The Rev. William Temple.

beautiful specimens of old age anywhere to be met. In the old church, William Croscombe also commenced a ministry in Canada which made him deeply beloved and greatly successful. The white-headed boy, who found his first Nova Scotia home under the hospitable roof of Hugh Bell, became one of the English Wesleyan Missionary Committee's most trusted agents. In this church in his earlier ministry, Dr. Richey, father of Lieut.-Governor Richey of Nova Scotia, was heard as one of the grandest orators of the day—a man who attained immense popularity as a preacher, and even in declining years seemed, when he rose on the Conference platform, to dwarf the utterances of the ablest men sent out from Britain to preside at Conference sessions. Mention should here be made also of Robert Young, afterwards a leader in English Methodism, whose short ministry of one year in Halifax led into the Church the late Rev. Dr. McMurray and the Rev. Jeremiah V. Jost, and a brother of the latter, Edward Jost, whose large gifts to the Methodism of the city are expected soon to be available to a greater extent than hitherto. Robert Young's son, Robert Newton Young, D.D., an ex-President of the British Conference, was born in Halifax. But this paper would grow into a volume if the record of such men as Robert L. Lusher, William Temple, William Burt, Richard Knight, and a score of other ministers and a great number of laymen connected with this old church at Halifax were even attempted.

From the writer's History of Methodism may be gathered facts in relation to subsequent years. Zoar Chapel was considerably enlarged in 1815. Of the two leading Methodist churches of the city the Grafton Street Church may be designated its real successor. To this new church, dedicated for public worship in June, 1852, the greater number of worshippers at the old sanctuary transferred their attendance. After several years of intermittent use for religious purposes, the old building, which still stands, was sold to Bishop Binney. Unable to make use of it for the purpose intended, the Bishop sold it to other parties, by whom for some time it was used for a purpose which deeply grieved those who had for many years worshipped within its walls. The Brunswick Street Church, the oldest of the six Methodist churches of the city, was a branch of the old Argyle Street Church. Its erection was delayed for several years through the stubborn opposition of some persons, who, instead of a new church, wished a larger church on the old site. At length, through the earnest efforts of the Rev. William Croscombe, a lot was purchased on Brunswick Street, and a church supposed to furnish accommodation for one thousand hearers, and regarded as one of the most elegant places of worship in British North America, was opened on

September 13th, 1834. Sermons on that day were preached by Reverends James Knowlan, Richard Knight and Matthew Richey. Some shadows clouded the joy of the day, for the epidemic of Asiatic cholera had sounded the death-knell of a number of citizens, among them the venerable William Black, who had been deeply interested in the new church, but had been carried just five days before its dedication to his last earthly resting place.

Just at this time a secession through the influence of William Jackson and Thomas Taylor somewhat weakened the membership. The opening for Sunday evening services of St. Paul's, through the Bishop's late discovery that Sunday evening services were authorized by the example of the early Church, and the adoption of the Bishop's example by the pastors of several other churches, also seriously affected the attendance, and with other causes, placed the trustees in a position of great embarrassment from which only prompt and decided action relieved them. At length, with a small grant from the Missionary Society, assistance asked for and found in New Brunswick, Quebec, Montreal, and New York by the Rev. J. P. Hetherington and Hugh Bell, and with a generous sum from the military authorities for the use of the building on Sunday mornings for a year, the trustees were freed from their burden and a beautiful sanctuary saved from sacrifice and fitted by subsequent enlargement to be, from its size and *prestige*, the head-quarters for local denominational and unsectarian special gatherings.

The early Methodist Church in New Brunswick had much in common with that in Nova Scotia. Her earliest members were from Yorkshire; the names of several of her pioneer preachers were household names in both Provinces; and her helps and hindrances were not dissimilar to those of her neighbours on the adjoining peninsula. To Abraham John Bishop of Guernsey belongs the honour of being the first to gather sheaves at St. John and at the settlements on the border of the beautiful river of the same name. His term of service in New Brunswick was brief, if measured by years—a call from Dr. Coke, the English Superintendent of Missions, taking him in less than two years to the West Indies—but the converts under his very effective ministry were cared for at intervals, at least, by such men as Black, McColl, James Mann, Jessop, Grandin and Fidler, and by several itinerants from the United States. By the agency of these men the evangelistic field was soon enlarged, William Grandin finding his way to the disbanded soldiers of the Forty-Second Highland Regiment at Nashwaak, and William Early to the Loyalist settlers of King's County.

In several sections of the Province the Methodist laymen preceded the Methodist evangelists. At St. John, Stephen Humbert, a New Jersey Loyalist, and a few friends with him, had for several years been awaiting the arrival of a minister, when in September, 1791, Bishop landed at Halifax. The same preacher was greeted with equal heartiness at St. Ann's (now Fredericton) by Duncan Blair, and the few civilians and more numerous soldiers by whom that good Scotchman was regarded as their only spiritual director. In Westmoreland the laymen had also preceded the preachers, for in services conducted by pious laymen, William Black, the first Provincial itinerant, had been prepared for his long life-work. It was not thus, however, in some other sections. At Sheffield there were no disciples of Wesley, but the desertion of his flock by the Congregational pastor at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, and unworthy conduct on the part of a successor sent from Britain, had prepared some godly men and women to welcome a man of Bishop's spirit and zeal despite his Arminian teachings. About the people of St. Stephen, at McColl's arrival at that place, Bishop had grown heartsick. "I found them," he afterwards wrote, "a mixed multitude from Great Britain, Ireland and the United States; partly disbanded soldiers and refugees, scattered through the wilderness without either the form or power of Godliness. There was no place of public worship within sixty miles of them, save one of the Church of England in the town of St. Andrews, sixteen miles from this place."

Bishop had scarcely begun his work when he learned that in New Brunswick the first principles of religious liberty were not understood. The great majority of the Loyalists were disposed to treat adherence to the Church of England as a

test of true loyalty, and to regard themselves as partly placed in any official position for the "defence and confirmation" of the Church. In Nova Scotia the presence, previously to the arrival of the Loyalists, of a large body of settlers of Puritan and Presbyterian origin, and of a smaller number of Methodists who had accepted Wesley's religious opinions without his prepossession in favour of a national church, served as a partial check to any manifestation of intolerance and to repeated efforts to appropriate Provincial revenues to the support of Episcopalian interests.

The lack, however, of the Nonconformist elements in an equal proportion in New Brunswick placed those who saw fit during the early history of that Province to differ from the Episcopal majority under serious disadvantages, and at times exposed them to the effects of an intolerant spirit. From this cause, Bishop, thanks to his letter of introduction, suffered little. In his case a few suggestive questions and cautions sufficed; but Black, who came to his help a few months after his arrival, was less fortunate. That minister, during Bishop's absence at Sheffield, was summoned on a charge of performing ministerial functions in the absence of the necessary license, and silenced during the remaining fortnight of his visit. At St. Stephen, the magistrates threatened to suppress the services held in McColl's own dwelling, but the resolute Scotchman publicly assumed the responsibility of their continuance and no interference was attempted. During the winter of 1792, Grandin at Nashwaak, was silenced for a time through the efforts of the Rector of Fredericton. Early, near Sussex Vale, was obliged to escape from his lodging and hide among the cattle in the stable; and McColl, at Sheffield, received such warnings of impending danger as led him to make a complaint in person to the Governor of the Province respecting the rough treatment shown the Methodists, and to give expression to a decided opinion that a call from a body of subjects and a license from the Methodist Conference rendered further authorization unnecessary. At a second interview McColl met with a reception which led him ever after to regard Governor Thomas Carleton as a sincere friend. A spirit of exclusiveness, however, so long continued to prevail that it was not until 1834 that Methodist ministers in either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick were legally permitted to unite in marriage members of their own flocks.

In the former Province all invidious distinctions were not removed until 1847. In the latter the struggle was more severe. The firmness of the Rev. Enoch Wood—the late Dr. Wood of Toronto—and the courteous spirit of Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, proved important factors in obtaining the right-

The Rev. Dr. Watson Smith.

eous result, but all disabilities were not swept away until years later than in Nova Scotia. In spite, nevertheless, of the smallness of the number of ministers, and of the restrictions of various kinds by which they were hampered, the field of their labours gradually widened. At St. John, the leading seaport, and Fredericton, the capital, growing churches were found by the ministers who, in 1800, arrived from England with Black. In 1791 the Society at St. John, eighty in number, had purchased from the Episcopalians

the building in which the latter had previously worshipped. Under the ministry of Bishop and his successors this historic building, in which the earlier city fathers had held their consultations, and the first judges of the Province had administered law, and Charles Inglis, the first Colonial Bishop, had held his first confirmation in the Province, became a spiritual birthplace and a cradle in the new life to many. This church, grown old and uncomfortable, proved also too small, when in 1807 a great addition to the membership took place under the ministry of Joshua Marsden.

For a time the attempt of that minister to secure the erection of a new church seemed hazardous to the personal interests of those who assumed the financial responsibility, but at a critical moment one of those excellent men whom the British army has given to Methodism—one of the earliest of James Mann's converts in the old church—stepped in to avert threatened difficulty, and on Christmas, 1808, William Bennett conducted the dedicatory services of the new and larger church, as Marsden, who had preached at the laying of the corner-stone, had sailed for Bermuda to re-open a mission closed by the long imprisonment of the Wesleyan missionary sent thither from Britain. John Ferguson, who had come in 1787 as pay-sergeant in the Royal Artillery to St. John, where he was a friend of William Cobbett, afterward Grammarian and reformer, but at that time Sergeant-Major in the 54th Regiment, lived to fill various offices in the local Society, and as one of his latest acts to lay, in 1838, the corner-stone of the beautiful Centenary Church, the second Methodist church in the city. For three score and ten years the "Germain Street Church," in the building of which Marsden and Ferguson and other godly men were associated, and from the pulpit of which the bread of life had been preached with unsurpassed eloquence and power, stood a monument of the spiritual audacity of Joshua Marsden, and then fell before the resistless flames which in 1877 swept away a large portion of St. John.

For twelve or fifteen years the membership at Fredericton formed "the church that was in the house" of Duncan and Mary Blair. The good man then gave a site for a small church, on which he worked with his own hands. At his death, a little later, some choice spirits took up his work, two Christian women founding the Sunday School, of which for a quarter of a century just preceding his death in 1878, Lieutenant-Governor L. A. Wilmot had been a beloved and rarely successful Superintendent. Duncan Blair's church was superseded by a second, built in 1832 upon the site occupied by the third, the graceful edifice which yet adorns the city and by its spire points the visitor to the skies. During all these years the pulpits of the successive churches have been occupied by men of much pulpit power, but for the success which has attended her efforts in St. John and Fredericton and in other parts of the Province, Methodism has been greatly indebted to the Divine blessing upon the labours, gifts and prayers of several generations of Christian laymen. While the limited ministerial staff in the earlier part of the century were with difficulty cultivating the fields which their predecessors had but partially cleared, their sphere of service became greatly enlarged through the rapid increase of immigration.

The stream of emigration from Britain, which before the outbreak of the second war with America had been flowing westward, at the termination of that conflict began to move with a broader current. Directed principally to the United States and the Canadas, the human tide nevertheless reached the shores of the Maritime Provinces. At the port of St. John alone nearly six thousand persons arrived from Great Britain and Ireland during the three years ending with 1826, and these formed but the advanced guard of a great procession. The numerical gain was seriously lessened by the constant tendency towards the United States, increased by the frequent recurrence of periods of financial depression—but the number of new settlements in the Counties of Charlotte, Carleton, Kings, Albert and Northumberland, in particular, called for an amount of pastoral care which the few men in the field were powerless to afford.

Had British Methodists, generous indeed in their contributions for the support of Colonial missions, combined, a few years previous to this period, with their generosity the allowance of a greater degree of home rule, Methodism in the

Lower Colonies—in New Brunswick, at least—might have stood as in Ontario, at the van of the Protestant Churches. It cannot be questioned that minute control by a Committee (sometimes by a single secretary) resident at a distance of three thousand miles, had in that day of slow postal communication, serious disadvantages. In 1838 a visiting missionary was appointed, but urgent local demands led to the withdrawal of the "roving commission," at the end of a year filled with earnest and appreciative effort.

William Black had first visited Prince Edward Island in 1783, and at Charlottetown found Benjamin Chappell, an English Methodist, who with his wife had been shipwrecked in 1775 on the north coast of the Island when on the way to Quebec. A fortnight was spent on the Island by the young preacher, during which he preached several times at Charlottetown and St. Peters. Early in 1792 William Grandin crossed the Straits, making Tryon the principal scene of his labours, and there enlisting in Christian service Nathaniel Wright and his wife, the earliest of a worthy succession of that name in the Methodist Church of the colony. On a second visit in 1794, Black met with a pleasing reception. Joshua Newton, previously of Halifax, but then Collector of Customs at Charlottetown, had by his public addresses prepared the way for his mission. Governor Fanning invited him to preach in the unfinished church, and the Rector, Theophilus Desbrisay, a son and two grandsons of whom at a later day entered the ranks of Methodist itinerants, called upon him in a friendly spirit.

At Tryon a number of persons were received into church membership, and the ordinances of the Church were administered. For some years the little flock were left to themselves, having soon been deprived of the presence of the earnest boy-preacher, Joshua Newton, who was removed to Nova Scotia. They were, therefore, the more gladdened by the arrival in 1801 of a second lay-worker, Thomas Danson, of Ireland, a former non-commissioned officer in the army under Lord Cornwallis in the Thirteen Colonies. A wish to provide a home for his sons, as farmers, had led him to purchase a large tract of land from one of the proprietors of the Island, and with his family to take a final farewell of his native country. On his arrival, after a circuitous route by way of Philadelphia, he took possession of his property, but the impression produced by the spiritual destitution of the scattered settlers led him into a course of apostolic effort which even his vigourous frame could not long endure, and which ended in his death in 1804.

A third lay preacher, Joseph Avard, reached Charlottetown in 1806 with a party of seventy-three persons from the Channel Islands on their way as settlers at Murray Harbour. Finding himself unequal to the double task of maintaining his family and responding to the calls for religious services from all quarters, he wrote to Dr. Adam Clarke, at whose solicitation a missionary, who had returned to England from Newfoundland, consented to cross the ocean again to Prince Edward Island. This arrangement proving unsatisfactory, little progress was seen until the arrival in 1815 of John Hicks, and of his successor in the following year—John B. Strong, father of the Hon. William G. Strong, of Bedeque. By the first of these ministers a sermon was preached in 1815 in a new church at Murray Harbour, and another in 1816 in a partially finished church at Charlottetown. From that period the ministerial supply, though often inadequate to the needs of the population, has been steadily maintained.

For a long period Methodism in Prince Edward Island was strengthened by the arrival from year to year from Britain of laymen well trained in the doctrine and discipline of the Church and prepared to reproduce in Colonial life the type of Methodism peculiar to the best rural districts of Britain. In a pamphlet published in Scotland by one Walter Johnson, a Scotchman who arrived on the Island in May, 1820, and spent a year there "with a design to establish Sabbath schools and investigate the religious state of the country," the writer in a closing summary remarks of the Methodists: "They have so many excellent local preachers that they seldom want for sermons in all their regular places of worship, and it must be acknowledged that wherever the Methodists abound vice and immorality are made to hide their heads, and every man and woman is taught to pray. The members of their churches are mostly from England or the Island of Guernsey." In 1832 the Bible Christians, hold-

ing the doctrines of the Wesleyan Methodists but differing from them in discipline, established a mission in Prince Edward Island at the request of a number of their adherents who had found their way thither from England. The first ministers to reach the Colony were Francis Metherall and Philip James, both indefatigable workers. They and their successors prosecuted their work under not a few discouragements, so that at the period of the final union of all sections of the Methodist family in Canada the membership of the Bible Christian Societies in the Island did not exceed five hundred and sixty in number.

In Cape Breton the earliest Methodist workers were laymen. John Watts, the devout Methodist soldier, was in Sydney in 1789 with a detachment of the 24th Regiment. Twenty-two years later William Charlton, an humble layman who had been converted in the United States, commenced a mission at the quiet fishing settlement on the shore of the historic Gabarus Bay. As the result of his evangelistic efforts, and probably at his solicitation, Hibbert Binney, Rector and military chaplain at Sydney, visited the place in 1819 and baptized sixty-two persons of all ages. Some ten years after this, at the instance of John George Marshall, Chief Justice of Cape Breton, William Webb, Wesleyan minister at Guysboro, crossed the Straits on his way to Sydney. The preaching of Hibbert Binney's successor in that parish had proved so unsatisfactory as to lead his more thoughtful hearers one after another to desert the church. One of the latest to leave had been Judge Marshall, by whom, for five years, religious meetings were conducted in private residences. During these years ineffectual efforts had been made to secure the presence of an evangelical minister. One appeal to the Managers of Andover Theological Seminary brought to the little society one of its students, John S. C. Abbott, later a well-known American historical writer; but the young man soon returned to his friends and his books.

As a last resource Judge Marshall and his associates resolved on an appeal to the assembled Methodist ministers of the Province. No immediate action having been taken, Judge Marshall in person addressed these ministers at their annual gathering in 1829, and as the result of his appeal James G. Hennegar was sent to Sydney, pending the arrival of a minister from England, and him they found a competent and faithful guide. Somewhat later, ministers were placed at Hawkesbury and Margaree, but through the removal of members and the lack of ministers pastoral care at these places for some years could only be intermittent, in spite of its pressing need. Of that need, S. D. Rice, afterwards senior General Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Canada, wrote in 1839 to a friend at the close of a year spent at Sydney: "There is no such destitution in New Brunswick with all its wants;" and a Presbyterian missionary then in the Island might have written in 1839 with equal truth what he had written in 1834: "I really believe from what I have seen and learned, that there is not a place in the whole world, professing Christianity, where there are so many families so near to each other and so utterly destitute as our poor countrymen on this Island are."

The interests of the Methodist Church in the Lower Provinces were greatly advanced by the establishment of their educational institutions at Sackville, N.B. In the absence of these her adherents had been placed at a serious disadvantage. After several ineffectual attempts to provide their sons with an Academy competent to afford them a thorough classical education without exposure to interference with their religious principles, the difficulty was removed by an unexpected offer received in 1839—the centennial year of the Denomination. Early in that year a letter was addressed to the Chairman of the New Brunswick District by Charles Frederick Allison, of Sackville, a member of the Scotch-Irish family of Allisons which had settled in Cornwallis, N.S., in which that gentleman announced his intention to purchase a suitable site at Sackville, as a place easily accessible from the several Provinces, and to erect upon it at a cost of four thousand pounds a building suitable for an Academy, to be under the sole management of the Methodist Conference, and toward the current expenses of which he was prepared to contribute a sum of four hundred dollars annually for ten years. This offer, repeated in person several months later at a meeting of ministers from the different Provinces, was gratefully accepted, and the building made

ready for occupancy early in the summer of 1842. The sum of two thousand dollars towards the erection of the Academy was given by the Government of New Brunswick, and small grants were made by the Legislatures of both Provinces towards the current expenses. On the nomination of Enoch Wood, Humphrey Pickard, a young minister belonging to Fredericton, but trained at Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn., under that prince of American educators, Wilbur Fisk, was placed in charge and work commenced in 1843. In Humphrey Pickard, Mr. Allison found a man whose development of the work he had originated and cherished gave him through life all possible satisfaction, and whose subsequent services few, if any other, could have rendered.

The Academy of 1843 was but a first step in an educational direction. At a meeting of the ministers of the several Provinces at Sackville in 1847, at which several leading laymen were present, it was unanimously resolved that "an Academy for females, similar to the one now in existence for males, is a necessity," and that the Methodist Church was under an obligation to meet the necessity. Towards this object an offer of one thousand pounds, supplemented by a nearly equal sum from other residents of Sackville, was made by Mr. Allison, but it was not until 1854 that the Ladies' College at Mount Allison began its specially successful career. The latest and crowning act of the founder of these institutions was the moving at the annual meeting in 1858 of a series of resolutions designed to ensure the establishment of the University which bears his name, and which under the successive Presidency of Dr. Pickard, Dr. James R. Inch and Dr. David Allison, has accomplished most important results.

The early pupils and graduates of these three institutions are to be found in the ministry of the Methodist and other Churches, amongst the presidents and professors of Provincial Colleges, amongst the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of the Dominion, in the Senate and Lower House of the Canadian Legislature and in the Provincial Legislatures, amongst the Superintendents of Provincial Education, on the Bench of the Higher Courts of the Dominion and of the separate Provinces, and in all those professions which society entitles "learned." They are found also among the leading men in business circles and agricultural pursuits, and last, but not least, among the enlarging classes of womanhood whose best representatives find no disqualification for womanly duties in the fact that from an educational point of view they are at once the peers of their husbands and the guides of their sons For their educational enfranchisement such women in the Maritime Provinces will ever be grateful to the Methodist educationists at Mount Allison, to whom belongs the distinction of having been the first in the British Empire to give to women the right of admission to the various degrees of a college course.

For the rest a few figures must suffice. The total membership in the Provinces at the beginning of the century may be estimated at eight hundred and fifty, and the number of adherents at three thousand. In 1855, when these Provinces, with Newfoundland and Bermuda, were formed into the Eastern British American Conference, their membership was reported as being 11,382, representing in all probability a Methodist population of at least 45,500 persons. In 1891, when the last Government census was taken, the adherents of the Methodist Church in Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, were 54,195, in New Brunswick 35,495, and in Prince Edward Island, 13,595, a total in the Provinces under review of 103,285. It should be remembered, in any study of these figures, that previous to 1891 some thousands of Methodists had removed from the Provinces to the United States, to find a Denominational home and important spheres of Christian work in the great Methodist Church of that country. Less widely known is the fact that in the earlier years of the present century a good number of Methodist families found their way from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into Upper Canada. An Episcopalian family, which about the close of the last century left Sheffield, N.B., where Methodist influences had been somewhat abundant and earnest, in later days gave to the ministry of Ontario Methodism the important services of Dr. Egerton Ryerson and his gifted brothers.

THE POLITY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

BY

THE REV. S. G STONE, D.D., President of the Toronto Conference.

IT is a somewhat interesting coincidence that without any design on the part of its authors, the form of Government of the Methodist Church is so nearly in harmony with that of the Dominion itself, with the single exception that there is in it nothing that exactly corresponds with the Senate—which possibly is not a matter of regret to at least a large section of those who are within its Communion or amongst its adherents. In harmony with the history of universal Methodism which has always been distinguished by flexibility in legislation and the adaptation of its Government to existing needs and circumstances, the present Polity of the Methodist Church is the product of a Union in 1883 between the then existing four separate Communions, viz.: the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, and the Bible Christian Church in Canada. They assumed under this Union the name by which Canadian Methodism is now known.

The General Conference. The supreme legislative body of the Methodist Church is the "General Conference," composed of an equal number of Ministerial and Lay Delegates, elected as stated below, and meeting quadrenially at such time and place as it shall itself from time to time determine; provision being made in the constitution for special meetings if and when it may be deemed necessary. The number of delegates at the present time is one minister for every twelve members of the Annual Conference, to be elected at the sessions of the Annual Conference next preceding the time fixed for the meeting of the General Conference; and an equal number of laymen to be elected at the "Lay electoral Conference" meeting during the session of and at the place of meeting of the Annual Conferences. The General Conference has full power to make rules and regulations for the Church within the following limitations:

1. It shall not alter or change any Article of Religion nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to those now existing and established.

2. It shall not destroy the plan of the itinerant system.

3. It shall not do away with the right of trial by Committee, or of appeal either as they affect ministers, probationers for the ministry or the individual members of the Church.

4. It shall not make any changes in the general rules of the Society except by a three-fourths majority, and if required by either order of ministry or laity, a two-thirds majority of each order, voting separately.

5. No change shall be made in the "Basis of Union" affecting constitutional questions, or the rights and privileges of ministry or laity except by a three-fourths majority of the General Conference, with the same provision for separate voting as in the preceding Section.

In all other matters of legislation the General Conference is supreme under the usual regulations governing Legislative bodies. In the interval of its sessions it is represented by an executive called "The General Conference Special Committee." It is composed of twelve ministers and an equal number of laymen, nominated by the General Superintendent, and this Committee is in association with the General Superintendent from one General Conference to another with power to provide for measures which could not have been foreseen at the General Conference, and to perform such other functions as a faithful administration may demand. The General Conference appoints also the General Board of Missions, the Book Committee, the Board of Management of the Educational Society, the Super-

annuation Fund Board, the Board of Regents for Victoria University, and the Governing Boards of all other educational institutions, including Sabbath Schools, etc.—except such members thereof as are appointed by the Annual Conferences as their special representatives.

The General Conference sessions are presided over by the General Superintendent, who is elected to hold office for eight years, and who upon the expiration of office is eligible for re-election. It is his duty to travel at large through the Connection, to preside, when present, in the Annual Conferences, alternately with the President thereof, and also to preside at the meetings of all General Conference Boards and Standing Committees thereof.

The Annual Conference. The next Court below the General Conference is that of the Annual Conference—whose boundaries are determined by the higher Court. It is mainly administrative and pastoral in its functions. Any legislative power these Conferences may possess is limited to their several jurisdictions or is in no sense statutory, as their authority is simply from year to year, and never can supersede or contravene General Conference legislation—that body determining what the "discipline" of the Church shall be. It must be remembered, however, that the functions of these Courts are, nevertheless, of great importance, as they have the oversight of the circuits and the ministers within their bounds, and hence direct in a very large degree the general or practical administration of the interests of the Church. It is by a Committee of the Annual Conference that the ministers are stationed in the various charges. It is by the Chairman of Districts appointed by the Annual Conference that the administration of its affairs are superintended, and in general it may be said that the Annual Conferences furnish the motive springs by which the various energies of the Church are put in operation.

These Courts are composed of the entire number of ministers within the bounds of each (each Annual Conference acting independently within its own limits) and an equal number of laymen elected at the May district meetings by the lay members thereof who have been elected as such by the several circuits within the district. At its sessions the Annual Conference passes under review the entire work of the various circuits during the year, it being the duty of each circuit to furnish for that purpose a detailed report of the condition and growth (or otherwise) of its Membership, Sunday-schools, Young People's Societies, etc., with the sums raised for all local and connexional purposes during the year. Its chief officer is its President who is elected annually, whose functions are within the constitutional limitations of the Annual Conference, the same in relation to it as those of the General Superintendent are to the General Conference. He presides over the sessions thereof, alternately with the General Superintendent (when that officer is present) and in the absence of that officer, by himself; conducts the Ordination service; and presides throughout the year over all Annual Conference Standing Committees. He decides also all questions of law arising in the Annual Conference, although any member of that body has the right to appeal therefrom. In the interval between one Annual Conference and another the Conference is represented by the "Annual Conference Special Committee" appointed on the nomination of the President, and invested with functions corresponding to those of the Court it represents.

District Meetings. The next lower Courts are the District Meetings, of which there are two sessions in the year—the first being held in the early autumn and called the "Financial District Meeting," and the second in May called the "Annual District Meeting." The first is comparatively unimportant, but the Annual District Meeting is one of the very important links in the connexional chain of Methodism. It is from this Court that all candidates for the ministry must be recommended to the Annual Conference after having been first examined in doctrine and discipline, and it is at this meeting that the annual examination of ministerial character is made. It is also from the Annual District Meeting that recommendations for changes in the boundaries of circuits, the sale of Church property, and much else of connexional importance is forwarded to the Annual Conferences, and that the District representatives on various Conference Committees are elected. To this meeting all circuits em-

braced make returns of membership and of the various connexional funds of the Church, which are here tabulated and forwarded to the higher Court. The presiding officer is the Chairman of the District, to the general oversight of which he is elected by the Annual Conference.

The Quarterly Official Board. This is the primary Court in the Methodist Church. Its functions embrace the determining of the stipend of the minister or ministers and the manner of its collection, the recommendation to the Annual District Meeting of candidates for the ministry, and the general oversight of all circuit affairs. It is composed of the ministers stationed on the circuit, superannuated ministers in residence, local preachers, exhorters, stewards, class leaders, Society representatives, representatives from Trust Boards and under certain regulations, the Presidents of Young People's Societies, and the Superintendents of Sabbath Schools. The stewards are nominated by the minister in charge, and elected by the full Board. The Society representatives are nominated and elected by the Church at a public meeting, of which due notice is given. In many important particulars these Boards are to the circuit in Methodism what the Town Council is to the municipality it represents. In fact all these Courts, from the General Conference forming the whole body to the local "Quarterly Official Board" of the circuit, are links in a chain each related to the other in important particulars, and together constituting a symmetrical system of Connexional Church Government, with a cohesive force which in a very essential degree has contributed to the phenomenal growth of Methodism—which in little more than a century and a half has grown from a little meeting in an old foundry in London to be the most populous Protestant Denomination in the world. True, in some particulars the Polity of the Methodist Church in Canada differs from that of other branches of Methodism, as the latter do from one another, but in most particulars there is no essential difference. Especially is this the case in the character of its lower Courts.

The Itinerancy. Like all other branches of Methodism the Methodist Church in Canada has an itinerant ministry. No minister in the pastoral work, except missionaries amongst the Indians and in French and Foreign Mission districts, can remain more than three years in succession upon the same charge, except under certain necessary conditions, when the term may be extended to a fourth or fifth year but not longer. The appointments are made by a Stationing Committee composed of the Chairmen of Districts and one representative from each District elected at the Annual District Meeting, which appointment must be confirmed by the Annual Conference after the final draft of stations is laid before it. It is the prerogative of any Circuit, however, to appear, by representatives appointed for that purpose, before this Committee to present any preference they may have in this regard. It is now also a quite general practice for circuits to extend invitations to the man of their choice and to forward these invitations to the Committee, and as a rule and wherever practicable, their wishes are respected and granted.

All churches and parsonages are vested in Local Trust Boards, appointed in the first instance by the Quarterly Official Board, to hold such property in trust for the Church at large, these Boards being appointed quadrenially by the General Conference, which body also elects the chief officer of each of these institutions. In general terms it may be stated that while no change has been made in its "articles of religion" the practice of Methodism has always been to adapt its temporal Polity to its environment, and in this particular lay the possibility of the late Union in Canada while at the same time it furnished the reason for its various organizations in different parts of the world. But while this is true, its essential unity is preserved in its uniformity of doctrinal belief and in the use of the same means of grace and general features of Church Government throughout the world.

THE DOCTRINES OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

BY

THE REV. PROFESSOR E. I. BADGLEY, B.D., LL.D.

IT is impossible to separate Methodist theology from personal religious experience. This is true of St. Augustine and the doctrines which through him have been emphasized by a large section of the Christian Church. It is no less true in relation to Luther and the great doctrines of the Reformation. The personal equation is incapable of complete elimination. And why should it be eliminated? Christianity is both a doctrine and a life, or rather the doctrine and the life are the two sides of a unity which though distinguishable from each other are not separable.

With Wesley the union of life and doctrine was pre-eminently manifest. His life after conversion was one persistent effort to preach the doctrines that he himself had believed and to make them a living reality in the lives of others. His teaching, however, did not so much seek to maintain spiritual life by its orthodoxy, as it did to maintain orthodoxy by its spiritual life. Above all things it put emphasis upon man's individual and personal relations to God. Says Dr. Abel Stevens: "Acknowledging the importance of sound doctrine, it nevertheless dealt mostly in the theology which relates to the spiritual life—Faith, Justification, Regeneration, Sanctification, and the Witness of the Spirit—these were its great ideas, and never since the apostolic age were they brought out more clearly."

The most vital as well as the most distinctive doctrines of Methodism are those most intimately connected with personal experience. Much of this Wesley owed to his connection with, and the influence of the Moravians. To their pertinent questions: "Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Wesley subsequently found an answer in his personal experience, and that answer has constituted a main feature of Methodist life and doctrine to the present day. He visited the Moravians at Hernhutt, and learned still more clearly and effectually from them some of the deepest truths and richest experiences in connection with the Christian life. He says: "I continually met with what I sought for: living proofs of the power of faith, persons saved from inward as well as actual sins by the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, and from all doubt and fear by the abiding witness of the Holy Ghost given unto them." And then he adds: "I would gladly have spent my life here, but my Master calling me to labour in other parts of his vineyard I was constrained to take my leave of this happy people."

Dr. Abel Stevens in his "History of Methodism," says upon this point that "Methodism owes to Moravianism special obligations. First, it introduced Wesley into that regenerated spiritual life, the supremacy of which over all ecclesiasticism and dogmatism it was the appointed mission of Methodism to re-assert and promote in the Protestant world. Second, he derived from it some of his clearest conceptions of the theological ideas which he was to propagate as essentially related to this spiritual life; and he returned from Hernhutt not only confirmed in his new religious experience, but in these most important doctrinal views. Third, Zinzendorf's communities were based upon Spener's plan of reforming the Established Churches by forming little churches within them, in despair of maintaining spiritual life amongst them otherwise. Wesley thus organized Methodism within the Anglican Church. Fourth, not only in this general analogy, but in many details of his discipline can we trace the influence of Moravianism." To the same effect Dr. Philip Schaff remarks: "The Oxford Methodists started with a legalistic type of piety, but they received a new inspiration from the childlike, cheerful, serene and sublime trust in God which characterized the Moravians with whom they came in contact."

Chalmers has defined Methodism as "Chris-

tianity in earnest." It was not the introduction of new doctrines, but an effort to revive experimental religion within the limits of the Anglican Church, and this it sought to do by a Scriptural interpretation of her Articles of Religion. The Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church were by Wesley abridged, simplified, and liberalized. Fourteen were omitted, seven were modified, and eighteen were adopted without change.

Some of the eliminations and modifications are decidedly significant; for instance, everything leaning towards Calvinism is eliminated, and in another Article, where the last clauses affirm the continuance of original sin in the regenerate, Wesley omits them as inconsistent with his views of Perfection, while in yet another, "sin after justification" is substituted for "sin after baptism," in order to avoid the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. As Wesley's Arminianism, and his doctrines of the Witness of the Spirit and Christian Perfection are emphasized in his sermons and elsewhere, these were not included in the Articles of Religion as finally modified by him for the use of the Societies. These Articles of Religion, the fifty-two Sermons and the Notes on the New Testament are legally binding upon English Wesleyan Methodism, consequent upon the transfer, by Wesley himself, of the churches that he handed over to the Denomination which mainly through his efforts had been called into existence.

In relation to Canadian Methodism, as at present constituted, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted by the first General Conference in 1883:

"The Doctrines of the Methodist Church are declared to be those contained in the twenty-five Articles of Religion, and those taught by the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., in his Notes on the New Testament, and in the first fifty-two Sermons of the first series of his discourses, published during his lifetime."

The limits of this article do not allow of any lengthened expression of the Doctrines of the above standards, consequently I shall limit my remarks to but a few of their cardinal features. Wesley himself has said: "Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are repentance, faith and holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion; the next the door; the third religion itself." Leaving these aside for the present, we may notice that Wesley, in his sermon on "The Original, Nature, Properties and Use of the Law," has given us the basis of all theology. I cannot do better than give in this connection Chancellor Burwash's admirable analysis of this remarkable sermon: "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good. The term law here signifies not the Roman, nor the Mosaic, but the Moral law, as appears from the particulars cited:

1. The original of this law, coeval with the creation of moral agents, and written in their inmost spirit by the finger of God.

2. The nature of this law. It is a transcript of the Divine nature, and hence supreme, unchangeable reason, unalterable rectitude; the everlasting fitness of things.

3. The properties of this law. (1) Holy, as separate from all sin. (2) Just, rendering to all their due; adapted to the nature of things, of the whole universe, and of every individual. But this nature of things depends on the will of God, which is ultimately God himself. (3) Good, full of benignity, and producing all blessedness in its results.

4. The uses of this law. (1) To convince of sin. (2) To lead to Christ. (3) To prepare us for larger communications of the grace of God. Hence, though we have done with the law as a means of justification before God, yet the law is of unspeakable use and absolute necessity to us. The true liberty of God's people is not liberty from the law, but from sin."

This law as given to Adam has never been withdrawn. Atonement and redemption rest upon its perfect and immutable character. By a reference to its claims all sin is determined. In its presence all human merit disappears, and under its claims all men are guilty before God. From the standpoint of philosophy and of religion, it is doubtful if we can find a stronger and safer utterance than Wesley has here given us in his conception of the nature of the Divine Reason and Will, and their relation to each other. God is the source and authority of the law not as an arbitrary enactment of His will, but as an expression

of His reason. His will is in eternal harmony with His reason. "The law of God is supreme, unchangeable reason; it is unalterable rectitude; it is the everlasting fitness of all things that are or ever were created. . . . The law of God is a copy of the eternal mind, a transcript of the Divine nature, yea, it is the fairest offspring of the everlasting Father, the brightest efflux of His essential wisdom, the visible beauty of the Most High." By this law "the sinner is discovered to himself. All his fig leaves are torn away and he sees that he is poor and miserable, blind and naked. The law flashes conviction on every side. He feels himself a mere sinner. He has nothing to pay. His mouth is stopped; and he stands guilty before God."

The Primal State, and Fall of Man. As to the first, speaking of the general ground of the doctrine ot justification, Wesley says: "In the image of God was man made, holy as He that created him is holy; merciful as the Author of all is merciful; perfect as His Father in heaven is perfect. . . . He was pure as God is pure from every spot of sin. . . . To man thus upright and perfect God gave a perfect law, to which he required full and perfect obedience. No allowance was made for any falling short. By the free, unmerited love of God, he was holy and happy; he knew, loved, enjoyed God, which is in substance, life everlasting. And in this life of love he was to continue forever, if he continued to obey God in all things; but, if he disobeyed in any, he was to forfeit all. 'In that day,' said God, 'thou shalt surely die.'"

In this state of innocence and purity, however, man did not remain; and so Wesley continues: "The moment he tasted that fruit he died. His soul died, was separated from God; separated from whom the soul has no more life than the body has when separate from the soul. His body likewise became corruptible and mortal, so that death took hold on this also. And being already dead in spirit, dead to God, dead in sin, he hastened on to death everlasting; to the destruction of both body and soul, in the fire never to be quenched."

As to the Effects of the Fall, Wesley, while not liking the phrase "total depravity," yet uses it in the sense in which it is generally employed. The Seventh and Eighth Articles of Religion express very definitely his views. And in his Sermon on "Original Sin" he says: "No man loves God by nature, any more than he does a stone, or the earth he treads upon. What we love we delight in; but no man has naturally any delight in God." He holds that "it is as impossible for us to think a good thought without the supernatural assistance of God's Spirit as to create ourselves, or to renew our whole souls in righteousness and true holiness." The love of God is thus no longer the motive of action. Man by his own free act has rendered himself incapable of loving and dutiful service.

The Rev. Professor Badgley.

The Atonement. Wesley accepted without question the universality of the Atonement. "The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone." All are born in sin, but children dying before reaching the age of responsibility are saved. This grace extends to all heathen

who do not neglect their opportunities. It is thus seen that a distinct ethical basis underlies Methodist theology. In fact, the continuance of the human race after the fall of the first man is irreconcilable with Divine justice, unless the Atonement extends not only to those who willingly accept its provisions, but that it likewise "covers the deficiency of ability in the case of infants, and the deficiency of opportunity in the case of the heathen." Wesley says: "As a governor, the Almighty cannot possibly act according to His own mere sovereign will, but, as He has expressly told us, according to the invariable rules both of justice and mercy. Whatever, therefore, it hath pleased Him to do of His sovereign pleasure as Creator, he will judge the world in righteousness, and every man therein, according to the strictest justice. He will punish no man for doing anything which he could not possibly avoid; neither for omitting anything which he could not possibly do."

Justification. This is one of the conditional benefits of the Atonement, and comes through true repentance and a living faith in Christ. Article IX. reads as follows: "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith and not for our own works or deservings, wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort." In the sermon on "Justification by Faith," and in the seven sermons following leading up to the "Witness of the Spirit," direct and indirect, we have the fuller statement of this great doctrine. It was also the subject of investigation and enquiry before several of his Conferences. His views are expressed in the following questions and answers: 1. What is the general ground of this whole doctrine of justification? I have already dealt with this in connection with the Primal State and Fall. To the second question, "What is justification?" he answers that "it is not the being made actually just and righteous," for this is sanctification which is to be regarded as "in some degree the immediate fruit of justification. The one implies what God does for us through His Son; the other what He works in us by His Spirit." It is pardon, the forgiveness of sins. "To him that is justified or forgiven, God will not impute sin to His condemnation. Accepted through the beloved, reconciled to God through His blood, He loves and blesses, and watches over us for good, even as if we had never sinned. . . . Justifying faith implies not only a divine evidence or conviction that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, but a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for *my* sins, that He loved me, and gave himself for *me*." Faith thus becomes "the necessary condition, and the only necessary condition" of justification. "The very moment God giveth faith (for it is the gift of God) to the ungodly, that faith is counted to him for righteousness. He hath no righteousness at all antecedent to this, not so much as negative righteousness or innocence. But 'faith is imputed to him for righteousness' the very moment that he believeth."

Witness of the Spirit. Perhaps no doctrine in the history of Methodism has exerted a more vital energy than Wesley's teaching concerning the Witness of the Spirit. Here we pass from the merely theoretical and scriptural to the experimental and practical. Religious teaching is no longer a theory only, but a life, a fact of conscious experience. "It is a double and concurrent witness of God's Spirit and of our Spirit concerning our justification. The former is objective and divine, and antecedes; the latter is subjective and human, and follows." The testimony of our own spirit Wesley has beautifully described as follows: "It is a consciousness of our having received, in and by the spirit of adoption, the tempers mentioned in the Word of God as belonging to his adopted children; even a loving heart towards God, and towards all mankind; hanging with a child-like confidence on God our Father, desiring nothing but him, casting all our care upon him, and embracing every child of man with earnest, tender affection; so as to be ready to lay down our life for our brother, as Christ laid down his life for us; a consciousness that we are inwardly conformed by the Spirit of God to the image of his Son, and that we walk before him in justice, mercy and truth, doing the things which are pleasing in his sight." He admits the very great difficulty to properly express in words the direct Witness of God's Spirit to his children. He ventures to say, however, that "the testimony of

the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and hath given himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God. The Spirit of God does give a believer such a testimony of his adoption that while it is present to the soul he can no more doubt the reality of his sonship than he can doubt of the shining of the sun while he stands in the full blaze of his beams." Later in life he adds: "After twenty years further consideration, I see no cause to retract any part of this, neither do I conceive how any of these expressions may be altered, so as to make them more intelligible."

Sanctification. I shall touch upon but one other doctrine, which though not peculiar to Methodism, has nevertheless held no unimportant place in its teaching, namely, Entire Sanctification or Christian Perfection. In dealing with this question I restrict myself—as with the preceding doctrines mentioned in this paper—to Wesley's own statements, as they are found in his writings and adopted as the "Standards of Doctrine" by the Methodist Church. Other great names—Fletcher and others—might be mentioned, but I pass them by. The same caution, good sense, and sound Scriptural exegesis characterize Wesley here, as in all his other doctrinal utterances. The testimony of experience is made to supplement and confirm the teachings of Scripture. There is an absence of all fanaticism, excess, or extravagance in the presentation of his views. He teaches a doctrine, not of absolute, or Adamic, but Christian perfection. It is not perfection in knowledge, for we are not free from ignorance. Nor is it freedom from mistakes. It is true we do not "put darkness for light, or light for darkness." We "do not mistake as to the things essential to salvation;" but we do err "in things unessential to salvation, and that frequently." Nor is it freedom from infirmities, which may include all defects not of a moral character. All moral defects are sins. (We here may remark again the deeply ethical and thoroughly evangelical character of Wesleyan theology). Nor is it freedom from temptation. "The Son of God himself, in the days of his flesh, was tempted even to the end of his life." Nor are we in sanctification absolutely perfect. There is always growth in the true child of God. "There is no perfection of degrees, as it is termed; none which does not admit of a continual increase. So that how much soever any man has attained, or in how high a degree soever he is perfect, he hath still need to grow in grace, and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God and his Saviour." The question is still further discussed in the sermon on the Scripture Way of Salvation. It is a blessing obtained by faith. This faith is (*a*) "a divine evidence and conviction that God hath promised it in holy Scripture"; that (*b*) "what he hath promised he will perform"; that (*c*) "he is able and willing to do it now"; and (*d*) "the divine evidence and conviction that he doeth it." "The believer then experiences the deep meaning of those solemn words, 'If we walk in the light as he is the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' Perfection means perfect love. It is love excluding sin, love filling the heart, taking up the whole capacity of the soul. It is love rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, in everything giving thanks."

In a letter to a correspondent he says: "I want you to be *all love*. This is the perfection I believe and teach; and this perfection is consistent with a thousand nervous disorders, which that high strained perfection is not. Indeed, my judgment is that (in this case particularly) to overdo is to undo; and that to set perfection too high is the most effectual way of driving it out of the world." Said Bishop Gibson: "Why, Mr. Wesley, if this is what you mean by perfection, who can be against it?" He says elsewhere: "Whom, then, do you mean by one that is perfect? We mean one in whom is the mind which was in Christ, and who so walketh as Christ also walked; a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart, or that is cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit; one in whom is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly does not commit sin. To declare this a little more particularly, we understand by that Scriptural expression, a perfect man, one whom God hath sanctified throughout in body, soul, and spirit; one who walketh in the light as he is in the light, in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his Son having cleansed him from all sin."

CANADIAN METHODIST HISTORY—EDITOR'S NOTES

International Methodist Complications. One of the greatest difficulties faced by early Canadian Methodism was the rivalry between the English and American missionaries. The former claimed the right in a British country to work wherever opportunity seemed to present itself, without distinct control by any foreign body. They were also suspicious of the loyalty of the American missionaries—a suspicion based upon the conduct of some of them during the War of 1812. The Americans on the other hand claimed the very natural right of priority in the work and in the field—the record of much self-sacrifice and earnest labour. They at the same time indignantly repudiated the charge of disloyalty. Another burning difference was the inclination of the English element to follow Wesley in his support of a State Church, and the bitter objections to anything of the sort by American Methodism. Much correspondence passed between the English and American Conferences about these disputes, and in reply to a letter of remonstrance from Bishop Ashbury of the American Church, a long document was written, signed by the officers of the English Conference—James Wood, Joseph Benson, and James Buckley—on Feb. 7th, 1816, from which the following is an extract:

"To preserve a mutual good understanding and the unity of the Spirit, and, as far as possible, a co-operation in promoting the good work of the Lord, we feel it our duty to state to you a subject of local difference, which to us has been painful, and which we feel a delicacy in stating, but to which we are compelled from the necessity of the case, that the word of the Lord be not hindered. In consequence of application being made to the British Conference, from a society at Montreal, a missionary was sent to that place, and received as the messenger of the Gospel of peace. But we are sorry to learn that some misunderstanding has taken place between Brothers Strong and Williams, our missionaries, and Brother Ryan, your Presiding Elder for Lower Canada. From the former we have received a statement of their proceedings, and from the latter a letter of complaint. We have also received a letter from Brother Bennett, the Chairman of the Nova Scotia District, who has visited Montreal, etc., and reported to us his proceedings. Upon a review of the whole, and from the most serious and deliberate consideration, we are led to conclude that, considering the relative situation of the inhabitants of Montreal and of Canada to this country, and particularly as a principal part of the people appear to be in favour of our missionaries, it would be for their peace and comfort, and for the furtherance of the Gospel, for our brethren to occupy these stations, especially the former, and to which we conceive we have a claim, as a considerable part of the money for building the chapel and house was raised in this country.

We trust our American brethren will see the propriety of complying with our wishes with respect to those places; not to mention their political relations to this country, which, however, is not of little importance, for we are conscious that their general habits and prejudices are in favour of English preachers, being more congenial to their views and feeling which should certainly be consulted, and will tend to facilitate the success of the Gospel and their spiritual prosperity. As your and our object is mutually to diffuse the knowledge of Him whose kingdom is not of this world, and by every possible means to promote the immortal interests of men, let us not contend; we have one Master, even Christ; but give place to each other, that the word of the Lord may have free course, run and be glorified. We cannot but hope that, from the contiguity of the labours of the brethren belonging to the two Conferences, the spirit of unity and love will be promoted, and by this measure a more perfect reciprocal intercourse established. As you have kindly invited our esteemed brethren, Messrs. Black and Bennett to take a seat in your Conference, we have directed them to pay you a visit at Baltimore for this purpose and to amicably arrange and settle the business, whom we trust you will receive as our representatives and as brethren."

This communication, and other papers sub-

mitted by Messrs. Black and Bennett on behalf of the English Conference, as well as some petitions from Canada, protesting against what was termed the objectionable course of the English missionaries, were referred to a Committee of the General Conference of 1868, and after having given a patient hearing to the English Conference Delegates and to Messrs. Ryan and Case, on behalf of the Canadian Methodists, the Committee presented a report of which the conclusions were as follows and were adopted by the Conference:

"1. Your Committee have had several friendly interviews with the above-mentioned Delegates on those subjects, and they are happy to state that there appears to be an earnest desire to have all existing difficulties terminated to the mutual peace and satisfaction of both parties, and to perpetuate the Christian union and good understanding which have hitherto existed.

2. It appears, from written communications, as well as from verbal testimony, that unhappy dissensions have taken place in Montreal between certain missionaries sent (at the request of a few official members of the society in that place, in time of the last war), by the London Missionary Society, and some American preachers, which have terminated in a division of that society.

3. Although the late hostilities between the two countries separated, for some time, those Provinces from the immediate superintendency of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, yet all the circuits (except Quebec) were as regularly supplied as circumstances would admit of with American preachers.

4. It furthermore appears, from written and verbal communications, that it is the desire of the great majority of the people in Upper and Lower Canada to be supplied, as heretofore, with preachers from the United States.

5. In the two Provinces there are twelve circuits and one station (Montreal), which have eleven meeting-houses, which have been hitherto supplied by American preachers.

These things being duly considered, together with the contiguity of those Provinces to the western and northern parts of the United States, your Committee respectfully submit the following resolution:—

'1. That we cannot, consistently with our duty to the societies of our charge in the Canadas, give up any part of them, or any of our chapels in those Provinces, to the superintendence of the British Connexion.

2. That a respectful letter be addressed to the London Methodist Missionary Society, explaining the reasons for the above resolution.'"

This was the public commencement of a prolonged controversy which only really terminated in 1828, when the Canadian Methodists carried their "Declaration of Independence." The Rev. Thomas Webster, in his valuable "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada," takes somewhat strong and bitter ground against the English missionaries, but it is not difficult to see that there were two sides to the question. The reply of the British Conference to the above document was to give their missionaries instructions such as the following—dated June 26, 1818, and confirmed and repeated in 1819:

"That it be communicated to the missionaries there that the Conference and the Committee never intended that missionaries sent out by them should invade the societies raised up by the preachers appointed by the American Conference, and to divide them; but that they should communicate the benefits of the Christian ministry to those parts of the country where the inhabitants are destitute of them, and to labour in those towns and villages where the population is so large that the addition of their labours to those of other ministers is demanded by the moral necessities of the people."

At the American General Conference of 1820 the following "Address to the Brethren in Canada" was resolved upon and issued:

"We have received, and read with deep interest, the affectionate memorials and addresses from the several circuits in the Provinces of Canada, in which you have expressed your strong attachment to us, and your ardent desire for the continuance of our ministerial care over you. We most cordially reciprocate the sentiments of brotherly affection and Christian attachment you have expressed, and pledge ourselves to use our best endeavours for your spiritual and eternal interests. We sincerely deprecate those evils of which you complain and which have grown out of the conduct of the missionaries sent by the British Conference to labour in Canada. Confiding, however, in the integrity of that Confer-

ence, and believing they have been misled by partial and erroneous statements sent by interested parties in Canada, we still hope that the existing embarrassments will be removed, and that an amicable adjustment of this unhappy affair may be brought about. We can assure you that no means which, in our opinion, will be likely to produce this desirable result, shall be left untried. That you may be convinced that we have neither been inattentive to your interests nor unmindful of the respect due to our British brethren, we beg leave to lay before you a brief statement of what has been done in reference to this subject.

It is, doubtless, well known to you that your case was fully laid before us at our last session in this city, and impartially considered in the presence of Brothers Black and Bennett, who were sent as representatives by the British Conference, and after hearing all that could be said on both sides of the question, it was resolved most expedient, among other reasons because we understood it was your earnest desire, to continue as we had done heretofore, our ministerial labours among you. That the British Conference might be fully apprized of the course we had taken, an address was sent to them stating the reasons which had directed our decision in relation to Canada, and requesting that some arrangements might be made for an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties. To this communication we have received no direct answer. Similar communications have been since sent by Bishops McKendree and George. The letter sent by Bishop George contained a full development of the affairs of Canada ; but neither has an answer to this been received.

As some of the circuits have petitioned to have a separate Annual Conference in Canada, this subject has been considered, and it is thought to be inexpedient for the present, because, among other reasons, it might prevent that interchange of preachers so very desirable, and so essential to your prosperity. After assuring you of our unabated attachment to you as a branch of the Church over which we are called in the providence of God to extend our oversight; and of our determination, at your earnest request, as well as from a consciousness of imperious duty, to continue to afford you all the ministerial aid in our power, we exhort you to steadfastness in the faith, to unity and love, and to perseverance in all holy obedience."

It was also resolved in view of the international issues raised that the following Note should be inserted in the Discipline, under the twenty-third Article of the Church :

"As far as it respects civil affairs we believe it the duty of Christians, and especially of all Christian ministers, to be subject to the supreme authority of the country where they may reside, and to use all laudable means to enjoin obedience to the powers that be; and therefore that all our preachers and people who may be under the British, or any other Government, will behave themselves as peaceable and orderly subjects."

It was finally deemed advisable to give up Lower Canada to the British Conference should such a step be necessary to preserve peace, and during the same year (1820) the Rev. J. Emory was appointed a Delegate to the English Conference along this line. He was cordially received, and the following Resolutions were passed in connection with the American proposition :

" 1. That, as the American Methodists and ourselves are but one body, it would be inconsistent with our unity, and dangerous to that affection which ought to characterize us in every place, to have different societies and congregations in the same towns and villages, or allow of any intrusion on either side into each other's labours.

2. That this principle shall be the rule by which the disputes now existing in the Canadas between our missionaries shall be terminated.

3. That the simplest and most effectual manner of carrying this rule into effect appears to us to be to accede to the suggestions of the American Conference, that the American brethren shall have the occupation of Upper Canada, and the British missionaries that of Lower Canada, allowing sufficient time for carrying this arrangement into effect with all possible tenderness to existing prejudices and conflicting interests on both sides; the arrangement to be completed within a period to be fixed as early as possible by the Missionary Committee. But should insuperable difficulties occur in the attempt to execute this plan (which, however, we do not anticipate), either party shall be at liberty to propose any other mode of accommodation which shall assume as its basis the great principle laid down in the first of these resolutions, and which we are of opinion should be held most sacred in every part of the world.

4. That if hereafter it shall appear to any of our brethren there, either British missionaries or American preachers, that any place, on either

side of the boundary line now mentioned, needs religious help, and presents a favourable opportunity for usefulness, the case shall be referred by the Canada District Meeting to the General Conference, or by that body to the Canada District; and if either shall formally decline to supply the place on their own side of the boundary, then the other shall be at liberty to supply the said place, without being deemed to have violated the terms of this friendly compact.

5. And it shall be explicitly understood in this arrangement, that each party shall be bound to supply with preachers all those stations and their independencies which shall be relinquished by each of the Connexions, that no place on either side shall sustain any loss of the ordinances of religion in consequence of this arrangement.

6. That the Missionary Committee be directed to address a letter to the private and official members, trustees, etc., under the care of our missionaries in Upper Canada, informing them of the judgment of the Conference, and affectionately and earnestly advising them to put themselves and their chapels under the pastoral care of the American preachers, with the suggestion of such considerations, to incline them to it, as the Committee may judge most proper.

7. That the Bishops of the American Connexion shall direct a similar letter to the private and official members, trustees, etc., under the care of the American preachers in the Province of Lower Canada, requesting them to put themselves and their chapels under the care of the British missionaries."

The most vexed features of the problem were thus settled upon the surface, but there was the natural under-current of national sentiment following upon a great struggle for the very existence of the Canadas, and which could not be suppressed. Both sides, however, accepted the above arrangement, and issued their instructions accordingly. The British Conference letter to its missionaries was dated August 23rd, and was in part as follows:

"The Resolutions of the Committee, passed some time ago, and forwarded for your guidance, prohibiting any interference with the work of the American brethren, would show you that the existence of collisions between us and them gave us serious concern, and that the Committee were anxious to remove, as far as they at that time were acquainted with the circumstances, every occasion of dispute. Certainly the case of Montreal Chapel was one which we could never justify to our minds, and the Committee have, in many instances, had but partial knowledge of the real religious wants of the Upper Province, and of its means of supply. The only reason we could have for increasing the number of missionaries in that Province was the presumption of a strong necessity arising out of the destitute condition of the inhabitants, the total want or too great distance of ministers.

On no other ground could we apply money raised for missionary purposes for the supply of preachers to Upper Canada. The information we have had for two years past has all served to show that the number of preachers employed there by the American brethren was greater than we had at first supposed, and was constantly increasing. To us, therefore, it now appears, that though there may be places in that Province which are not visited, they are within range, or constantly coming within the range, of the extended American itinerancy; and that Upper Canada does not present to our efforts a ground so fully and decidedly missionary as the Lower Province, where much less help exists, and a great part of the population is involved in Popish superstition. We know that political reasons exist in many minds for supplying even Upper Canada, as far as possible, with British missionaries, and however natural this feeling may be to Englishmen, and even praiseworthy, when not carried too far, it will be obvious to you that this is a ground on which, as a Missionary Society, and especially as a society under the direction of a Committee which recognizes as brethren, and one with itself, the American Methodists, we cannot act:

1. Because, as a missionary society, we cannot lay it down as a principle that those whose object is to convert the world shall be prevented from seeking and saving souls under a foreign government, for we do not thus regulate our own efforts.

2. To act on this subject would be to cast an odium upon our American brethren, as though they did not conduct themselves peaceably under

the British Government, which is, we believe, contrary to the fact.

3. That if any particular exceptions to this Christian and submissive conduct were, on their part, to occur, we have not the least right to interfere, unless, indeed, the American Conference obviously neglected to enforce upon the offending parties its own discipline. Upon any political feeling which may exist either in your minds or the minds of a party in any place we cannot, therefore, proceed. Our objects are purely spiritual and our American brethren and ourselves are one body of Christians, sprung from a common stock, holding the same doctrine, enforcing the same discipline, and striving in common to spread the light of true religion through the world.

In conformity with these views we have long thought it a reproach, and doing more injury by disturbing the harmony of the two Connexions than could be counterbalanced by any local good, that the same city or town should see two congregations, and two societies, and two preachers professing the same form of Christianity, and yet thus proclaiming themselves rivals to each other, and, in some instances, invading each other's societies and chapels, and thus producing party feelings. The purposes of each, we are ready to allow, have been good, though mistaken; and we rather blame ourselves for not having obtained more actual information on some particulars than intimate any dissatisfaction with the missionaries in the Canadas—with whose zeal and labours we have so much reason to be satisfied.

A part of the evil has also arisen from the want of personal communication, by deputation, between the two Conferences, now happily established. These considerations had long and seriously occupied our minds before the arrival of Mr. Emory, charged by the General American Conference to bring these matters under our consideration. The Committee, previous to the Conference, went with him fully into the discussion of the disputes in the Canadas, and recommended those principles of adjustment which the Conference, after they had been referred to a Special Committee during the time of its sitting, adopted, and which we now transmit to all the brethren in the Canada Station."

The formal American instructions were addressed by Bishop McKendree to the Rev. William Case, on October 16th, 1820. The following Address was also enclosed, to the members of the Church in Lower Canada, signed by the Bishop:

"Very Dear Brethren,—You are aware that for several years past very unpleasant collisions have occurred in various parts both of the Upper and Lower Provinces, between the British missionaries and some of our brethren. This has been a source of great affliction to us, and has led to the adoption of various and successive measures for the correction of the evil. Our late General Conference, being earnestly desirous of restoring the amicable relations of the two Connexions, authorized the deputation of a representative to the British Conference for this purpose. One was accordingly sent. And, after a deliberate investigation, it has been mutually thought best, for the sake of peace and love, under all the circumstances of the case, to divide our labours in the Canadas in such a manner as to guard effectually against all collisions in future. With this view it has been agreed that our British brethren shall supply the Lower Province and our preachers the Upper; yet so that no circuit or societies on either side shall be left destitute by the other. This has been sacredly attended to, and mutual pledges for the performance of it have been passed. It now becomes our duty, therefore, to inform you of this agreement, and to advise you in the most affectionate and earnest manner to put yourselves and your chapels under the care of our British brethren, as their societies and chapels in the Upper Province will be put under ours.

This communication to you, we confess, is not made without pain; not from any want of affection for our British brethren, but from the recollection of those tender and endearing ties which have bound us to you. But a necessity is laid upon us. It is a peace offering. No other consideration could have induced us to consent to the measure. Forgive, therefore, our seeming to give you up. We do not give you up in heart, in affection, in kind regards, in prayer. The British and American Connexions have now mutually recognized each other as one body of Christians, sprung from a common stock, holding the same doctrines, of the same religious family, and striving in common to speed the light of true religion through the world, and they have agreed to keep up a regular intercourse by deputation, in future, for the maintenance of this brotherly union. Let any past differences, therefore, be forgotten; let them be buried for ever."

The Separation from the American Church. The organization of Canadian Methodism into a separate Conference in 1824 would have led gradually and naturally to its establishment as a distinct and independent Church even without the difficulties arising from international causes. The pioneer in this direction was the Rev. Henry Ryan, a man of strong and energetic character, who had been in the van of religious work during the American War, and had been greatly hurt by the charges of disloyalty which came as a result of Methodist connection with the United States Denomination, and of prevailing rivalries with English missionaries. At the General Conference in Baltimore, U.S., in 1824, the Rev. Wyatt Chamberlain and the Rev. Isaac B. Smith asked, on behalf of Canadian Methodism, for a separate Annual Conference, while Mr. Ryan, who was present in an unrecognized capacity, demanded complete separation. The regularly presented petition was granted by the following Resolutions:

"1st. That there shall be a Canada Conference, under our superintendency, bounded by the boundary lines of Upper Canada.

2nd. That a Circular shall be addressed to our preachers and members included within the bounds of the Canada Conference, expressive of our zeal for their prosperity, and urging the importance of their maintaining union among themselves.

3rd. That a respectful representation be made to the British Conference of those points in the late agreement between the two Connexions, which have not, on their part, been fulfilled."

Mr. Ryan returned home naturally displeased at the action of the General Conference and set himself vigourously to work in opposition to it. On the 25th of August, 1824, the Canada Conference was duly organized in conformity with the above resolutions. The American Bishops George and Hedding were both present, and presided alternately. The Conference was small, numbering only thirty-three preachers, including those received on trial and the two Bishops. Bishop George had entered the Province in the eastern District, and travelled westward, preaching as he had opportunity, till he reached Hallowell; while Bishop Hedding, accompanied by Dr. Nathan Bangs, had crossed at Niagara, going east to the seat of Conference. In this way they were able to learn the views of the societies concerning Mr. Ryan's scheme of separation, and found upon a careful investigation of the matter that a majority, both of the preachers and the members, were anxious for a Church entirely independent of the American body. The Bishops therefore agreed to favour the plan at the next General Conference, and this concession gave wide satisfaction. During the interval between the session of the General Conference of 1824 and the meeting of the ensuing one, Mr. Ryan had been industriously sowing further seeds of separation amongst the churches; and this induced the opposing element, which seems to have been strong in its governing influence, to remove him from the Presiding Eldership, a position which he had held since 1810. He was accordingly appointed to a mission, and the Rev. William Case placed in charge of the Bay Quinte District, while Thomas Madden was sent to the Niagara District.

During the next year, however, Mr. Ryan separated himself entirely from the regular work of the Church, deeming it necessary that its independent position should be established before any real progress could be effected. The cry of disloyalty and foreign ecclesiastical control was repeatedly used. In 1829 the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church was formed by Messrs Ryan, Jackson and Breckenridge. In 1828 had occurred the separation of the main Canadian body from the United States Church. The General Conference of that year was held at Pittsburgh, U.S., commencing on the 1st of May. The interests of the Canada Conference were represented by Messrs. William Ryerson, Samuel Belton, John Ryerson, William Slater, and Wyatt Chamberlain. These Delegates, as soon as possible after the commencement of the session, presented the following Memorial from the Canada Conference (passed on August 25, 1824) upon this vexed question of ecclesiastical independence:

"1st. The state of society requires it. The first settlers having claimed the protection of His Britannic Majesty in the Revolutionary War, were driven from their former possessions to endure great hardships in a remote wilderness. Time, however, and a friendly intercourse, had worn down their asperity and prejudice when the

late unhappy war revived their former feeling, affording what they considered new and grievous occasion for disgust against their invading neighbours. The prejudices thus excited would probably subside if their ministry were to become residents in this country, as would be the case in the event of becoming a separate body in Canada.

2nd. A separate establishment appears to be expedient and necessary on account of the insulated and extended situation of the societies in this country from the General Superintendency. The national line is marked by a vast sheet of water stretching the whole length of the Province, either in broad lakes or rapid rivers; so that, in our insulated situation, and the difficulties in passing, it was nearly thirty years after the introduction of our ministry, before one of our Bishops visited this country. Two other Bishops lived and died without setting foot in Canada; and if two others, by forced labour, have kindly stepped over, these visits have been few and transitory; consequently, inconveniences have been felt for want of ordinations, and a more particular and immediate oversight of the General Superintendency. A Superintendent, therefore, to reside in the country, to attend to these important duties, would greatly remedy these inconveniences and have a most salutary influence upon the cause of religion.

3rd. A separate establishment appears necessary and expedient, on account of existing jealousies, lately awakened by the Government of this country. On the arrival of the missionaries from Europe, efforts were made to establish them in our cities and societies, by raising objections to our ministry as coming from the United States. These objections were urged to the people here, and to the Committee at home; but when the measure proved unsuccessful, and the British Conference refused to sanction the request made to them from political motives, these objections were then urged against us to the Government of this country. Natural as it was for political characters to listen to alarms on such a subject, some excitements were produced on the minds of men high in the Executive Department, and some events have rather increased than allayed these excitements. To us, therefore, it appears proper to apply for a separation, that by yielding to what might be thought to be the reasonable wishes of the Government, we may obviate the objection, and remove all suspicion of the purity of our motives in preaching the Gospel in this country.

4th. To us it appears expedient and necessary that the societies here should be set off as a separate body, because that in the event of war between the two nations, the difficulties of intercourse between this country and the United States would render it extremely hazardous, if not totally impracticable as we are now situated, for the Superintendents to discharge their duties in Canada.

5th. To us it appears expedient that the societies here should become a Church separate from the body in the United States in order to secure privileges which are of importance for the prosperity of religion here. At present we are not permitted to perform the rites of marriage to our members; nor, indeed, have we any legal security for one of our numerous chapels in this Province, and we have been assured that in our present relation we must not expect any extension of privileges. Though we cannot assure ourselves of such advantages by becoming a separate body, yet we can apply for those privileges with more confidence; and we think we have reason to hope that when petitions shall be presented to the Government from an independent Church in this country our privileges will be granted and our property secured.

These, brethren, are the reasons which have been presented to our minds, and which appear to us of weight and moment in favour of a separation, and in order to preserve the body of Methodists in this country from the most disastrous of all events—that of division among ourselves."

The above Memorial had been not only sanctioned at the Canada Conference of 1824 but a copy of it had been laid before each of the several other Annual Conferences during the four years' interval. The question was therefore pretty generally understood, and was really brought up at this General Conference for final adjustment. The document was referred to a Committee, which after due deliberation and taking all the circumstances of the Canadian Church into consideration, finally reported in favour of

the separation. The General American Conference accordingly adopted the following preamble and report:

"Resolved, by the Delegates of the Annual Conference, in General Conference assembled, that whereas the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has been heretofore extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the Province of Upper Canada, by mutual agreement, and by the consent of the brethren in that Province; and whereas the General Conference is satisfactorily assured that our brethren in the said Province, under peculiar and pressing circumstances, do now desire to organize themselves into a distinct Methodist Episcopal Church, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States; therefore be it resolved, and it is hereby resolved, by the Delegates of the Annual Conference in General Conference assembled:

That if the Annual Conference in Upper Canada, at its ensuing session, or any succeeding session previously to the next General Conference, shall definitely determine on this course, and elect a General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that Province, this General Conference does hereby authorize any one or more of the General Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with the assistance of any two or more Elders, to ordain such General Superintendent for said Church in Upper Canada; provided always that nothing herein contained be contrary to, or inconsistent with, the law existing in said Province; and provided that no such General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, or any of his successors in office, shall at any time exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever in any part of the United States, or of the territories thereof; and provided also that this Article shall be expressly ratified and agreed to by the said Canada Annual Conference before any ordination shall take place."

The Canada Conference of 1828, which was to inaugurate a new era in the history of the Methodist Church in the Province, held its session in Switzer's Meeting-House, in Ernestown, commencing on the 2nd of October. Bishop Hedding, of the United States, was present and presided. The action of the General Conference in answer to their Memorial was brought before the Conference for their approval or rejection, when the whole subject was referred to a Committee of nine, which in due time reported favourably. The following Resolutions concerning it were then adopted:

"Whereas the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America has, heretofore, extended over the ministers and members in connection with the said Church in the Province of Upper Canada, by mutual agreement, and by the consent of our brethren in this Province; and whereas it has been and is the general wish of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada to be organized into a separate and independent body, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States; and whereas the General Conference has been pleased to comply with our wish in this respect, and has authorized any one or more of the General Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with the assistance of any two or more Elders, to ordain a General Superintendent for the said Church in Upper Canada;

Resolved, 1st. That it is expedient and necessary, and that the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church do now organize itself into an independent Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.

2nd. That we adopt the present discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the basis of our constitution and discipline, except such alterations as may appear necessary from our local circumstances."

Immediately after organizing itself into an independent body, the Conference proceeded to elect the Rev. William Case as General Superintendent *pro tem.* Bishop Hedding, as soon as the election was made, proposed to vacate the chair, as he was no longer their Chairman by virtue of his office as Bishop of the M.E. Church in the United States; but, at the urgent request of the Conference, he was induced to preside during the remainder of the session. Before its close, the Bishop gave the members such instructions and counsel as he considered necessary or applicable to their situation and circumstances. Thus amicably was severed the connection between the two bodies.

Union with the British Conference. Following the separation from the American Church came

the union with the British Wesleyan Methodist body. The Conference of 1832 commenced its session on the 18th of August, at Hallowell, now Picton, the Rev. William Case presiding, and the Rev. James Richardson continuing to act as Secretary. The state of the Church work was described as very encouraging, there being four districts, forty-one circuits and stations, and seventy-one preachers, besides six employed under the Presiding Elders. The membership was 14,999, making an increase of 3,716 whites. There was a decrease of sixty-three among the

The Rev. Dr. James Richardson.

Indians, which reduced the total increase to 3,651. The Rev. James Richardson was appointed Editor of the *Guardian*, and the Rev. Egerton Ryerson was elected a Delegate to the English Conference. In attendance also was the Rev. Dr. Robert Alder, representing the Church in England and anxious to carry out the plan of union which had already been discussed with various leaders of the Canadian Church. In due time the project was brought forward and the advantages which it was supposed would be derived therefrom were dwelt upon at length by the advocates of the measure. The disadvantages were not quite so ably put and were perhaps more difficult to discover. Resolutions in favour of union were finally adopted and the Rev. Egerton Ryerson was appointed to take charge of the matter before the English Conference.

The Canadian Conference of 1833 convened at York, commencing its session on the 2nd of October, with Mr. Case in the chair and the Rev. Egerton Ryerson acting as Secretary in place of Mr. Richardson. There was stated to be a total membership in the Church of 16,039. There were, as before, four districts and about seventy preachers, not counting those who had been superannuated or located. Shortly after the opening of the Conference Mr. Ryerson proceeded to give an account of his mission to England, with its results. The union could, in his opinion, be formed at once by the Conference if it consented to the ratification of certain Articles submitted by the English Conference, and insisted upon by them, to which he, as the representative of the Canadian body, had already given his assent. These Articles of Union were as follows:

"The English Wesleyan Conference, concurring in the communication of the Canadian Conference, and deprecating the evils which might arise from collision, and believing that the cause of religion generally, and the interests of Methodism in particular would, under the blessing of God, be greatly promoted by the united exertions of the two Connexions; considering also that the two bodies concur in holding the doctrines of Methodism, as contained in the Notes of Mr. Wesley on the New Testament, and in his four volumes of Sermons, do agree in the adoption of the following Resolutions:

1. That such a union between the English Wesleyan and Canadian Connexions as shall preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the Canadian preachers and societies, on the one hand, and on the other, shall secure the funds of the English Conference against any claims on the part of the Canadian preachers is highly important and desirable.

2. That (as proposed in the second and third Resolutions of the Canadian Conference) in order

to affect this object the discipline, economy, and form of Church government in general of the Wesleyan Methodists in England be introduced into the societies in Upper Canada, and that in particular an annual Presidency be adopted.

3. That the usages of the English Conference in reference to the probation, examination, and admission of candidates into the itinerant ministry be adopted.

4. That preachers who have travelled the usual term of probation, and are accepted by the Canadian Conference, shall be ordained by imposition of the hands of the President and of three or more of the senior preachers, according to the form contained in Mr. Wesley's 'Sunday Morning Service of the Methodists,' by which the Wesleyan missionaries in England are ordained, and which is the same as the form of ordaining elders in the discipline of the Canadian Conference.

5. That the English Conference shall have authority to send from year to year one of its own body to preside over the Canadian Conference, but the same person shall not be appointed oftener than once in four years, unless at the request of the Canadian Conference. When the English Conference does not send a President from England, the Canadian Conference shall, on its assembling, choose one of its own members. The proposal of the Canadian Conference is understood to include, as a matter of course, that the President of the Conference shall exercise the same functions generally as the present General Superintendent now actually exercises; he shall not, however, have authority to appoint any preacher to any circuit or station contrary to the counsel or advice of a majority of the Chairmen of Districts, or Presiding Elders, associated with him as a Stationing Committee.

6. That the missions among the Indian tribes and destitute settlers, which are now, or may be hereafter, established in Upper Canada shall be regarded as missions of the English Missionary Society, under the following regulations:

(*a*) The Parent Committee in London shall determine the amount to be applied annually to the support and extension of the missions, and this sum shall be distributed by a Committee consisting of the President, the General Superintendent of Missions, the Chairmen of Districts, and seven other persons, appointed by the Canadian Conference. A standing Board or Committee, consisting of an equal number of preachers and laymen, shall moreover be appointed, as heretofore, at every Conference, which during the year shall have authority, in concurrence with the General Superintendent of Missions, to apply any moneys granted by the Parent Committee, and not distributed by the Conference, in establishing new missions among the heathen and otherwise promoting the missionary work. (*b*) The Methodist Missionary Society in Upper Canada shall be auxiliary to the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the money raised by it shall be paid into the funds of the Parent Society. (*c*) The missionaries shall be stationed at the Canada Conference, in the same way as the other preachers, with this proviso, however, that the General Superintendent of Missions shall be associated with the President and Chairmen of Districts in their appointment. (*d*) All the preachers who may be sent from this country into the work in Upper Canada, shall be members of the Canadian Conference, and shall be placed under the same discipline, and be entitled to the same rights and privileges as the native preachers. (*e*) Instead of having the annual stations of the missionarias sent home to the English Missionary Committee and Conference for their sanction, as is the case with our missionaries generally, and as the Canadian Conference have proposed, the English Conference shall appoint, and the Parent Committee shall meet, the expense of supporting a General Superintendent of Missions, who, as the agent of the Committee, shall have the same superintendence of the mission stations as the Chairmen of Districts or Presiding Elders exercise over the circuits in their respective Districts, and shall pay the missionaries their allowance as determined by the Conference Missionary Committee, on the same scale as the Canadian Book of Discipline lays down for the preachers on the regular circuits; but who, being at the same time recognized as a member of the Canadian Conference, shall be accountable to it in regard of his religious and moral conduct. This General Superintendent of Missions representing the Parent Committee in the Canadian Conference, and in the Stationing and Missionary Committees, the appointments at the Conference shall be final.

7. That the Canadian Conference, in legislating for its own members, or the Connexion at large, shall not, at any time, make any rule, or introduce any regulations which shall infringe these articles of agreement between the two Conferences.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the Conference, RICHARD TREFFRY, President,
EDMUND GRINDROD, Secretary.

Dr. Ryerson gave a glowing description of his cordial reception in England, and of the sympathetic feeling he found exhibited by the English Missionary Society for the welfare of Canadian Methodism. It was then moved by Rev. Egerton Ryerson and seconded by J. E. Davidson, "That the Canada Conference cordially concurs in the Resolutions of the British Conference, dated Manchester, August 7th, 1833, as the basis of union between the two Conferences," and this carried unanimously. Mr. Case resigned his position, the Rev. George Marsden, a member of the English Conference, was appointed to succeed him, and the name of the Church was changed (as well as its Episcopal form of government) to that of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America. This arrangement lasted only six years—a period of discontent and dissension. A small but growing body separated themselves from the main tree of the Church, and were organized in 1834 into the new Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, with the Rev. John Reynolds as General Superintendent. Meanwhile in the larger Denomination there was much trouble, and even law-suits in the Courts as to the ownership of the property held by the Church prior to its change of name and constitution. To quote the Rev. Dr. Hugh Johnston upon the wider questions at issue—"Centennial of Canadian Methodism":

"Dr. Ryerson was still forging and hurling his hot thunderbolts against Church of England supremacy and monopoly in the Province, while the authorities of the Mission House seemed to be on the side of the Church and State party. Offences increased. The whole Methodist household was in tumult and schism; without were fightings, within were fears. There was direct conflict between the representatives of the British Conference in this country and the leaders of the Canadian Church, who were strongly committed to the public question of the day. Against the effort of the High Church oligarchy and the Executive to force an Establishment on the Province the Methodist Church expended its supreme energies. But the Wesleyan, conservative, old-world views of obedience to the constituted authorities and subordination to a State Church, looked upon the action of the leaders of the Canadian Israel, in the maintenance of their civil and religious rights, as political intermeddling."

Hence came the separation in 1840 by action of the British Conference. During six more years there was much of bitterness and bickering until finally in 1846 the Canada Conference adopted resolutions favourable to re-union and reconciliation with the British body. A Canadian deputation was sent to the latter Conference, full discussion entered into, and Articles of Re-union arranged and submitted to the Quarterly Meetings of the Church in Canada. In June, 1847, this basis of union was agreed to by the Canadian General Conference and peace and unity finally established.

The Methodist New Connexion Church. Formed chiefly by the secession of the Rev. Henry Ryan and the Rev. James Jackson in 1829 from the newly organized and independent Canada Methodist Episcopal Church, the Canadian Wesleyan Church led a struggling existence for a number of years, but ultimately attained a considerable measure of strength and success in union with the Methodist New Connexion Church. The earliest available returns as to its progress show, in 1835, 21 ministers, 42 local preachers, and a membership of 2,481, which, however, had fallen in 1841 to 1915. The difficulties of the little body had been of course intensified by Mr. Ryan's death, and it was with natural pleasure that in 1837, advantage was taken of the visit of the Rev. John Addyman, who came to Canada on behalf of the English New Connexion Conference, to discuss the question of union. This latter organization had been formed in England in 1797 with the following principles:

"1. The right of the people to hold their public religious worship at such hours as were most convenient, without their being restricted to the mere intervals of the hours appointed for service in the Established Church.

2. The right of the people to receive the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper from the hands of their own ministers and in their own places of worship.

3. The right of the people to a representation in the district meetings and in the Annual Conference, and thereby to assist in the government of the community and in the appropriation of its funds.

4. The right of the Church to have a voice, through its local business meetings, in the reception and expulsion of members, the choice of local

officers, and in the calling of candidates for the ministry."

These were substantially the views of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, and at its Conference on June 9th, 1840, the whole matter was carefully discussed and finally an equitable and satisfactory basis of union adopted. This was sent to the Quarterly Boards, and also laid before the Executive Committee of the Methodist New Connexion in England. The following was the Basis of Union finally adopted by both Churches:

"1. That the local preachers now in the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church be entitled to stand in the same relation to the united body, and enjoy the same privileges they now do in the Canadian Wesleyan Church, and all local preachers hereafter received shall submit to the rules, and graduate according to the regulations of the Methodist New Connexion, and enjoy such privileges as it provides.

2. That the forms for sacraments, marriages and ordination of elders used among the Canadian Wesleyans be retained.

3. That the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Circuit preachers be received into the united body according to their various standings in that community.

4. That for the present the name of the united body be the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion.

5. That twenty pounds per annum (subject to future alteration as the case may require) be allowed from the English Missionary Fund towards the support of a married, and twelve pounds per annum towards the support of a single, preacher. These sums to form the maximum of allowance, and that it be left to the discretion of the Superintendent of Missions, with the assistance of the Conference, to apportion the grants, with a due regard to economy and the necessities of each particular case.

6. That a Paternal and Beneficent Fund be established, for the encouragement of which the Missionary Society agree to grant the sum of thirty pounds annually to each Fund, until, in the judgment of the Conference, it shall not be longer necessary.

7. The Canadian Conference to have the direction of the work in Canada, assisted by the representative of the Methodist New Connexion in England, as the Superintendent of the Mission, who shall be a member of the Canadian Conference *ex officio*, and corresponding member of the Annual Committee. It will be the duty of said representative or General Superintendent, to see that all engagements connected with claims on the Mission Fund are faithfully performed, and to assist the Conference to carry out the benevolent plans contemplated by the Union.

8. That to ensure, so far as prudential means can accomplish the object, a supply of suitable preachers for the wants of the united body, the Wesleyville Institution be established to afford the means of instruction for a limited period. And that in the first instance suitable young men, connected with the religious community in Canada, be selected, or young men recommended from England by the Missionary Committee.

9. That the stations of the Methodist New Connexion in the eastern part of this Province, formerly called Lower Canada, be united with the Canadian Conference.

10. As missionary exertions are employed to gather precious souls into the Church of Christ, and extend the Redeemer's kingdom, so the exertions of the English Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society will be directed to the establishment of an active, prosperous and permanent distinct community in Canada; that, as this end is attained by the formation of circuits, the introduction of the system, and the missionary stations becoming so many parts of the body, in that proportion the influence of the English Connexion shall cease in its concerns, and the body in Canada shall become a distinct religious community, united only to the brethren in England in Christian love, and in those kind offices which will always be proper and acceptable."

The Union of 1841 was exceedingly beneficial to the united community. It was, says the Rev. Dr. William Williams in the "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," a fair and honourable arrangement. It involved no fundamental changes on either side. Virtually, the functions of legislation and administration were exercised as freely after the Union as before it. The name of the Church was changed by the Conference of 1864 so as to read,

"The Methodist New Connexion Church in Canada." Though the clause referring to the Wesleyville Institution was not carried out in the form originally proposed, a Theological Institute was organized, the Rev. William McClure was appointed tutor, and an Educational Board elected to co-operate with him. Mr. McClure filled this important position with great efficiency till his death, and at one time as many as thirty young men, in different stages of their probation, were under his instruction and direction.

Though the Union of 1841, by providing for the payment of annual grants of money from the English Missionary Fund to the labourers on Canadian Missions, and constituting the representative of the English Conference Superintendent of those missions, as well as *ex-officio* member of the Canadian Conference, and corresponding member of its Executive Committee, necessarily brought the Canadian Connexion very largely under the influence of the Methodist New Connexion in England, it expressly provided for the ultimate and complete independence of the Canadian Church. This important clause naturally exerted some influence upon the wider union movement of 1874, as it provided for the complete emancipation of the Connexion from all outside control as soon as it ceased to be a missionary church, or became able to sustain its own missions from Canadian resources. During these and following years the Rev. John Addyman, the Rev. H. O. Crofts, the Rev. J. H. Robinson, the Rev. William Cocker, D.D., the Rev. John Medicraft, and the Rev. L. B. Gundy were the leaders and rulers of the Denomination in Canada. After considerable preliminary discussion the union was effected in 1874 of the Methodist New Connexion Church, the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada under the name of the "Methodist Church of Canada."

The progress of the Methodist New Connexion Church during these years has been given by the Rev. Dr. Williams. He states that in 1842 there were in the active work twenty ministers and preachers and 2,484 members. The first report of contributions to the Mission Fund was made at the Conference of 1844, when they amounted to $773.78. In 1852, there were fifty ministers and preachers, and 4,496 members, and the contributions to the Mission Fund amounted to $1,988.07. In 1862, the returns included ninety effective ministers and preachers, and 8,001 members, the contributions to the Mission Fund being $5,428.44. In 1872, there were 117 effective ministers and preachers, and 8,312 members, with contributions to the Mission Fund of $8,352.14. At the time of the Union of 1874 the estimated value of church and parsonage property was $288,340.

The New Methodist Episcopal Church. This Methodist organization claimed to preserve in continuity the system and Church originally established in Canada. It maintained the Episcopal form and other special doctrines after the union of the greater part of Canadian Methodism with the English Wesleyan Conference in 1833. Its early leaders were Joseph Gatchell, David Culp, Daniel Pickett, John Reynolds and J. W. Byam. At Trafalgar, on the 10th of March, 1834, an important Convention was held, with sixteen preachers in attendance, and the following Resolutions of historical interest were adopted—dealing in the main with the union of the principal body with the English Conference, and its abrogation of the Episcopal name and functions:

"1. Resolved. That the Christian Church, according to the intent and meaning of the Scriptures, is a society of faithful believers in Christ Jesus, among whom the ordinances of the Gospel are duly observed and administered.

2. That the Church, by Divine appointment, for the edification of God's people, and for the better observance of the law and institutions of the Christian religion, is divided into the ministry of the word, and the people, and their obligations and interests are mutual, and their duties voluntary.

3. That the Bible, as the law of God, is the only standard to which the Church in its different departments is accountable, and that no church officer, or member of the same, has any right to impose any other rule or principle than is herein required or may be fairly deduced from the same.

4. That any compact or association of any Methodist or other religious society throughout the world is voluntary, such compact being merely

intended for the mutual protection of privileges and property of the said societies, and the securing among them unity of systems of faith and practice.

5. That the societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada became, by common consent, a free and independent Church, viz., by a ratified agreement between the General Conference of the M.E. Church of the United States and the Annual Conference of the M.E. Church in Canada, said Canada Conference being authorized by the petitions of the people of their charge to apply for and agree upon said measure, which was afterwards, at the session of the Canada Conference in Ernestown, in this Province, in the year 1828, arranged and fully settled, and a compact or Discipline then formed, that became the foundation of connection between the Conference of the M.E. Church of Canada and their people.

6. That every member of the said M.E. Church is equally interested in the said Discipline, in all its provisions and institutions, as no individual can be a member of the said Church, or any other, but by freedom of choice; the said Discipline is equally a guarantee to the members as well as to the preachers, and no alteration of institution or change of relation can take place in the same without their consent, else their freedom is invaded, and the Discipline violated.

7. That the said Discipline has vested the General Conference of the M. E. Church with certain powers of legislation, but such power alone can extend to the making of rules for the well-being and future good government of the M. E. Church of Canada; if they are exercised to any further extent they are null, being unauthorized.

8. That the Conference, formerly of the M. E. Church, now denominated the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in British North America, at their two last sessions, by their propositions to unite the Church to a remote body, by their negotiations to effect the union in question, and by their consummation of the same, have acted without disciplinary authority, inasmuch as the right of self-disposal is denied the people—a most sacred and conscientious principle.

9. That the said Conference have forfeited their pastoral charge of the said M. E. Church; have alienated themselves from any right or possession in the real properties secured by law to the said Church.

10. That we are constrained, from principles contained in the foregoing Resolutions, to enter our protest against the late changes made by the Annual Conference, as subversive of all right principle, and as a dangerous precedent to be allowed in the Church, and that we hold ourselves, and those members who concur with us, still the legal M. E. Church in Canada.

11. That this Convention do now appoint a General Superintendent, whose duty it shall be to itinerate through this Province to see that the ordinances of the Church be duly administered as far as possible, and to notify all our preachers, travelling and local, of the M. E. Church, to meet in Conference, on the 25th June next ensuing, at Cummer's meeting-house, on Yonge street, to elect and constitute a Bishop according to the provisions of the Discipline, and to adopt such rules and regulations for the future legislation of the Church as may accord with the mutual rights of the people.

12. That the said Superintendent, with the Elders now present, do form a Committee to appoint such preachers as may offer for the itinerating department, who have been ordained or licensed agreeable to Discipline.

13. That we consider a conciliation a desirable object, and feel ourselves bound to accede to any such conciliatory offers as may secure to preachers and people what we conceive to be their natural rights."

This document was signed by the Rev. John W. Byam, President, and A. C. Seaver, Secretary, and was followed by the gathering for organization at Cummer's meeting-house in June as proposed; by the Rev. John Reynolds' election in 1835, as Bishop; and by a prolonged legal as well as doctrinal controversy with the larger Church. By the year 1836 the number of preachers, however, had increased to twenty-four, with a Church membership of 2,390. In 1841 there were 6,049 members and thenceforward the increase was rapid and continuous, until at the time of its union in 1883 with the other Methodist Churches of the Dominion, the M. E. Church embraced 228 ministers and 25,671 members.

The Primitive Methodist Church in Canada. This Denomination was first formed in England in 1810 by Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, who, having followed the example of an American named Lorenzo Dow in holding open air meetings, were expelled from the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The new Denomination began with ten adherents, but this number rapidly increased, and by 1821 the membership was 16,394. The formation of the Church in Canada was indirectly due to the failure of the crops in 1825 in England, which so affected the business of a Primitive Methodist local preacher, Mr. William Lawson, that he decided to emigrate, and early in 1829 sailed for Canada and settled in Little York (Toronto). There he preached in the market square of the town until October of that year, when a small school-house on Duke Street was secured. This was soon found too small for the increasing congregation, and the school-house of a Mr. Thompson, who had emigrated from England shortly before, was secured. A class-meeting was opened in Mr. Lawson's house, and he was elected leader, but it was soon felt that a regular minister was needed, and in 1830 Mr. R. Watkins was sent from the United States, where he had been labouring.

Mr. Watkins visited several rural places and formed three societies, but in the following year departed and was succeeded by Mr. Summersides. At the beginning of the next year the membership was upwards of one hundred, while there were twelve local preachers and four exhorters, with twenty places where preaching was held. By the end of the year a new church which could accommodate almost six hundred persons was opened on Bay Street, Toronto, at a cost of about $3,800. In 1833, the Hull Circuit, under the charge of which the Canadian branch had been placed, sent out two other missionaries, the Rev. Joseph Partington and the Rev. William Lyle, while three others in Canada were employed as travelling preachers. Five years later it was found necessary to divide Toronto into two circuits, with Brampton as the head of the new one—the membership of the Church then being 375. In 1843, a General Missionary Committee was formed in England, and the Canadian Church passed from under the care of the Hull Circuit to this Committee. A Primitive Methodist Missionary Society was also formed in Canada, and during the next year the Church made rapid advancement with over 1,000 members and nearly 100 preachers. Hugh Bourne visited the Canadian Church in 1844 and spent about a year in Canada, but on hearing of a decrease in the English membership decided to return. During the next two years the local membership also suffered a slight decrease, but at the end of that time prosperity returned and several new churches were built, while Messrs. T. Adams, J. Fowler, William Gledhill and J. Davison were sent from England as ministers. Ten years later there were thirty-two principal stations, forty missions, and over four thousand members, while during the same period a Canadian Conference had been formed, as it was found to be inconvenient to remain dependent upon the distant one in England.

Accordingly, in 1853, the consent of the English Conference to this step was gained, and in the following year the first Canadian Conference met, with Mr. William Lawson as its Secretary. He was also appointed Secretary of the Connexional General Committee, and this office he held until 1858, when the Rev. John Davison took his place. The new Conference now stationed its own preachers and conducted its own missionary operations, while it also appointed two representatives to the English Conference—a minister and a layman—and arranged to send to the English Conference a full report of the numerical and financial state of the Canadian work, the stations of the ministers and the names of ministers ordained and received as probationers. In 1860 the districts were re-arranged, and three new ones made, the total number being six, including Toronto, Brampton, Hamilton, Guelph, London and Kingston. This number remained stationary for some years, when Barrie was added, making a total of seven at the time of the Union in 1883. At the Conference of 1860 it had also been decided to station the preachers through a Stationing Committee composed equally of ministers and laymen. This had hitherto been done at the May District Meetings, which, on account of the small number of ministers in the districts, was found unsatisfactory. Occasion was also taken to celebrate the half-century jubilee of the

whole Connexion, and the money thus gained was devoted to a new mission called the "Jubilee Mission," which later developed into three Circuits—Wingham, St. Helens and Grey. The following table prepared by the Rev. Dr. J. Cooper Antliffe in 1890, shows the progress made after that time, and the condition of the Church in 1870, and again in 1883, when the Union was effected :

	1870.	1883.
Travelling preachers	81	98
Local preachers	263	214
Class leaders	320	299
Members of the Church	6,432	8,090
Sabbath Schools	130	152
Scholars	7,833	9,065
Connexional Churches	193	231
Other places of worship	167	58
Parsonages	25	50
Value of Church property	$188,925	$403,346
Debt on Church property		60,298

The need of an educational establishment for the training of young ministers being felt, the Rev. Thomas Crompton commenced a Theological Institution in a humble way, but a year or two later this was given up. In 1879, when the half-century jubilee of the Denomination in Canada was celebrated a fund of several thousand dollars was raised for the assistance of burdened trusts and to assist in building new churches and parsonages. A catastrophe befell the Connexion in 1879 when the Church on Alice Street, Toronto, which had succeeded that on Bay Street, was burned down. But out of evil came good for Carlton Street Church was erected in its place at a cost of about $50,000, with an organ worth about $6,000. Mr. William Lawson, who had been chiefly concerned in the beginning of the Connexion, had removed to Hamilton in 1847, where he was instrumental in the organization of a local Primitive Methodist Church.

When the union of the different Methodist Denominations was proposed, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada at once approved of the idea, and at the Conference of 1882 passed a resolution affirming "the desirability and possibility of the unification of Methodism in this land," and appointed a Committee to meet and confer with any Committee appointed by other Methodist Churches to prepare a basis of union. The basis having been prepared and approved by the different societies in the Connexion it was sent to England, where also it was consented to at a Conference in 1883. Early in 1884, two representatives were sent to England to conclude the connexion with the mother Church—the Rev. William Bee to wind up the missionary business with the English Committee, and the Rev. J. Cooper Antliffe, D.D., to arrange for the withdrawal of the Canadian ministers from the Itinerant Preachers' Friendly Society. The Connexion in Canada then subscribed nearly $14,000 to put itself on a level with the older branches of the Church, and thus the distinctive name and separate position of the Primitive Methodist Church were finally given up on Whit Sunday in 1884.

The Bible Christian Church in Canada. In the year 1815, Mr. William O'Bryan, a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher, having been informed that in twenty adjoining parishes of Devon, England, there were no Dissenters or Methodists, and that irreligion abounded, started an independent Methodist Society of between twenty and thirty members at Shebbear, Devon. This small beginning rapidly increased, and in the autumn of that year a great revival was held, and within fifteen months there were twelve hundred converts. In 1819 the numbers had so increased that a Conference was held, and the Bible Christian Missionary Society formed. In 1831 a constitution was framed, and a distinctively evangelical Methodist Denomination was formed. At this Conference, also, two missionaries were sent out to British North America—John Glass being sent to Canada West, and Francis Metherell to Prince Edward Island. Mr. Glass soon grew discouraged and withdrew, and in the following year John Hicks Eynon was sent out to take his place.

He settled in Cobourg, Upper Canada, which soon became the central point of a circuit embracing nearly two hundred miles. A small church was erected in Cobourg in 1836 and another at Precious Corners. The members having increased to 181, another missionary named John Kemeys was sent out, and a third, John Edwards,

in 1839. Three years later, on the arrival of Philip James and Robert Huntley, circuits were outlined and each preacher regularly appointed to one. By 1844 the members of the Denomination had increased to 625, and Thomas Green and J. B. Tapp were added to the staff of missionaries, making seven in all, who laboured with great difficulty but with growing success. In the following year the Bowmanville Church was opened at a cost of £200, and soon after several others were built, making fourteen at the close of that year. Three years later this number had increased to twenty-four, and these were, year by year, added to, while in a decade the membership tripled itself. In January, 1845, the first missionary meeting was held at Cobourg, the collection amounting to £6. Three additional missionaries from England arrived in the following year, and immediately after missions were opened up in the States of Ohio and Wisconsin, and also in the "Huron Tract" of Ontario. But many more missionaries were needed, and these it was impossible to obtain.

By 1852 the Church in Canada was able to support itself, and financial aid from England ceased. The field in Canada was then divided into three districts, and in the following year a general meeting of preachers and representatives from different places was held at Bowmanville for mutual advice and aid. But although this was not called a Conference, it led to misunderstandings with the mother Church in England, which thought the Canadians wanted to become quite independent. Consequently, in 1854, Paul Robins was sent as a Delegate to England to arrange the matter, and a separate Conference was finally granted, with full control over Provincial affairs, though still in affiliation with the mother Conference. The first meeting of the Canadian Bible Christian Conference met in 1855, when the number of preachers was twenty-one, churches fifty-one, and members, 2,186. Meanwhile Francis Metherall had settled near Charlottetown, in Prince Edward Island, preaching in houses, barns, or in the open air, and at the end of the first year had forty-seven members. These were increased to sixty by the end of the second year, with thirty-six preaching places, and they continued to grow so that, in 1834, Philip James was sent to the Island. Their work extended and prospered, finally covering a field of nearly 140 miles long. Additional helpers were sent from England, while two joined the ranks who had been converted on the Island, viz., J. W. Butcher and Jesse Whitlock. The hard, incessant work began to tell on Mr. Metherall, and at his request, in 1856, Cephas Barker was sent from England as his successor. During Mr. Barker's nine years' residence, a church was built at Charlottetown and others at different places. In 1865 the Prince Edward Island District was united to the Canada Conference, and Mr. Barker was transferred to Ontario, while John Chapple was sent to the Island. At this time the number of churches was 132, ministers 54, members 5,000. This prosperous state of affairs, in spite of Mr. Chapple's efforts, did not continue, and in 1870 George Webber took his place, when an era of great prosperity set in. Several new churches and parsonages were built, free of debt; others were renovated, debts were paid, and the membership greatly increased.

The union of the Churches in Canada and Prince Edward Island was most beneficial, and several ministers came out from England, while many churches were built, among them a large and expensive one at Toronto. Emigration to the North-West set in, and to meet this loss of membership in the east, missions were established in Manitoba in 1879. A Connexional weekly paper, the *Observer*, was organized in 1866, under the management of Cephas Barker, who continued in this post for fourteen years, being followed by Mr. H. J. Nott for three years. However, the paper became heavily involved in debt, which reached $55,000 in 1880. A subscription of $30,000 was taken up to relieve this, and in following years the subscriptions were so good that a considerable decrease was made in the remaining debt. The Presidents of Conferences, from the beginning till the thirtieth Conference, included the ablest men in the Denomination—Paul Robins, J. B. Tapp, R. Hurley, T. Green, John Chapple, W. Hooper, Joseph Hoidge, Cephas Barker, W. S. Pascoe, David Cantlin, Jesse Whitlock, William and John Kenner, Edward Roberts, George Webber, William Joliffe, J. J.

Rice and Archibald Clark. At the Conference of 1882, the question of a union of all the Methodist sections was brought up, and after discussion, a Committee of eleven was appointed to meet Committees from the other Denominations. This meeting was held at Carlton Street Church, Toronto, and a basis of union agreed upon which was duly submitted to the members of the Church and adopted by a majority of more than two-thirds. Subsequently the Union was ratified at the Exeter Conference of 1883, and a Memorial and request for approval sent to the English Conference. This was granted after some discussion and preliminary misunderstanding. The last Conference of the Denomination was held at Bowmanville in 1884, in June of which year the legal union took place, and the Bible Christian Church, after fifty years of independence, was merged into the Methodist Church.

Early Methodism and British Connection. As a consequence of their connection with American Methodism the Church in Canada during its pioneer days had to frequently meet charges of disloyalty. This naturally increased the bitterness inherent in the Clergy Reserves question and other controversies, and the whole matter came to a head in 1827 when the Rev. Dr. Strachan, in a famous letter to the Imperial Government, repeated the allegations. The House of Assembly promptly took up the matter and appointed a Select Committee of investigation. After examining fifty-two witnesses this Committee made a Report on March 20th, 1828, from which the following is an extract:

"The insinuations in the Letter against the Methodist clergymen the Committee have noticed with peculiar regret. To the disinterested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men this Province owes much. At an early period of its history, when it was thinly settled, and its inhabitants were scattered through the wilderness and destitute of all other means of religious instruction, these Ministers of the Gospel, animated by Christian zeal and benevolence, at the sacrifice of health and interest and comfort, carried amongst the people the blessings and consolations and sanctions of our holy religion. Their ministry and instruction, far from having as is represented in the Letter a tendency hostile to our institutions, have been conducive (in a degree which cannot be easily estimated) to the reformation of their hearers from licentiousness, and the diffusion of correct morals—the foundation of all sound loyalty and social order. There is no reason to believe that, as a body, they have failed to inculcate, by precept and example, as a Christian duty, an attachment to the Sovereign, and a cheerful and conscientious obedience to the laws of the country. More than thirty-five years have elapsed since they commenced their labours in the Colonies. In that time, the Province has passed through a war which put to the proof the loyalty of the people. If their influence and instructions have the tendency mentioned, the effect by this time must be manifest. Yet no one doubts that the Methodists are as loyal as any other of His Majesty's subjects. And the very fact that, while their clergymen are dependent for their support upon the voluntary contributions of their people, the number of their members has increased so as to be now—in the opinion of almost all the witnesses—greater than that of the members of any other Denomination in the Province, is a complete refutation of any suspicion that their influence and instructions have such a tendency. For it would be a gross slander on the loyalty of the people to suppose that they would countenance and listen with complacency to those whose confidence was exerted for such base purposes."

At the same time a lengthy Address to the King, dated March 20th, and signed John Willson, Speaker, was passed by the Assembly, which at this period, it may be added, held a pronounced anti-Church-of-England majority. The following is an extract from this document:

"We beg leave to inform Your Majesty that of Your Majesty's subjects in this Province only a small proportion are members of the Church of England, and there is not any peculiar tendency to that Church among the people, and that nothing could cause more alarm and grief in their minds than the apprehension that there was a design on the part of Your Majesty's Government to establish, as a part of the State, one or more Churches or Denominations of Christians in this Province, with rights and endowments not granted to Your Majesty's subjects in general of other Denominations, who are equally conscientious and deserving, and equally loyal and attached to Your Majesty's Royal Person and Government. In following honestly the dictates of their conscience, as regards the great and important subject of religion, the latter have never been con-

scious that they have violated any law or any obligations of a good subject, or done anything to forfeit Your Majesty's favour and protection, or to exclude themselves from a participation in the rights and privileges enjoyed by Your Majesty's other subjects. We humbly beg leave to assure Your Majesty that the insinuations in the Letter against the Methodist preachers in this Province do much injustice to a body of pious and deserving men, who justly enjoy the confidence and are the spiritual instructors of a large portion of Your Majesty's subjects in this Province. We are convinced that the tendency of their influence and instruction is not hostile to our institutions, but on the contrary is eminently favourable to religion and morality, and their labours are calculated to make their people better men and better subjects, and have already produced, in this Province, the happiest effects."

In 1828, as soon as the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada had been duly organized upon an independent basis, the Conference, on October 7th, took advantage of the recent arrival of Sir John Colborne as the newly-appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada to again vindicate Methodist loyalty by the presentation of the following Address:

"May it please Your Excellency—We, His Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, in our Annual Conference assembled, respectfully beg leave to offer to Your Excellency our most cordial congratulations on Your Excellency's appointment to the Governorship of this Province and your safe arrival amongst us. We hail it as a propitious event, and it affords us peculiar pleasure to present to the representative of our Sovereign our assurance of loyal attachment to His Majesty's mild and beneficent Government, and to the constitution of our country.

We shall ever consider it amongst our most important duties as religious teachers, to inculcate the principles of fidelity and obedience to the Governor and lawfully constituted authorities of our highly-favoured country; and we assure Your Excellency that these feelings of conscientious attachment to the British Government, cherished by us as Christian ministers, and dear to us as British subjects, pervade and animate the people of our pastoral care. As the ministers and representatives of our Anglo-Canadian Church, unconnected with the civil and ecclesiastical authority of any other country, we rejoice by the kind and merciful providence of God we form a part of the British Empire. We pray Almighty God that Your Excellency may be guided and assisted in the discharge of the arduous duties of your Government, and that your residence among us may be equally gratifying to yourself, and beneficial to the best interests of the loyal inhabitants of this Colony, and that under Your Excellency's wise and equitable administration and fostering care, the general interests of this Province may prosper; that the benign influence of religion and education may be widely diffused; and that our civil and religious liberties—the strongest bonds of perpetual union between this Colony and the Mother Country—may be established on the best and surest foundations. We request that Your Excellency will be pleased to accept our expressions of personal respect, and best wishes for the uninterrupted health and prosperity of Your Excellency and family.

By order of the Conference.

(Signed) WILLIAM CASE,
President *pro tem.*
JAMES RICHARDSON,
Secretary."

To these documents may be added an extract from the Address presented in later and brighter days by the Conference of an united Canadian Methodist Church to the Marquess of Lansdowne as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. Dated at Belleville on Sept. 17th, 1883, it was signed on behalf of the General Conference by the Rev. Dr. J. A. Williams, President, and the Rev. F. B. Stratton, Secretary. The following statement from this Address is both interesting and important:

"We welcome you joyfully because of personal dignity and worth; we welcome you because of noble family and fame. But we welcome you especially because you come to us as the representative of a Government we have found mighty, generous and free; an example and defender of religion, liberty and law over all the globe; a Government under whose august and beneficent institutions we count it our chief political privilege and pride to live; a Government, Kingdom and Empire whose glorious traditions and history are to us a joy and a crown. We have a precious, an inestimable delight in this kinship of glory, this rich heritage of renown—not less precious than the kinship of blood—that lifts up the hearts of Britons in all climes, in patriotic affection and loyal devotion to the land and

the throne that are the bright exemplars of constitutional government, and the sanctuary of the oppressed of all nations. We can assure Your Excellency that we are not of those who favour the severance of the British Colonies from the British Crown. Rather, would we say, let the bond of connection be firmer and stronger in British, Imperial and Colonial relationship over all the continents and all the seas; for we believe in the Providence of God our mother-land is set in the midst to demonstrate how supreme authority in the Crown is reconcilable with perfect

The Rev. Dr. John A Williams.

liberty and equality to all the subjects, and how Christian civilization—the righteousness of the Holy Scriptures—exalteth a nation among the nations of the earth. Wherefore, as British subjects, with a thousand welcomes we hail you as the representative of Britain's fame, strength and glory among us; the precious bond linking our youthful Government on this vast continent to the Government of the ancient and honourable Empire beyond the seas."

The Rev. William Black, the pioneer Methodist preacher of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, was born in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England, in 1760. When he was fifteen years of age the family emigrated to Canada and settled near Amherst, N.S., together with others from the same neighbourhood in England. Among them there was a Methodist element which soon made itself felt. Prayer meetings were established in 1779, and many were converted, among them William Black. Two years later, of his own accord, Mr. Black started as a missionary amongst the isolated and scattered settlers in the Province. For some months he laboured in the smaller settlements, but in May, 1782, occupied the pulpit in Cornwallis, and after that preached in every part of the Maritime country with great success. During the year 1783 he crossed to Prince Edward Island—this visit being repeated a few years later.

In 1884 Mr. Black went to attend the Conference, in Baltimore, of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and there he gained great assistance for his work, both in men and money. On his way back he instituted a revival of religion in Boston, and when he reached Nova Scotia he found himself no longer alone in the work. The first meeting of the Halifax District or Conference was held soon after, in 1786. After years of preliminary service Mr. Black was ordained in 1789, and by virtue of seniority and position he was practically Bishop of the Church in his Provinces. By that title he is still known and revered in Methodist memories. Mr. Black paid visits to Newfoundland and the West Indies where he met with great success. In 1812 he was made a supernumerary, but continued in active work until his death in 1834.

The Rev. William Case was born in the town of Swansea, on the Massachusetts seaboard of the United States, in 1780. In 1803 he was converted, and two years later, having been a local preacher for some time, was accepted by the New York Conference, and appointed to the Bay of Quinte in Ontario. In the following year he was removed to the Oswegatchie Circuit, N.Y., and in the beginning of 1807 was ordained deacon and appointed to the Ulster Circuit, which com-

prised the whole range of the Catskill Mountains. During the following year he was brought back to Canada to the Ancaster Circuit, and was ordained an Elder. In 1809 he was sent to Detroit, and became Presiding Elder of the Cayuga District in the following year, this being a part of the Genesee Conference. During the War of 1812 he was in charge of the Oneida District, and in 1814 of the Chenango District. He returned to Canada during the next year, and became Presiding Elder of the Upper Canada District, and the year afterwards of the Lower Canada District. This position he retained till 1820, when he was again transferred to Upper Canada. He was appointed Secretary of the Genesee Conference of this year, and again in 1822. In the following year he began his connection with the Indians, when he was placed upon a Committee on Indian affairs. At the Conference of 1822 Mr. Case had been also appointed Vice-President of the Missionary Society, and work was at once commenced among the Indians. The Canadian independent Conference was formed in 1824, and Mr. Case became Presiding Elder of the Bay of Quinte District. In the following year he was chosen Secretary of Conference. In 1828 the Canadian Methodists became entirely independent of the United States Church, and Mr. Case was made Superintendent of Indian Missions and Schools. From 1829 to 1832 he acted as General Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Canada and President of the Conference. He was in charge of the native Wesleyan Industrial School at Alnwick from 1837 to 1851. He exercised wonderful influence over the Indians, and attained great success in their conversion and civilization. During 1836 he was a Canadian Delegate at the General Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati. On Oct. 19th, 1855, he died from an accident while mounting his horse.

The Rev. Henry Ryan. The early history of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, or Methodist New Connexion as it afterwards became, was closely connected with the life of the Rev. Henry Ryan. He was born in Massachusetts, April 22nd, 1775, of Irish Roman Catholic parents. They provided their son with the best education the locality could afford. At the age of sixteen he was converted to Protestantism and expelled from home. Within two years from that time he became a Methodist preacher, and in the year 1805 came as a missionary to Canada, was appointed to the Bay of Quinte Circuit, and had for a colleague the no less distinguished William Case. Bishop Hedding, of the U. S. Church, who, when a young man, was under his superintendency for a year, thus describes Henry Ryan: "He was in that day a very pious young man, a man of great love for the cause of Christ, and great zeal in his work as a minister. A man who laboured as if the judgment thunders were to follow each sermon." It is also stated upon good authority that he was a man of fine appearance, great physical strength, dauntless courage, and more than usual decision of character. Though impetuous and impatient of control, he had at times great command of himself. These qualities, combined with his wonderful faculty of influencing the common mind, eminently fitted him to be a leader of men in days of pioneer struggle and of war which made his adopted country a battlefield. The fact that many of the early Methodist missionaries were natives of the country with which Canada was at war and received their appointments from a Conference which met in the United States, was naturally a source of difficulty in the work and of peril at times to the workers. Henry Ryan, however, then a Presiding Elder over the Upper Canada District, remained in Canada, rallied his men around him, carried on the work as best he could, and kept the societies from being scattered. At the Genesee Conference of the American Church which met on July 9th, 1813, no preacher from Canada was present.

Canadian Methodism owed much to the intrepid conduct of Elder Ryan and his compeers during that trying period, and during the equally trying time of suspicion and unpopularity which naturally followed when it was found that the American Conference continued its control over the Canadian societies. Realizing at last the difficulties of the situation and despairing of obtaining the right to hold church property and celebrate matrimony while under the jurisdiction of a foreign religious court, Elder Ryan and others sought for separation and independence.

"The impetuosity of some leading ministers and the undue resistance of others," says the Rev. Dr. William Williams, "to a measure that all felt the value and importance of, complicated the situation. Personal elements mingled themselves with the controversy, and created greater divergencies of feeling and action, and the result was the formation of a separate and independent organization which was known as the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church. This event took place in the year 1829. As in all similar cases, a large number of ministers and members who sympathized with the views of the leaders of this movement declined to follow them into a separate community. The polity of the new Church was a liberal and equitable one. It provided for lay representation in all of its courts, and though the organization was not as complete in its arrangements as it afterwards became, it did effective work for God, and brought prominently before the public mind principles of Church government which are now universally recognized as equitable and fair."

The first few years of the history of the young community were far from encouraging. With Connexional machinery which required great administrative ability to make it effective, with a large amount of popular prejudice to meet and overcome, with material to work with that was as yet crude and untried, without adequate funds to meet the emergencies of the hour and develop the resources that were at hand, without parsonages for the preachers or places of worship for the people, the strength and endurance of these pioneers in the cause of liberty were severely tried. And as if to increase their difficulties before the little Church had been four years in existence, the Rev. Henry Ryan, who had been, humanly speaking, the life and soul of the movement, was called to his rest. He died at Gainsborough, Upper Canada, in 1833, at the early age of fifty-eight years.

The Rev. John Reynolds, the founder of the new Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, was born in the State of New York on the 9th February, 1786. In 1796 his parents removed to Canada, and the year following located themselves in the township of Burford. They finally settled in Dorchester, on the east branch of the River Thames. When about seventeen years of age Mr. Reynolds was converted by the Rev. Nathan Bangs, and in November, 1807, was sent out as an assistant on the Niagara Circuit, travelling under the Presiding Elder, Joseph Sawyer.

In 1808 Mr. Reynolds was admitted on trial by the New York Conference and sent with Daniel Pickett to the Augusta Circuit. Although unordained, he was, in the following year, appointed to the Yonge Steeet charge, where he was well received. In 1810, the work in Upper Canada became part of the newly formed Genesee Conference, and Mr. Reynolds was ordained deacon, and appointed to the Smith Creek Circuit, which embraced what is now known as Clark, Port Hope and Cobourg. During several succeeding years, although a man of delicate constitution, he endured the hardships of the itinerant life and continued to travel over different circuits. In 1815 he located and settled in what is now known as the town of Belleville, then an extensive cedar swamp, only slightly reclaimed from its primitive wildness. Here he entered into mercantile business, but continued to preach as his health and circumstances would permit, assisting also the local church very materially with his means. At the Hallowell Annual Conference, held in 1824, Mr. Reynolds was ordained an Elder by Bishop George.

Then followed the difficulties over the union with English Wesleyanism, the separation of Mr. Reynolds and others from the main body and his election in 1835 as General Superintendent, and then Bishop, of the new organization, or re-organized Church, as it would be termed by some. As a business man Bishop Reynolds had been very successful, and after the re-organization his liberal contributions were a great assistance to the struggling Church. He aided very considerably in the erection of the new church in Belleville, and also gave liberally to the building of the Seminary—now Albert College. For his services to the Church as General Superintendent or Bishop he would never accept any remuneration whatever. He died in 1857.

The Rev. John Davison was, perhaps, the leading representative of Primitive Methodism in Canada. He was born near Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1799, and was converted by the agency of William Norris, a Staffordshire potter, who had

gone to Newcastle, and who was an earnest local preacher in the Primitive Methodist Church. Mr. Davison joined the first society formed in Newcastle, and shortly began to exercise his gifts, preaching throughout the surrounding villages. In 1823 he was called to the ministry by the Hull Quarterly Meeting, and the following twenty-four years were spent by him on some of the most important circuits in the north of England. He was requested to go to Australia in 1840 as Superintendent of Missions, but declined. When, however, a similar request was preferred in reference to the Canadian Mission in 1847, he complied, and reached Toronto in August of that year. After residing three years in the city, Mr. Davison was stationed on the following circuits: Grand River, Hamilton, Brampton, Galt and Guelph Union Mission. In 1857 he was appointed General Missionary Secretary and Book Steward, which brought him again to Toronto, where he continued to reside until his death, in 1884. In 1866 he was superannuated, after being engaged in active Church work for forty-three years. In 1840 he had compiled the "Journals of William Clowes," and in 1854 published the Life of the same eminent evangelist, who ranks with Hugh Bourne as one of the founders of the Primitive Methodist Church. On coming to Canada, Mr. Davison had found no Denominational periodical, and he therefore undertook, on his own responsibility, to commence a monthly paper, *The Evangelist*. It had a good circulation, but was afterwards merged into the *Christian Journal*, which was started at the Conference of 1858, with Mr. Davison as its Editor. This position he held until his superannuation. He also compiled the first Book of Discipline. Outside his own Denomination, says the Rev. Dr. Cooper Antliffe, he was loved and esteemed, and the confidence of the general public in him was shown by his appointment by the Government to a place on the Senate of Toronto University, which he held from 1863 to 1873.

The Rev. James Richardson, D.D., was born at Kingston in 1791, and attended various schools there until he was about thirteen, when he was apprenticed for five years as a sailor on the lake vessel of which his father was captain. In this way he became thoroughly familiar with the navigation of the lakes and rivers of Upper Canada. When eighteen years old he entered the Provincial Marine, and upon the outbreak of the War of 1812 received a Lieutenant's commission, but in 1813 the local marine became part of the Royal Navy, and the Provincial commissions were then of no effect. Mr. Richardson, however, served as a master and pilot until the close of the war, and at the taking of Oswego, N.Y., his left arm was shot away. When the war ceased, he returned to Presque Isle Harbour, Northumberland County, and became Collector of Customs and J.P., with a pension of £100. While there, in 1818, he left the Anglican Church and joined the Methodist Episcopal Denomination, with whose subsequent history he was closely identified. Though of imperfect education, he very soon became a man of mark in the Denomination. His first appointment was that of local preacher at Smith's Creek, but in 1824 he was placed on the Yonge Street Circuit, which included the town of York, then in its pioneer days of development.

In 1826 Mr. Richardson was sent to labour at Fort George and Queenston. During the next year he was admitted into full connection, and ordained a deacon, along with the late Dr. Anson Green and Dr. Egerton Ryerson. He then laboured as a missionary amongst the Indians. The memorable Conference of 1828 followed at Ernestown, and of this Mr. Richardson was chosen Secretary. Thenceforward the Church in Canada became an independent body, with a system and Conference of its own. "This step," said Dr. Richardson upon one occasion, "was fraught with results for good or ill, according as it is viewed by different parties, from their several standpoints. It was deemed necessary then by the majority, because of the political relations of the two countries, and the difficulty attendant on obtaining our legal right to hold Church property, and solemnize matrimony. Others, viewing the Church as catholic, or universal in her design and character, judged it wrong to limit her jurisdiction by national or municipal boundaries." He was appointed after this event, with the Rev. Joseph Gatchell, to the Niagara Circuit, a very extensive field of labour, and took up his abode

at what was then the insignificant village of St. Catharines. There he remained two years, and in 1830 was ordained as an Elder by Bishop Hedding, of the United States, no Bishop as yet having been selected for the Canadian Church, which, since its separation, had been presided over by the Rev. William Case as General Superintendent.

From circuit to circuit Mr. Richardson now travelled. Wherever he went he left behind him the impress of a sincere and zealous man. At the Conference held at York in 1831 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Niagara District. During 1832-3 he acted as Editor of the *Christian Guardian*, and while holding this position opposed the reception of Government support by the Churches with great vigour and determination. At the Conference of 1833, where the Articles of Union between the English and Canadian Connexions were adopted, Mr. Richardson was a consenting party to the arrangement, believing that the step would be productive of good, though he subsequently had reason to modify his views on the subject, as well as on the previous separation from the American body. In 1836 he severed his connection with the Wesleyans, owing to the reception by that body of State grants, and soon afterwards removed to Auburn, in the State of New York, where he remained for a period. It was not a pleasant one, as his British opinions were too pronounced and well known. A year later Mr. Richardson returned to his native land and took up his residence at Toronto. Immediately upon his arrival he encountered his old friend and fellow-labourer, the Rev. Philander Smith, and after a long and serious conversation they both decided to unite themselves with the New Methodist Episcopal Church. The Conference of that body was then in session a short distance from Toronto, and they were welcomed with open arms.

In 1840, Dr. Richardson was appointed the Canadian agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and this office he retained for eleven years, at the same time frequently preaching in Methodist churches. He became Vice-President in 1842, and President in 1851, of the Upper Canada Religious Tract and Book Society, which latter position he held until his death. In 1852, he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Church for two years, and in 1858 was elected its Bishop. In 1865, he undertook what proved to be a rather unfruitful mission to England on behalf of Albert College, Belleville, and on his return he worked indefatigably in Church matters until 1870, when his colleague, Bishop Smith, died. For the next four years he worked alone, but his health having broken down, in 1874, the Rev. Dr. Carman was appointed his associate in the Episcopal office. Dr. Richardson died at his home, Clover Hill, Toronto, on March 9th, 1875.

The Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D., was born in Woodhouse, Upper Canada, in 1803. He was baptized "Adolphus Egerton," but in after life entirely dropped the first name. Educated at the District Grammar School he joined the Methodist Church in 1821 against the wishes of his father, who was a member of the Church of England. As a consequence he left home and became a teacher in the London District Grammar School. Here he worked successfully for two years and then returned to the farm at his father's request, though still continuing his studies. He had already resolved to enter the ministry, and therefore commenced to study Classics with the Headmaster of the District Grammar School at Hamilton. In 1825 he preached his first sermon and from that time worked incessantly and upon many circuits. Dr. Ryerson made his first appearance as a writer in 1826 by reviewing a sermon of Archdeacon Strachan's which attacked Methodism. His article won considerable attention. About this time he was asked to accept ordination in the Church of England, but although entertaining a high opinion of that Denomination he remained a Methodist. In 1829 the *Christian Guardian* was founded and Mr. Ryerson was installed as joint-editor. Later on he became sole Editor of that important journal.

The Methodists now became anxious for a College of their own, and in 1836 Mr. Ryerson was chosen as a Delegate to the Mother Country to obtain the charter and solicit subscriptions. He had been across on a Church mission two years previously so that the choice was a good one. He accomplished both objects and induced the

Imperial Government to recommend a grant by the Upper Canadian Legislature to the College. This was done and thus the future Victoria University was greatly helped, and Dr. Ryerson was unanimously chosen Principal in 1842. In the preceding year the degree of Doctor of Divinity had been conferred upon him by the Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut. Dr. Ryerson's name became well-known during the Rebellion of 1837 from the discussions which he entered into in the press over public affairs, and later, in connection with the struggle between Sir Charles Metcalfe and the Reform Party. Dr. Ryerson sided strongly with the Governor-General. He was appointed Superintendent of Public Schools for Upper Canada in 1844, and in order to properly fill this office he made an extensive tour of the United States and Europe—a report of which was published in 1846. A School Act, drafted by him, was passed by the Legislature. Three years later, however, it was repealed and a new Education Act passed. This proved unsuccessful and Dr. Ryerson then framed a new Act upon the basis of that of 1846, and this legislation forms the groundwork of the educational system of Ontario.

In 1848 Dr. Ryerson established the *Journal of Education* which he edited until 1876, when the office of Chief Superintendent being abolished and replaced by that of Minister of Education, Dr. Ryerson retired into private life. He had been mainly instrumental in the improvement of the Grammar School Law in 1853 and 1865, and collected the works of art which are now to be found in the Educational Department at the Normal School. He received the degree of LL.D. from Victoria University in 1861 and in 1874 was elected first President of the Methodist General Conference—a post he held until 1878. In 1832, 1836, 1839 and 1840 he was Canadian representative at the English Conference, and in 1835, 1839, 1843, 1852 and 1866 at the General Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1880 his most important literary work—the "Loyalists of America and their Times"—was published and became very widely known. He was the author of another valuable work entitled "The Story of My Life." Dr. Ryerson died in 1882.

The Rev. Matthew Richey, D.D., was born at Ramelton, Ireland, in 1804, and at an early age came to British America. He started ministerial work in 1820 in New Brunswick, and in the following year was given his first circuit—that of Newport, N.S. Subsequently he laboured in Parrsboro', N.S., and Charlottetown, P.E.I., and in 1830 went south for a year to Charleston, U.S., where he gained great popularity. He spent the three succeeding years in Halifax, after which he was appointed to Montreal. In 1836 the "Upper Canada Academy" (Victoria College) was opened and Mr. Richey was appointed Principal. While there he received from the Middletown (Conn.) Wesleyan University the degree of M.A., and wrote a "Memoir of the late Rev. William Black" which gave a history of early Methodism in Nova Scotia. He was transferred to Toronto in 1839, and in the two following years was sent as Delegate to England in connection with the separation of the Canadian branch of the Church from the organization in England. In 1842 he was appointed Chairman of the Canada West District and General Superintendent of Missions, and in the following year was transferred to Kingston, where he remained two years.

Dr. Richey was then sent to Montreal, where he was elected Chairman of the Canada East District, and while there received the honourary degree of D.D. from the Middletown Wesleyan University. While in Montreal he was also Superintendent of Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory. He was again sent as a Delegate in 1846 and 1847 to the London Evangelical Alliance and the British Conference. In 1848 he removed to Toronto, attended the General Conference at Pittsburgh, U.S.A., and was appointed President of the Canada Conference. Two years later he moved to Windsor, N.S., for a year, at the end of which time he left for Halifax, and was appointed Chairman of the Nova Scotia West District. When the Conference of Eastern British America was formed in 1855 Dr. Richey was appointed co-delegate, and in the following year became its President. This position he held until 1860, when, his health being poor, he took a trip to Europe, and on his return in 1861 was appointed to St. John, N.B. From 1864 to 1867 he was President of the Prince Edward Island District,

and in the latter year was again President of the Conference of Eastern British America. In 1868 he attended the General Conferences in the United States and Great Britain, after which he retired from active life and died in 1883.

The Rev. Enoch Wood, D.D., was born in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, England, in 1804. He entered the service of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1826, and after acting for three years in the West Indian Missions he was transferred to New Brunswick, where he laboured for nineteen years—alternating between Fredericton and St. John, with two years spent at Miramichi. While still a young man he was elected Chairman of his district, and this position he held until in 1847 he was appointed Superintendent of Missions in Upper Canada, and, in consequence, moved to Toronto. This office he retained until its extinction in 1868, and in the following year became Missionary Secretary. From 1851 to 1858 he had been President of the Wesleyan Conference, and this post he held again in 1862. In 1874, after the union of that year, he was elected first President of the Toronto Annual Conference. Latterly he held the position of Missionary Secretary of the United Methodist Church, but for some years previous to his death, which took place in 1888, he was unable to undertake any active work. The honourary degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Victoria University in 1860.

The Rev. William Morley Punshon, M.A., LL.D., was born in Doncaster, Yorkshire, England, in 1824, and was educated there. At the age of fourteen he commenced to learn the business of his grandfather—a timber merchant and shipowner at Hull—and while there, four years later, joined the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He then resolved to enter the ministry of that Denomination, and soon after became a local preacher at Sunderland, in Durham. He was ordained in 1849, and subsequently laboured in various parts of England until 1858, when he settled in London. Here Mr. Punshon published a volume of poems and several lectures. In 1868 he came to Canada as President, and at the request, of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and during five years in succession was elected to that important post. Both in Canada and in the United States he lectured and preached to immense audiences, and also took a prominent part in the erection of the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Toronto. He represented the Canadian Church at the Methodist Conference held in Manchester in 1871, and in the autumn of that year he represented the British Church at the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States held at Brooklyn, N.Y. While in Canada, Dr. Punshon was active in promoting an adequate

The Rev. Dr. W. M. Punshon.

endowment for the University of Victoria College, Cobourg. When, in 1873, he returned to England, much to the regret not only of the Methodist body, but of many in other Denominations, he was appointed Pastor of Warwick Chapel, Kensington, and in 1874 was elected President of the British Conference. Following this, he was one of the Missionary Secretaries, and later, Senior Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, a position which he held until his death in 1880. The degree of M.A. was conferred upon Dr.

Punshon by the Middletown University, Connecticut, U.S., and that of LL.D. by the University of Victoria College, Cobourg.

There is no doubt that Dr. Punshon's five years' residence in Canada gave an impetus to the Denomination which would be felt for many succeeding generations. He preached and lectured to immense crowds in nearly every important city and town of the Dominion, and every sermon and lecture was a fresh triumph. "His pulpit oratory," says Mr. J. C. Dent in his "Canadian Portrait Gallery," "though calm and free from adventitious display, was marvellously powerful and effective. His elocution was almost perfect. Some of his lectures, on the other hand, were marked by lofty and impassioned flights of oratory which literally took his audience by storm. Among those which will long be remembered by all who heard them were his two discourses on 'Macaulay' and 'Daniel in Babylon.'" His addresses brought him immense popularity amongst the Canadian people. "Throughout his vigourous and animating eloquence," says an English writer, "there was a deep, faultless vein of human sympathy—a sympathy which at once lays strong hold of his hearers, softening their passions, and intensifying their affections. The newspapers were daily aglow with the praises of the man, and Canadian Methodism reflected back, so to speak, the light which English Methodism for the time being had lost."

The Rev. John Carroll, D.D., was born in 1809 on an island in the Bay of Fundy, and soon afterward the family moved to Little York (Toronto). He is said to have attended the first Sunday School ever held there, in 1818. In 1824 he joined the Methodist Church, and soon afterwards was licensed as an exhorter. He became an itinerant in 1828, and from then until 1832 he worked in Bytown, Brockville and Cobourg. At this latter date he entered the Upper Canada Academy, which he attended for a year, and then re-entered ministerial work. During his ministry he was stationed in most of the present cities of Ontario, and was frequently Chairman in the districts in which he was stationed—holding this position for a longer period than that filled by any other Canadian excepting the Rev. William Case. Among these appointments was that of Chairman of the Augusta District, 1842-3; the Kingston District, 1844-5; the London District, 1848-50; the Montreal District, 1854; the Hamilton District, 1851-3; the Belleville District, 1856-7; the Ottawa District, 1858-60; the Peterborough District, 1861-3; the Guelph District, 1864-6; the Niagara District, 1867-8. He was Co-Delegate in 1863, and in 1869 became General Agent of the Sabbath School Union. In the year following this latter date he was superannuated, and then moved to Yorkville. Two years later he moved to Rochesterville, and in 1873 to Leslieville. Dr. Carroll died in December, 1884. In the spring previous to his death he took charge of a mission at York Station, for the building of which he raised money by a personal canvass, and which was to have been opened on the day following his death. In addition to his ministerial duties, Dr. Carroll was well known as an author, having written "Past and Present," "School of the Prophets," "Case and His Contemporaries," "Methodist Baptism," "Life of Robert Carson" and other works. At the time of his death he had in manuscript a history of his own life. He also contributed largely to the *Christian Guardian*.

The Rev. Anson Green, D.D., was born in Middleborough, N.Y., in 1801. He was converted in 1819, and four years later emigrated to Upper Canada, where he took charge of a school at West Lake. He joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1824, his first charge being that of a travelling preacher on the Smith's Creek Circuit, and then on the Hallowell (Picton) Circuit. In 1827 he was ordained a deacon. By the Conference of 1828 Mr. Green was given the Fort George Circuit, and in 1830 he was ordained Elder, and removed to Brockville. While on this latter circuit he had a public controversy with a Baptist minister upon their respective doctrines of baptism. He was instrumental in 1831 in forming the first Temperance Society in Brockville. It proved very successful. In the following year he was moved as Presiding Elder to the Augusta District, which embraced all the Province east of Kingston and three circuits in Lower Canada, and involved much hard work and travelling. In 1834 he was attacked with

Asiatic cholera, from which he nearly died. His second district as Presiding Elder was that of the Bay of Quinte, to which he was moved in 1836, and his first business there was the opening of the Methodist Academy at Cobourg. In the organization of this College Mr. Green had been greatly interested, and he now became its Treasurer.

He was Chairman of the Toronto District in 1840, and in addition to this was Secretary of Conference in 1841 and President of Conference in 1842. In the following year he became Chairman of the Hamilton District, but returned to the Toronto District in 1844, and in the same year was appointed Book Steward. The combined positions were, however, too much for his health, and until 1853 he retained the position of Book Steward alone. In this latter year the honourary degree of D.D. was conferred on him. He was appointed Delegate to the British Conference in 1854, and again in 1856. From 1854 to 1858, Dr. Anson Green was upon the superannuation list, but in 1859 again took the position of Book Steward, which he held until 1864, when he was again superannuated. In 1863 he was for a second time elected President of Conference, and in 1874 was appointed Delegate to the General Conference at Toronto of the newly organized Methodist Church of Canada. He died on February 19th, 1879.

The Rev. George Douglas, D.D., LL.D., was born at Ashkirk, Roxburghshire, Scotland, in 1825, and in 1832 came to Canada with his family and settled in Montreal. He attended for some time a private school at Laprairie and afterwards became clerk in a Montreal book concern. He was then apprenticed to a blacksmith. At the end of his service in this connection he entered into partnership with his brother as a carpenter and builder. Meanwhile, since leaving school, he had read everything he could, and finally resolved to study medicine. To this end he matriculated at a Montreal Medical School. Soon afterwards, however, he joined the Methodist Church, and, leaving medicine, determined to enter the ministry. He was received as a probationer in 1848, and in the following year left Montreal to attend the Wesleyan Theological Institute at Richmond, England. Immediately on his arrival there he was appointed Missionary to the Bahamas District of the West India Mission. Having been ordained in London in 1850 the young minister set out for his post where, after eighteen months' hard labour his health broke down and he returned to Montreal. Here he remained until 1854 when he went to Kingston where he preached for three years, and then spent three years in Toronto and three in Hamilton. In 1862 he was superannuated and returned to Montreal. Dr. Douglas was appointed Chairman of the Montreal District in 1869 and in 1873 became Principal of the Montreal Theological College, which position he held until his death in 1894. The honourary degree of LL.D. was conferred on him in 1870 by the University of McGill College, Montreal, and in 1874 he was Delegate to the General Conference in Toronto. He was frequently the representative of his Church at other ecclesiastical gatherings, among them being the International Conventions at Washington, Philadelphia, Albany, Indianapolis and Chicago; the Evangelical Alliance

The Rev. Dr. George Douglas.

in New York, and the General Conference of the M.E. Church, South. He was also Co-Delegate at the old Canada Conference; President of the Montreal Conference in 1877, and Vice-President and President (1878) of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada.

The Basis of Methodist Union. The following is the official document giving the basis upon which, and with which, the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, and the Bible Christian Church of Canada, agreed to unite. It was adopted by these bodies separately in 1882, and then at the General Conference in September, 1883:

"*Doctrines, General Rules, Ordinances, etc.* The Doctrinal Basis of the United Church shall be the Standards of Doctrine and Articles of Religion contained in the Book of Discipline of the Methodist Church of Canada, Edition of 1879, from p. 13 to p. 21. That portion of the Book of Discipline of the said Methodist Church of Canada, Edition of 1879, from p. 21 to 33, referring to General Rules, Ordinances, Reception of Members, and Means of Grace, is also adopted as part of the Basis.

The General Conference. 1. There shall be a Quadrennial General Conference, composed of an equal number of Ministerial and Lay Delegates elected as hereinafter provided, with power to make rules and regulations for the entire Church. (See "Annual Conference," par. 9).

2. No change shall be made in the Basis of Union affecting constitutional questions, or the rights and privileges of Ministry or Laity, except by a three-fourths majority of the General Conference, and, if required by either Order of Ministry or Laity, a two-thirds majority of each Order, voting separately.

3. There shall be one or more Itinerant General Superintendents elected by the General Conference, to hold office for the term of eight years. But if it be decided at the meeting of the General Conference after Union to elect two General Superintendents, one of them shall be elected for four years only, so that there may be a recurring election or re-election every four years.

4. A General Superintendent shall preside over all Sessions of the General Conference, and over all Standing Committees of the same.

Annual Conferences. 1. The territory occupied by the Church shall be divided into Conferences as the General Conference may from time to time direct.

2. Each Annual Conference shall be composed of all Ministers in full connection within its bounds, and an equal number of laymen, elected as elsewhere provided. (See "District Meetings," par 6).

3. Laymen shall have the right to be present at all ordinary Sessions of the Annual Conference, and to speak and vote on all questions, except the examination of Ministerial character and qualification; the Reception by vote of Probationers into full connexion, and their Ordination; and the granting of the Superannuated or Supernumary relation, on which exceptive questions Ministers alone shall take action. In case any Minister's character shall be arrested, it shall be competent for the Ministerial members to meet in Special Session to examine into the case and pronounce judgment, reporting their action to the mixed Conference, such report to be for information and record, and not for discussion.

4. Each Annual Conference shall have authority to elect a President from among its Ministerial members.

5. The General Superintendent, when present, shall open the Annual Conference, and preside during the first day of its Sessions, and afterwards alternately with the President elected by the Conference. In the absence of a General Superintendent, the President of the previous year shall take the chair, and open the Conference. In association with the President, the General Superintendent shall conduct the Ordination Service, and they shall jointly sign the Ordination Parchments. But all other duties pertaining to the Presidency of the Annual Conference shall be vested in the President elected by that body, and in the absence of the General Superintendent he shall conduct the Ordination.

6. The President of the Annual Conference shall be *ex-officio* Superintendent of the District in which he may be stationed during the year of of his Presidency.

7. The Annual Conference shall elect by ballot,

without debate, a Secretary or Secretaries, as the case may require.

8. The Annual Conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, a Superintendent for each District from among the ordained Ministers within the bounds of such District.

9. Each Annual Conference, at its Session next preceding the Session of each General Conference, shall divide into Ministerial and Lay Electoral Conferences, for the purpose of electing Delegates to the General Conference, each body electing its own representatives. The Delegates shall be elected from within the bounds of said Conference, and the vote shall be by ballot.

10. Each Annual Conference shall have a Stationing Committee, composed of the President of the Conference (who shall preside in the Committee), the Superintendents of Districts and one Minister elected by each District Meeting, such election to be by the joint votes of Ministers and Laymen.

11. Each Annual Conference shall have authority to elect into full connexion and ordain any Probationer within its bounds who has travelled four years and fulfilled all disciplinary requirements. Also, to elect and ordain Probationers of less than four years' standing, when the necessities of the work require it.

12. All preachers who have received Ordination in any of the uniting bodies, and are in good standing at the time of the Union, shall retain all rights and privileges conferred by such Ordination.

District Meetings. 1. The territory occupied by each Annual Conference shall be divided into Districts.

2. Each Annual District Meeting shall consist of all the Ministers and Probationers for the Ministry within its bounds, and one Lay Delegate for each Minister or Probationer in the active work, from each Circuit, Mission or Station throughout the District, said Delegates to be elected by the Quarterly Meetings as hereinafter provided.

3. Each District shall be under the supervision of a presiding officer, to be called the District Superintendent, who shall be elected by the Annual Conference, as elsewhere provided. He shall preside in the District Meetings, oversee the temporal and spiritual interests of the Church in his District; and with the Ministers and Probationers under his charge, shall administer and enforce the discipline of the Church, being responsible therefor to the Annual Conference.

4. The District Superintendent shall fix the time and place of the first District Meeting, after which he shall fix the time, and the District Meeting shall fix the place. In the absence of the District Superintendent, the District Meeting shall elect from among its Ministerial members, by ballot, without debate, a Chairman *pro tem.*

5. The examination of Ministerial character shall be the business of the first day of the District Meeting, and shall be confined to the Ministerial members alone.

6. The Lay members of the District Meeting shall meet separately some time during the Session, and elect by ballot, without debate, Lay representatives to the Annual Conference, in the proportion of one for each Minister in full connexion within the bounds of the District. Laymen, to be eligible, must be at least twenty-five years of age, and must have been members of the Church in good standing for the five consecutive years next preceding the election.

Quarterly Meetings. There shall be a Quarterly Official Meeting on each Circuit, Mission or Station, consisting of the Ministers and Probationers for the Ministry, the Local Preachers, the Exhorters, the Circuit Stewards, the Leaders of Classes, the Superintendents of Sabbath Schools (being members of the Church), one Representative from each Board of Trustees (he being a member of the Church); and also of additional Representatives who may have been appointed by the societies of the Circuit. The apportionment, scale, and mode of election, shall be arranged by the fourth Quarterly Meeting of the year; but such additional Representatives shall not exceed the number of the Stewards on the Circuit.

2. The Superintendent of the Circuit shall be the Chairman of the Quarterly Meeting, except when the Superintendent of the District shall be present, in which case the latter may preside.

3. The Quarterly Meeting shall hear complaints, and receive and try appeals, recommend candidates for the Ministry, manage and control Cir-

cuit finances, and discharge such other duties as the General Conference may from time to time determine.

4. The Quarterly Meeting shall, at the fourth regular meeting of the year, elect by ballot, without debate, the Lay Delegates to attend the ensuing Annual District Meeting in the proportion of one Delegate for each Minister or Probationer in the active work on the Circuit.

Note. Regulations concerning the licensing of Local Preachers and Exhorters are referred to the first General Conference.

Church Property. 1. Upon the ratification of the Union, such legislation shall be obtained from Legislatures having competent jurisdiction as shall vest in the United Church all property now held by, or in trust for, the respective Churches entering into the Union.

2. As it is probable that in some instances Church and Parsonage Property now in use will not be required after the Union for Church or Circuit purposes, it is recommended that a Committee, consisting of the District Superintendent, two Ministers and two Laymen, be appointed at the District Meeting on each District where any such property may be situated, who shall act conjointly with the Trustees on each Circuit in determining what property shall be retained for use, and what shall be sold.

3. In all cases where such Church or Parsonage property may be so sold, the proceeds arising from the sale may be applied:

(1) To the payment of any debts or claims upon or in respect of such property.

(2) To the payment of any debts upon the property retained for use by the Congregation formerly using the property so sold, or in building a new Church or Parsonage where necessary for the United Congregation.

(3) The balance, if any, to be applied, with the consent of the Trustees, to the use of the Church and Parsonage Aid Fund of the United Church, in the Annual Conference in which such property is situated.

Note. The regulations contained in Clause 3 and its sub-sections, in so far as they apply to property held by the Bible Christian Church, shall be subject to the regulations adopted in regard to Church funds respecting the debt of the Missionary Fund of said Church.

The Superannuation Fund. 1. There shall be in the United Church a Superannuated Ministers' Fund for the Western Conferences and a Supernumary Ministers' Fund for the three Conferences in the Maritime Provinces, which funds shall, for the present, be under the management of separate Boards, as has been the practice in the Methodist Church of Canada. As no change is deemed necessary in regard to the Supernumary Fund of the Eastern Conferences, the recommendations which follow, save the final one, are to be understood as referring solely to the Superannuation Fund of the Western Conferences.

2. The Methodist Church of Canada having an invested capital for the three Western Conferences of over $91,000, it is agreed that the other Churches uniting shall supply such an amount of capital to said Superannuation Fund as shall place their Ministers on an equality with the Ministers of the said three Western Conferences.

3. No change shall be made in regard to the claims of any Minister holding a permanent superannuated relation at the present time (*i.e.*, 1882), and they shall receive on the basis of their present claims as far as the annual income will allow.

4. Income arising from annual collections and subscriptions in all Congregations of the United Church, annual subscriptions by Ministers of the same, and any amount appropriated from time to time out of the funds of the Missionary Society, shall be used in meeting payments to all claimants on the fund, without distinction.

5. Income arising from the invested capital now held by the Methodist Church of Canada for this fund, and the amount annually received from the profits of the Toronto Book Room (until such time as the Publishing Interests of the other uniting Churches shall be amalgamated, and their assets equalized with those of said Book Room), shall be used exclusively for the benefit of the claimants on the Superannuation Fund now connected with the Methodist Church of Canada, and the claims of Ministers now in the active work of that Church who may become superannuated after the Union.

6. The rule adopted above, in Clause 5, shall apply in the case of the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Churches,

in regard to any Book Room or other assets available for their respective Superannuation Funds, until the amalgamation referred to in said Clause is accomplished.

7. So soon as the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist or Bible Christian Churches shall furnish an amount of capital equal, in proportion, to that now held by the Methodist Church of Canada, the Superannuated Ministers of such uniting Churches, and those who may become Superannuates after Union, shall have a claim on the proceeds of the whole invested capital in common with those who are now Ministers of the Methodist Church of Canada.

8. If the income of any year shall not be sufficient to meet the claims in full, then all claimants shall share in the deficiency in proportion to the amount of their claim.

9. If any one of the three uniting Churches aforesaid shall fail to provide its full proportion of invested capital, Ministers of these Churches who are now, or may hereafter become, Superannuates, shall draw in proportion to the amount of capital actually provided.

10. In case of failure by any of the Churches above mentioned to provide invested capital, it shall be competent for any Minister of such Churches to provide his individual share of such capital, and thereafter to draw from the proceeds of the investments in the same manner as Superannuates of the present Methodist Church of Canada. This latter provision shall apply to any Minister now on the Superannuated lists of the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist or Bible Christian Churches.

11. The principle embodied in the foregoing regulations shall be applied in adjusting the relations to the Supernumary Ministers' Fund of the three Eastern Conferences, of any Ministers of the Bible Christian Church who may be included by the Union in any of the said Conferences.

Note. A Committee has been appointed, with power to employ an actuary if necessary, to make a careful estimate of the value of existing investments, belonging to the Superannuation Funds, and report at the first General Conference.

The Missionary Fund. 1. On the consummation of the Union there shall be one Missionary Fund for the whole Church.

2. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada having no debt, and the income and expenditure being equal, no recommendation is necessary.

3. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has a debt of $10,000, incurred in the purchase of property and the erection of churches in Manitoba, the property being held by the Society as security for the debt. This debt is to be liquidated out of the assets of the Society before the consummation of the Union.

4. The Missionary Society of the Bible Christian Church has a debt of $21,080, less about $3,000 on which annuities are paid at six per cent. per annum, which annuities will probably cease in a few years. As this debt was incurred in the purchase and erection of mission churches and parsonages, it is considered a legitimate claim against such property. It is therefore agreed that the next annual Conference of the Bible Christian Church shall make arrangements to distribute the Missionary debt among the several properties, to erect or purchase which said debt has been incurred. And in case any property belonging to the Bible Christian Church be sold, the proceeds, after paying other debts of the Trust shall be applied to the reduction of the said Missionary debt.

5. The above-mentioned debts being provided for as aforesaid, the Churches included in the Union are to unite on equal terms.

The Contingent Fund. As the invested capital of the Contingent Fund of the Methodist Church in Canada belongs to the three Western Conferences of that Church, it is agreed that it be left to the said Conference to propose a plan for dealing with said investments, and report the same to the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada at the Special Session to be held before the Union is consummated. As the other Conferences and Churches have no such invested capital, all further action on the subject is referred to the first General Conference of the United Church.

The Children's Fund. As there are no investments in connection with this fund in any of the uniting Churches, it is agreed that the whole question be relegated to the first General Conference of the United Church to determine on what

basis, if any, a Children's Fund shall be maintained.

Book and Publishing Interests. 1. The Halifax Book Room and weekly paper shall be continued as at present, on account of their geographical position.

2. The Toronto Book Room, with its various publications, will also be maintained, and no serious difficulty is apprehended in the way of consolidating the other publishing interests in the West at an early date after the Union is effected.

3. As the assets of the Book and Publishing House of the Methodist Church of Canada for the three Western Conferences, are larger in proportion to the number of Ministers in those Conferences than the similar assets of any of the other contracting parties, it is agreed that each Minister of the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist, and Bible Christian Churches, entering into the Union, shall pay into the general Publishing Fund such a sum as will make his interest equal to the *per capita* interest of the Ministers of the three Western Conferences aforesaid.

4. In equalizing the *per capita* interest as above, payments may be made in cash, or by notes, payable in one or two years from the date of Union, such notes to bear interest at six per cent. per annum.

Educational Interests. 1. The Methodist Church of Canada and the Methodist Episcopal Church have a number of Educational Institutions in successful operation. The Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Churches have no such institutions in this country.

2. The Educational Institutions in the Maritime Conferences present no difficulty in the way of Union, and no change is recommended in their present relations.

3. In regard to the Western Conferences it is believed that those institutions which possess University powers can be consolidated, to the honour of their graduates and the advantage of their educational work.

4. It is recommended that the United Church adhere to the traditional policy of Methodism in regard to education, believing that the best interests of the Church and of education imperatively demand that our Colleges and Universities should be under the fostering care of the Church.

Composition of the First General Conference. The General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada having authorized the calling of a Special Session in 1883 to give effect to the Union provided a satisfactory basis is secured, it is recommended :

1. That in case the Basis of Union is approved by the requisite majorities in the Quarterly Meetings and Annual Conferences of the Churches proposing to unite, it shall be competent for the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal, Primitive Methodist, and Bible Christian Churches, to elect Delegates to the First General Conference of the United Church, in the proportion of one out of ten Ministers in full connexion, with an equal number of Laymen, elected in Annual Conference or District Meeting as the case may be ; and these, together with the Delegates composing the present General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, meeting in joint session after the latter body shall have closed the special session above alluded to, shall compose the First General Conference of the said United Church, with power to perform such Acts as may be necessary to the final ratification of the Union, and all other Acts which come within the province of a General Conference.

The Annual Conference and District Meetings of the Methodist Church of Canada shall have authority to fill vacancies that may have occurred in their Delegations, either Lay or Clerical, by the usual mode of election.

Expenses of General Conference. If the Basis of Union be approved, it is recommended that the various Annual Conferences make provision for taking up a collection in every Congregation for the expenses of the First General Conference.

Transfer of Ministers. The Joint Committee recommends to the First General Conference the matter of making provision for the transfer of Ministers from one Conference to another, so as to give all reasonable facilities for meeting the wants of the work.

Times of First General Conference. In the event of the Basis of Union being approved, it is recommended that the First General Conference of the United Church be held in the Methodist Episcopal Tabernacle, in the City of Belleville, on the

first Wednesday in September, 1883, commencing at nine o'clock in the forenoon.

Name. The adoption of a name for the United Church is referred to the First General Conference, but the Committee recommend that it be called the 'Methodist Church.'"

Chronology of Canadian Methodist Progress.

1772. A party of Yorkshire Methodists settle in Nova Scotia.
1780. A local preacher named Tuffey preaches the first Methodist sermon in Quebec.
1785. Dr. Coke, as Bishop of the U.S. Methodist Episcopal Church, appoints Freeborn Garretson and James O. Cromwell to labour in Nova Scotia.
1786. First Provincial Methodist Conference held at Halifax on October 10th.
1788. George Neal, a local preacher from Ireland, preaches near Niagara.
1790. First Methodist Church in Sackville, New Brunswick, opened by James Mann.
1790. Upper Canada is visited by William Losee, its first Methodist itinerant.
1791. First Methodist Class in Upper Canada formed at Hay Bay, on February 20th.
1802. Montreal first visited by a Methodist preacher named Joseph Sawyer, of the New York Conference, and the first Class formed there.
1806. Germain Street Church, St. John, New Brunswick, erected.
1806. Nathan Bangs stationed at Quebec as its first regular Methodist preacher.
1808. First Methodist Church in Montreal built on St. Sulpice Street, in rear of Notre Dame Cathedral.
1811. Bishop Asbury visits Canada and preaches in Kingston, in the church newly erected.
1814. The British Conference appoints missionaries to Quebec and Montreal.
1817. First Methodist Conference in Canada held in Elizabethtown.
1818. First Methodist Church in Toronto built on King Street, a little west of Jordan Street.
1820. Second Methodist Conference in Canada, held in Niagara.
1820. British Wesleyans organize their first Society in Toronto, with thirty members.
1821. Second Methodist Church in Montreal opened on the corner of St. James Street, on the lot now occupied by the Medical Hall.
1822. First Indian Mission begun among the Mohawk Indians on the Grand River.
1824. Methodist preachers in Upper Canada formed into the Canada Conference.
1824. Canada Missionary Society formed August 28th.
1825. First Methodist Church built in what is now the City of Hamilton, on the farm of Richard Springer.
1825. The Rev. William Case procures a translation of St. Luke's Gospel into the Mohawk language—the first portion of the Bible given to the Indians of Canada.
1827. Third Methodist Church in Montreal built on Gain Street.
1827. Elder Henry Ryan withdraws from the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and organizes the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church.
1828. The Canada Conference becomes independent of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States.
1828. The Rev. William Case appointed General Superintendent of Missions in Canada.
1828. The Rev. Peter Jones, a converted Ojibiway Chief, commences the work of translating the Bible and Wesley's Hymns into the Ojibiway language.
1829. Publication of the *Christian Guardian* commences.
1829. Methodist Book Room at Toronto established.
1830. Conference adopts a constitution for an Educational Institution to be called the Upper Canada Academy.
1832. George Street Church, York (Toronto), erected by the British Wesleyans.
1832. A fund for the benefit of Superannuated Ministers provided for.
1833. Wellington Street Church, Montreal, erected.
1833. Union of the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church with the British Wesleyans consummated October 2nd, at the Conference in York (Toronto).

1834. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada re-organized at Cummer's Meeting House, Yonge Street. First General Conference held.

1837. Upper Canada Academy, Cobourg, opened for the admission of students.

1840. The English Wesleyan Conference withdraws from the Union consummated in 1833.

1840. Corner-stone of Mount Allison Wesleyan College at Sackville, N.B., laid June 19th.

1841. Upper Canada Academy incorporated under the name of "Victoria College."

1841. A Union formed between the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church and the English New Connexion Methodists.

1843. Mount Allison Wesleyan College, Sackville, N.B., opened for admission of students, January 19th.

1844. St. James Street Church, Montreal, commenced.

1844. Richmond Street Church, Toronto, commenced.

1844. The *Christian Messenger* (monthly), organ of the New Connexion Methodists begun.

1846. New Connexion Methodists open an appointment and begin work in Montreal.

1846. The Rev. John Ryerson and the Rev. Anson Green sent by the Wesleyan Methodists as a Delegation to the British Conference with proposals for a re-union.

1847. Union between the Canada Wesleyan Conference and the British Wesleyan Conference renewed.

1848. Publication of the *Wesleyan* commenced, and Methodist Book-Room established at Halifax.

1849. Mount Elgin Industrial Institution, at Muncey, Ontario, opened for the benefit of Indian boys and girls.

1850. Sydenham Street Church, Kingston, built.

1851. McNab Street Church, Hamilton, built.

1854. Union between the Canada Wesleyan Conference and the Canada Eastern District consummated, and the Missions in Hudson's Bay Territory resigned by the British Conference to the care of the Canada Conference.

1854. Publication of the *Evangelical Witness* as the weekly organ of the Canadian Wesleyan New Connexion Church commenced.

1855. The Rev. John Beecham, D.D., organizes the Eastern British American Conference.

1856. Salem New Connexion Methodist Church, on Panet Street, Montreal, opened.

1856. Methodist Missions to the French Canadians commenced.

1857. Ebenezer New Connexion Methodist Church on Dupré Lane, Montreal, dedicated.

1857. First French Methodist Church in Canada dedicated in Roxton, Quebec.

1858. Missions to British Columbia and Vancouver Island commenced.

1860. Missions to the Germans commenced. The Rev. Charles Freshman, D.D., a converted Jewish Rabbi, the first German Missionary.

1861. Wesleyan Female College, Hamilton, Ontario, opened for the admission of students.

1865. Dominion Square Church, Sherbrooke Street, and Point St. Charles Church, Montreal, dedicated.

1866. Centenary Church, Hamilton, erected.

1866. Mount Allison Wesleyan College, Sackville, N.S., destroyed by fire.

1867. Mount Allison Wesleyan College re-built.

1868. Mission commenced at Red River, now Winnipeg, by the Rev. George Young.

1871. Metropolitan Church, Montreal, completed and dedicated.

1873. Montreal Wesleyan Theological College founded.

1873. Stanstead Wesleyan College opened for the admission of students—male and female.

1873. Japan Mission commenced by the Rev. George Cochran and the Rev. Davidson McDonald, M.D.

1874. Union consummated between the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Canada, the Canadian Wesleyan New Connexion Conference, and the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America, under the name of the Methodist Church of Canada.

1874. Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, Ontario, opened.

1874. First Quadrennial Session of the General Conference commenced on Sept. 16th in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto.

1875. Publication of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* commenced on January 1st.

1875. Methodist Book Room, Montreal, established.

1878. Second Quadrennial Session of the General Conference commenced on Sept. 4th, in the Dominion Square Church, Montreal.

1878. First French Methodist Church in Montreal opened.

1880. New Hymn Book published by the Toronto Book Room for the use of the Methodist Church of Canada.

1883. Union of the Methodist Church of Canada, the Primitive Methodist Church, the Bible Christian Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church consummated.

1883. First General Conference of the United Church held at Belleville, Ont.

1886. Second General Conference held at Toronto.

1890. Third General Conference held at Montreal.

1894. Fourth General Conference held at London, Ont.

Statistics of Canadian Methodism. The following figures were in the main compiled by the Rev. Dr. George H. Cornish, in 1890, for the Methodist Centennial Hand-Book, which was published in commemoration of the establishment of the Denomination in Canada one hundred years before. In 1792 the Rev. William Losee had been able to report a membership of 165. In 1824, when the First Canada Conference was organized, there were reported to be thirty-six ministers, 6,094 white members, and fifty-six Indian members. In 1833 there were eighty-one ministers, 15,126 white members, and 913 Indian members. As the years rolled on, and the population of the country increased, Methodism also grew in numbers. In 1854, the Hudson's Bay Missionary District and the Lower Canada Districts, both of which had been, up to that year, in connection with the British Wesleyan Conference, were with the hearty concurrence of the parent body, annexed to the Canadian Wesleyan work. The figures for this body during three decades were as follows:

Year.	Ministers.	Members. Indians.	Whites.	Total.
1854.....	253	1,142	35,181	36,323
1864.....	536	1,664	53,898	55,562
1874.....	695	2,201	71,356	73,557

In 1874, at the time of the first and partial Union, the figures for the three uniting bodies were as follows:

Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Wesleyan Methodist in Canada...	695	73,557
Wesleyan Methodist in E.B.A.....	223	20,950
Methodist New Connexion.....	113	7,439
Total.....	1,031	101,946

Churches.	Sunday-Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Wesleyan Methodist in Canada.....	1,002	9,617	71,583
Wesleyan Methodist in E.B.A.....	153	1,089	9,000
Methodist New Connexion.	356	2,571	20,635
Total.....	1,511	13,277	101,218

Four years later the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, as it was now called, reported a net increase for the period, of 134 Ministers, 20,659 members, 221 Sunday-Schools, 2,474 Sunday-School officers and teachers, and 19,754 scholars. In 1881, according to the Census of that year, the Methodist population of Canada was divided as follows:

Methodist Church of Canada.....	582,963
Methodist Episcopal Church.....	103,272
Bible Christian Church.....	27,236
Primitive Methodist Church.....	25,680
British Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist, and Free Methodist.....	3,830
Total.....	742,981

The numerical strength of the four uniting Churches in 1883 was as follows:

Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Methodist Church of Canada..	1,216	128,644
Methodist Episcopal Church..	259	25,671
Primitive Methodist Church..	89	8,090
Bible Christian Church.....	79	7,398
Total.....	1,643	169,803

Churches.	Sunday-Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Methodist of Canada...	1,968	16,781	132,320
Methodist Episcopal....	432	3,182	23,968
Primitive Methodist.....	152	1,172	9,065
Bible Christian.....	155	1,299	9,699
Total.....	2,707	22,434	175,052

Churches.	Church Buildings.	Parsonages.	Total value of Churches and Parsonages.
Methodist of Canada.	2,202	646	$6,809,817
Methodist Episcopal.	545	126	1,523,514
Primitive Methodist..	231	50	402,266
Bible Christian.....	281	55	395,210
Total.....	3,259	877	$9,130,807

According to the Census of 1891 the Methodists in the Dominion were divided as follows: Ontario, 654,033; Quebec, 39,544; Prince Edward Island, 13,596; Nova Scotia, 54,195; New Brunswick, 35,504; Manitoba, 28,437; British Columbia, 14,298; North-West Territories, 7,989. The total therefore was 847,587.

The Rev. Samuel Dwight Rice, D.D., was born in Haselton, Maine, U.S.A., in 1815. His parents removed to New Brunswick in 1819, and their son was sent to Bowdoin College, Mass. His health breaking down, however, he returned to Woodstock, N.B., where he spent two years in business. But having meanwhile resolved to enter the ministry he was received as a probationer in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1837. He worked three years in the lumber region of Miramichi, after which he was stationed at St. John, N.B., for six years. There he was active in organizing the Methodist College at Sackville. Dr. Rice was transferred to the Canada Conference in 1847, where he took a continued and strong interest in educational matters, and among other appointments held that of Treasurer, Steward, and then Governor of Victoria College, Cobourg. He was the originator of the movement for the establishment of a Methodist College for women, out of which grew the Hamilton Ladies' College, of which he was Governor from 1863 to 1873. In 1878, Dr. Rice returned to active ministerial work, and spent two years at St. Mary's, Ontario, where he built a church, and then three years in Winnipeg, where he became Chairman of the Manitoba Missionary District. He was Delegate to the Canada Conference in 1864, and was in reality its Acting President. The degree of D.D. was conferred on him in 1867 by Victoria University. In 1873 and 1874 he was President of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was elected Vice-President of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1878, and President in 1882, when arrangements were made for the wider Union. On the consummation of the amalgamation the General Conference elected Dr. Rice to the office of Senior General Superintendent. He did not, however, live very long to carry on the work of this important position as death came on the 15th of December, 1884, amidst the universal regret of Canadian Methodism.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel D. Rice.

The Rev. John Athuruld Williams, D.D., was born in Wales in 1817. At the age of sixteen he came to Canada and settled in Prescott. Here he remained until 1840, when he moved to

Kemptville. He entered the Methodist Ministry in 1846 and was ordained at the Brockville Conference in 1850. He was elected Chairman of the Owen Sound District in the years 1859-61, and this office he filled with much ability. From 1870 to 1872 he was Chairman of the Brockville District, and in 1873 Chairman of the Simcoe District. On the organization of the London Conference in 1874 he was appointed President, and was re-elected for a second term. He was Canadian representative at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1876. The honourary degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by Victoria University in 1878. At the Methodist General Conference of 1882 he was elected Vice-President, and in the following year was unanimously chosen as President of the United General Conference of the Methodist Churches. In December, 1884, Dr. Williams represented the Canadian Church at the Centennial Conference of American Methodism in Baltimore, at which he read an admirable paper on "The Rise and Progress of Methodism in Canada." On the death of Dr. Rice, during this year, Dr. Williams was appointed to fill his place as Joint General Superintendent. This office he filled with great ability and amid general satisfaction until his death in 1890.

The Rev. Albert Carman, D.D., General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, was born near Prescott in the county of Dundas, Upper Canada, in 1833. He was educated at the Dundas County Grammar School and Victoria College, Cobourg, where he graduated in 1854. He was at once appointed Head Master of the School he had formerly attended, and this position he retained, until three years later, he was selected to fill the Chair of Mathematics in the Belleville Seminary, which was then controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Soon afterwards he was appointed Principal of the Seminary, and held this position from 1858 to 1874—part of the time as President of Albert College and Chancellor of Albert University, as the institution was called in later years. Meanwhile, in 1860, Dr. Carman had been ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church and in the same year obtained his degree of M.A. In 1864 he became an Elder, in 1874 was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and elected and consecrated Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. This position was of course merged in the Union of 1883, but Dr. Carman was at once selected as Joint General Superintendent of the newly-organized Methodist Church. In addition to this important post—to which he was re-elected without a colleague in 1890 and 1894—he has been a member of the Council of Public Instruction for Ontario; representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada to that of the United States, and a Delegate from the United Methodist Church to the same body.

Methodist Periodical Literature in Canada. In religious and Denominational literature, perhaps no other Church has been quite so successful in Canada as the Methodist. The oldest religious paper in the Dominion, and one of the oldest on the continent, or in the world, is the veteran *Christian Guardian*, now in its sixty-fifth year. An interesting sketch of progress in this direction was prepared in 1891 for the "Centennial of Canadian Methodism" by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow, and from its pages the following facts are compiled. In Dr. Egerton Ryerson, who subsequently did so much to lay broad and deep and stable the foundations of the Canadian Dominion through his public school system in Upper Canada, was found the pioneer Editor of Canadian methodism and of the *Christian Guardian*—the paper in which he lived to write a semi-centennial editorial. He was followed by able successors. The Rev. Franklin Metcalfe, the Rev. James Richardson, the Rev. Ephraim Evans, the Rev. Jonathan Scott, the Rev. George F. Playter, the Rev. George R. Sanderson, the Rev. James Spencer and the Rev. Wellington Jeffers, constituted a line of gifted and faithful men who did good service to the Methodist Church. At different periods during following years, the Rev. W. H. Withrow, the Rev. David Savage, the Rev. Geo. C. Workman, the Rev. Thomas W. Campbell, the Rev. S. G. Stone and Mr. John W. Russell were associated in the editorial work of the paper. For many years—1869 to 1894—the position was filled by the Rev. Dr. Dewart,

who was succeeded by the Rev. A. C. Courtice.

"No periodical in Canada stands so high as an exponent of Christian thought and culture, and as a fearless defender of every interest of Methodism. Its influence in moulding in large degree through all these years the intellectual life of the people, in assisting all the great enterprises of the Church, in being a bond of sympathy between its centre and its remotest parts, in creating a feeling of unity and solidarity in Canadian Methodism, can never be adequately estimated."

Similar service has been rendered in the Provinces of Eastern British America by *The Wesleyan*, now in its fifty-ninth volume. In the narrower limits, and with the smaller constituency to which it could appeal for support, it was a still bolder enterprise to launch this periodical upon the stormy sea of journalism than was the case with the *Guardian*. Its first pilot was the Rev. Dr. A. McLeod (now Editor of the Baltimore, U.S. *Methodist*), 1839-40. After two years the paper was suspended in favour of a monthly magazine edited by the Rev. William Temple. The second series of the paper began again in 1849, and continued in charge of Dr. McLeod until 1854. From 1854 to 1860 Mr. Matthew H. Richey (afterwards Governor of Nova Scotia), then practising law, was in charge, and was followed by the Rev. Charles Churchill until 1862. The Rev. J. McMurray, D.D., filled the editorial chair until 1869, and was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Pickard, until 1872. Then came the Rev. A. W. Nicolson until 1878. The Rev. D. D. Currie was Editor for one year, to 1879, and then the Rev. T. Watson Smith held office until 1886. At the General Conference of that year the Rev. Dr. Lathern was elected, and re-elected to the same office in 1890.

The *Canada Christian Advocate*, the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was first started by the Rev. Thomas Webster and the Rev. Joseph H. Leonard, at Cobourg, in 1845. Two years afterwards it was purchased by the Church, and at the same time was removed to the city of Hamilton. The Rev. T. Webster was its Editor until 1850, when the Rev. Gideon Shepperd was appointed. He was succeeded, in 1860, by the Rev. Samuel Morrison. In 1863 the Rev. George Abbs was selected and continued until 1871, when the Rev. James Gardiner was appointed. He was followed, in 1875, by the Rev. S. G. Stone. In 1881, the Rev. William Pirritte was appointed Editor, Dr. Stone continuing as Book Steward, and continued in the editorial chair until the paper was merged into the *Guardian* in 1884, when Dr. Stone became Associate Editor of that paper till 1887. Under its successive editors the *Advocate* was a very influential religious journal.

The *Evangelical Witness*, the organ of the New Connexion Church, was begun as a monthly in the year 1855 by the Rev. J. H. Robinson, at that time and for many years afterwards the English representative of the Methodist New Connexion and its Missionary Superintendent. It soon became a semi-monthly, then a weekly. On Mr. Robinson's appointment to the editorship of the English Methodist New Connexion periodicals, the Rev. Dr. William Cocker, his successor as Superintendent of Missions, became also his successor as Editor of the *Evangelical Witness*, holding the position till his return to England in 1872. Dr. Cocker afterwards became Principal of Ranmoor College, Sheffield. His successor in the editorship was the Rev. David Savage, who held the office until by the Union of 1874 the paper was merged in the *Christian Guardian*. For a time he continued Associate Editor of the consolidated periodical.

The *Christian Journal*, the organ of the Primitive Methodist Church, was established in 1857, in Toronto, by the Rev. J. Davidson, who had previously published at his private risk the *Evangelist*. He continued Editor and Book Steward till 1866, when he was succeeded by the Rev. T. Crompton, who continued in charge until 1870. The Rev. William Rowe became Book Steward in 1867 and Editor from 1870 to 1873. The Rev. William Bee became Book Steward and Missionary Secretary in 1872, and continued to discharge the duties of the office, with a brief exception, to the time of the Union in 1884. The Rev. Thomas Guttery acted as Editor in 1873 and 1874; the Rev. William Bee, 1874 to 1876; the Rev. T. Guttery again, 1876 to 1878; then the Rev. Dr. Antliffe from 1878 to 1884, the date of the Union. Under its successive editors the Journal was a periodical of much religious influence, and under the able editorship of Dr.

Antliffe, contributed largely to the carrying out of Methodist Union.

The *Observer*, the organ of the Bible Christian Church, was established in 1866 by the Rev. Cephas Barker, a man of great ability and marked individuality of character. It was published for two years in Cobourg, then removed to Bowmanville, Mr. Barker continuing as Editor till 1880. He was succeeded by the Rev. H. J. Knott, an amiable and scholarly man, who managed the paper with marked ability till his death in 1883. He was succeeded by the Rev. George Webber, who continued in charge till the paper was merged into the *Guardian* in 1884.

It is in its Sunday-School periodical literature, however, that perhaps the most striking development in production and numerical circulation has taken place, especially since the unions of the various divisions of Canadian Methodism. To Dr. Sanderson, a veteran Editor and Book Steward of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, was due the credit of organizing its Sunday-School periodical literature. Under the administration, as Book Steward, of the Rev. Dr. Rose, was established a very successful Sunday-School teachers' magazine, the *Sunday-School Banner*, and the *Sunday-School Advocate* under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Sutherland. The progress of these periodicals has been very considerable. They have trebled in number, several of them more than doubled in size, increased many fold in circulation, and greatly improved in mechanical make-up and illustration during a period of fourteen years or so. The circulation of the Sunday-School periodicals increased from a total of 103,729 on March 31st, 1882, to 194,076 on March 31st, 1886, and to 252,566 on March 31st, 1890.

On the completion of the Methodist Union of 1874, the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, a monthly periodical devoted to religious literature and social progress, was established. It has furnished facilities for the production of a distinctively Canadian literature, and by its means over half a million of numbers of 100 pages each, including "insets," or over 50,000,000 pages of high-class literature, have been distributed throughout the Dominion. It has found readers, also, in almost every State of the neighbouring Republic, and in Great Britain and Ireland, and even in Ceylon, India, China and Japan. "It is something to the credit of Canadian Methodism," said Dr. Withrow, in 1891, "that when so many attempts to establish a Methodist Monthly by the large and wealthy Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States have failed, that of the much smaller and poorer Methodist Church in Canada has been so successful. . . . It has, in a remarkable degree, assisted to develop the literary ability and character of the writers of Canadian Methodism, many of whom first preened their pinions in its pages, and afterwards on

The Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow.

stronger wing took farther flight to other lands. Its artistic development is still more remarkable than its literary success."

The General Conference of 1890 ordered the publication of a new paper, especially adapted to the Epworth Leagues, which were everywhere springing into existence, for young people in Methodist schools and Bible-classes. In obedience to that injunction, a new paper, an eight-page weekly, called *Onward*, was established, and in the second month of its publication reached a

circulation of nearly 20,000. Since 1875, the Sunday-School periodicals and the *Methodist Magazine* have been under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Withrow.

According to the Report presented the General Conference of 1894, the circulation of the chief Methodist journals on March 31st of that year, was as follows: *Onward*, 29,851; *Pleasant Hours*, 46,151; *Sunbeam*, 33,939; *Happy Days*, 29,204; *Sunday-School Banner*, 13,777; *Christian Guardian*, 12,701: *Methodist Magazine*, 2,697.

Missions of the Methodist Church. The first formal organization, in this direction, of Canadian Methodism was in the years 1822-4, when a Missionary Society was formed whose field of operation was confined to Upper Canada. The income of this Society for the first year was about $140. Its first President was the Rev. Thomas Whitehead, and one of its earliest efforts was to establish a mission among the Indians. In this connection the name of the Rev. William Case, "the Father of Canadian Missions," stands foremost, and with him are associated the names of Torry, Benham, Jones, Sunday and others. The Missions of the Methodist Church are now carried through the length and breadth of Canada to the Indians, to the Chinese and to the French Canadians, as well as in the foreign field of China and Japan, while the total income of the Missionary Society for the year 1893-4 was $199,902.

The Grand River Mission to the Indians in Ontario (1822) has continued until the present time and been attended with great success. The work has in later years extended in the North-West, and at the time of the Riel Rebellion its efficacy was proved when not one Indian member of the Methodist Church joined the rebels. In later years Industrial Institutes have been established, and one of these at Muncey, Ont., accommodates 120 Indian pupils. There are also flourishing Institutes at Brandon, Man., Chilliwhack, B.C., and other places, while at Morley, N.W.T., there is an Orphanage and Training School, and a Girls' Home at Port Simpson, B.C. In 1894 there were 169 Methodist missions in the North-West, of which sixty-six were self-sustaining, and 141 churches. The Indian membership in this same year was 1,356, and the white membership 13,850. Sabbath Schools are held for the children and are largely attended. In 1894 there were 216 Sabbath Schools, 1,638 teachers and 12,538 scholars in the same part of the country. As it was not until 1840 that Wesleyan missionaries were sent to occupy stations in the North-West it will be seen what great progress has been made. In that year, after negotiations between the English Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, three missionaries, Messrs. Barnley, Mason and Rundle were sent out, and were soon followed by three more—James Evans, Thomas Hurlburt and Peter Jacobs—from the Missionary Society of Canada. Five stations were at once opened, viz., Norway House, Moose Factory, Edmonton House, Lac La Pluie and Pic River, and evidences of civilization soon followed. In 1854 these stations were placed under the care of the Canada Conference, since which time they have formed an important part of Canadian Methodist work—fully one-fourth of the income of the Missionary Society being now expended in support of the Indian Missions.

Besides the missions to the Indians in Canada, in 1856, missionaries were sent to the French-Canadian population in the Province of Quebec, where, amidst great disadvantages, they continued to labour. Later, an Educational Institute was opened at Côte St. Antoine, in which the Woman's Missionary Society joined, and which seems to have fully repaid the work and expense in connection with it. To-day, schools have been opened in Montreal by the Woman's Missionary Society, also two schools in the country, while two Bible-women have been engaged. The third department of Methodist Home Missions is that to the Chinese in British Columbia which was begun in 1885. Mission buildings have been erected in Vancouver and Victoria, and at this latter place there is also a Rescue Home for Chinese girls, which is under the auspices of the Woman's Missionary Society. Night schools are carried on in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Kamloops. Elsewhere in British Columbia there has been much missionary progress since 1858, when the Rev. Ephriam Evans, D.D., the Rev. Edward White, the Rev. Ebenezer Robson, and the Rev. Arthur Browning were sent to that distant and isolated field.

While these Home Missions were being carried on with great success, many members of the Methodist Church felt that something should also be done in regard to Foreign Missions, and accordingly, in 1873, the way was opened into Japan, and two missionaries, the Rev. George Cochran and the Rev. Davidson McDonald, M.D., were appointed to represent the Canadian Church in that distant field. Such was the success of the work, that in 1889 it was found necessary to form an Annual Conference in Japan. This was accordingly done, and that country now forms a separate part of the Church, although the Woman's Missionary Society still maintains orphanages, Sunday Schools, and boarding and day schools for girls, which are largely attended and very successful. In 1890 there were twenty-four missionaries in Japan, twenty-seven native evangelists, fourteen teachers and 1,686 members, while $26,523 was expended by the Canadian Church on the Mission field there. This has been reduced as the local Church has become more self-supporting.

As the Mission in Japan was attended with such success, the Church began to think of starting a second mission in some other foreign land. This idea was fostered by several donations being sent to the Missionary Society for such a purpose. One of these was forwarded by a lady in Kingston to be kept until the Church was ready to start a Mission in China. Later, two young men, University graduates, offered themselves as missionaries to China, while a third, whose course was not yet finished, made the same offer. Accordingly, at the General Conference of 1890, the General Board of Missions was recommended to commence work in China, and after careful consideration, the Province of Tz-Chuen, West China, was selected, and the Rev. V. C. Hart, D.D., appointed to open the Mission. By 1894 there were six missionaries in this field, three of them medical men, while in the City of Chentu was erected a chapel, houses for missionaries and a hospital building. Two schools were opened, and a depot for the sale of Bibles, tracts, etc. Missions were also started in Kiating and Quan H'Sien, the policy being to occupy a few important centres and then itinerate through the neighbourhood.

Miscellaneous Methodist Notes. The first General Superintendents of the Methodist Church, as constituted at Belleville in 1883, were the Rev. Dr. S. D. Rice and the Rev. Dr. Carman. The former died in 1884 and was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. J. A. Williams, who was re-elected at the General Conference of 1886 together with Dr. Carman and held the position until his death in 1890. From that time until now (1898) the Rev. Dr. Carman has been sole General Superintendent of the Church in Canada. The Secretaries of the General Conferences have been as follows: The Rev. J. Cooper Antliffe, D.D., in 1883; the Rev. E. B. Ryckman, D.D., in 1886; the Rev. S. F. Huestis, in 1890 and the Rev. Principal W. I. Shaw, LL.D., in 1894.

The leading works of reference in connection with Methodism in Canada include the "Cyclopædia of Methodism," by the Rev. George H. Cornish, LL.D., which gives details of the individual Minister's stations and circuits from the earliest dates up to 1874; the "Centennial of Canadian Methodism," published by the General Conference in 1891; "Case and His Contemporaries," by the Rev. Dr. Carroll; the "Life and Times of Dr. Anson Green"; the "History of Methodism in the Martime Provinces," by the Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith; the "Story of My Life," by the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson; the files of the *Christian Guardian* since 1829, the *Methodist Magazine* since 1875, and the Journals of the General Conference for 1883, 1886, 1890 and 1894.

The *Christian Guardian* has held such an important place in the moulding of Methodist opinion and progress, that an exact list of its Editors, with dates, should be given here. They were as follows:

Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D.	1829-1832
James Richardson, D.D.	1832-1833
Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D.	1833-1835
Ephraim Evans	1835-1838
Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D.	1838-1840
Jonathan Scott	1840-1844
George F. Playter	1844-1846
George R. Sanderson, D.D.	1846-1851
James Spencer	1851-1860
Wellington Jeffers, D.D.	1860-1869
Edward H. Dewart, D.D.	1869-1894
A. C. Courtice, B.D.	1894-1898

Methodism in British Columbia. Very early work was done by Methodist Church missionaries in the far west. The van was led in British Columbia by the Rev. E. Evans, D.D., of Kingston University, the Rev. E. White, the Rev. E. Robson and the Rev. Arthur Browning. The latter two were ordained in Toronto on December 31st, 1858, immediately before they left for the Pacific Coast, which they reached on February 10th, 1859. The first service held by the missionaries was in the old Court House, on February 13th following. The attendance was good, and the collection $27.80. The missionaries were welcomed to the Colony by the Rev. Dr. Cridge, Incumbent of Christ Church; and Chief Factor Dallas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, granted them three city lots on which to build a church and parsonage. Subscriptions amounting to $3,000 were soon made towards the proposed buildings. The old church, becoming too small for the congregation, was sold along with the land for about $30,000 in 1891, and a new church completed and occupied. It was built of stone, and cost altogether about $90,000. In 1862, the Rev. D. V. Lucas arrived from Canada to assist in the work. In 1893 there were five congregations in Victoria, exclusive of the Chinese Mission Church (a handsome brick building) on Fisgard Street, and the Indian Church (a wooden building) on Herald Street. The Rev. Mr. Browning was stationed at Nanaimo. He preached his first sermon there on February 20th, 1859, and remained pastor of that place until 1860, when he was succeeded by the Rev. E. Robson, transferred from the Mainland. The church at first erected accommodated the congregation until 1890, when the larger and more commodious edifice was built. Another congregation was formed in the southern part of the city in 1892, and a church built. Mr. Browning left British Columbia for Ontario in 1870. The Rev. Dr. Evans, accompanied by the Rev. E. Robson, left Victoria on the steamer Beaver, March 2nd, 1859, to commence pioneer work on the Mainland. They reached Langley on the 4th, and held service there. Thence they proceeded in a canoe to Hope. Dr. Evans preached the first sermon at Yale on March 13th, and Mr. Robson preached at Hope on the same day. An Indian school was soon opened at the latter place by Mr. Robson, who made it his headquarters for holding services at Yale and the principal mining camps on the Lower Fraser. Dr. Evans continued to preach in British Columbia until 1869, when he returned to London, Ontario, and died there in 1892. The Rev. Mr. Robson was a brother of the late Hon. John Robson, Prime Minister of the Province, and was for some time the only remaining minister in the Province of the pioneer Methodist missionaries. Mr. White returned East in 1871, and died in Montreal in 1872.

The British Columbia Methodist Conference was organized in 1887, and held its first session in Victoria on May 11th of that year. The Rev. E. Robson was elected the first President and the Rev. Joseph Hall, Secretary. Annual Conferences have since been held in turn at New Westminster, Nanaimo, Victoria and Vancouver. The eighth Conference was held at New Westminster on May 10th, 1893, the Rev. Joseph Hall, President, and the Rev. Robert R. Maitland, LL.B., Secretary. At that Conference the Church membership was stated at 4,255—an increase of 225 since 1892; while the marriages solemnized by the Church during the year 1892 were 216. The total amount raised for Church purposes for 1893 was $58,787. The highest salaries paid to ministers were $2,000 per annum respectively to the pastors at Victoria and Vancouver. The established places of worship in 1893 were 58. The ordained preachers were 27; probationers 22; local preachers 121.

The Rev. Thomas Crosby is stated by Mr. Alexander Begg in his "History of British Columbia," to have been the most successful of the missionaries in connection with the Methodist Church in that Province. "He was a local preacher in Eastern Canada until 1862 when he left for British Columbia to work among the Indians; in the spring of 1863, he commenced teaching an Indian mission school at Nanaimo. In six months he so far acquired a knowledge of the language that he could preach in it. In 1867 he became a candidate for Ordination, and took a circuit in connection with the Methodist Church, extending down the coast among the Indians for 180 miles and up the Fraser River to Yale. In 1869, he had great success amongst the Flathead Indians. His suc-

cess attracted the attention of the Denomination, so that when a picked man was wanted to go to the tribes in the distant North, he was selected.

The Methodist Church Missionary Society has built and opened at a total cost of $30,000 at Chilliwack, the "Coqualeetza Industrial Institute," one of the largest and most complete establishments of the kind in the Province. The Columbian Methodist College was founded in 1892 by the British Columbia Conference. Its success was such during the first year as to justify the management in making extensions; four additional names were added to the teaching staff; and the courses of study were revised and expanded so as to meet the requirements of the country. The ministers in active work upon the British Columbia Conference in 1894 were 37, the probationers 16, and the amount paid for Church purposes by circuits and missions was $75,116, while the missionary funds raised were $137,095.

Progress of Methodism in the North-West. The development of Methodist interests in the great North-Western Territories of Canada has been considerable. The first mission fields in the Hudson's Bay Territory, or Rupert's Land, which were occupied by Methodist missionaries, included those of Norway House, Moose Factory, Edmonton House, Lac la Pluie and Pic River, and it is said by Mr. R. B. Hill, in his "History of Manitoba," that from 1840 to 1854 the English Wesleyan Missionary Society expended no less than $44,000 in sustaining these Hudson's Bay missions. Mr. Hill goes on to say: "I cannot in the compass of this sketch, mention the numberless mission fields which have been opened up of late years in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, nor the names of the workers engaged therein. We have, for instance, James Evans and his co-worker, Henry Bird Steinhauer, a pure-blooded Indian, who invented and perfected the Cree syllabic characters now used in printing books in the Indian language. It is only necessary to mention the name of George McDougall, whose devoted life amongst the Indians in the far West, and his terrible death, have made his name a household word throughout Canada; as also his scarcely less devoted son, John McDougall. Nor would it be just to pass by the name of John Ryerson, whose missionary tour in 1854 through the Hudson's Bay Territory in connection with the transfer of the management of the missions from the London Missionary Committee to the Canadian Conference, may be said to have cost him his life. The exposure and fatigue which he suffered from his long journey of 1,500 miles in a Hudson's Bay trading yacht, and 1,100 miles with bark canoe, so told upon his physical powers that he had to seek retirement for the remainder of his life. The name of Dr. Young will also occupy a prominent position in Manitoba history, in connection with the death of Scott, and the fact that to him belongs the honour of placing the Methodist Church on a good footing in the North-West."

In 1883, the Manitoba and North-West work was organized into a separate Conference, with the Rev. Dr. George Young as its first President. The Rev. Dr. Stafford, afterwards of Toronto, was its second President, followed the next year by Superintendent Woodsworth, of Brandon. The Rev. A. Langford, of Grace Church, Winnipeg, was elected to the Presidency in 1886, and in 1887, Professor Stewart, of Wesley College. Since its organization in 1883, and more especially since the Union of 1884, when all the bodies of Methodists throughout the Dominion were united, this Church has made wonderful progress in the new country. The number of preaching stations increased from fifty-four in 1884, to 121 in 1890. About 200 preaching appointments have also been added. The membership of the Church increased about 7,000 during the same period. At the Conference held in Brandon in June, 1890, it was found that it had a membership of about 10,000, and that more than $100,000 had been raised to carry on its work. The Church property throughout the country in the shape of churches, parsonages, etc., was valued at nearly $300,000. A College is also supported for the training of young ministers. In 1894, the Manitoba and North-West Conference had ninety-seven ministers in active work, and thirty-six probationers, while the circuits and missions contributed $212,174 to Church purposes, and the mission funds raised in local centres amounted to $306,767.

SECTION IV.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ONTARIO

BY

THE RIGHT REV. A. SWEATMAN, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Toronto,

AND

THE REV. WILLIAM CLARK, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C.

PREVIOUS to the Declaration of American Independence, the portion of British North America subsequently distinguished as Upper Canada and then Ontario, was an unknown region, covered for the most part with impenetrable forests, and not supposed to be of any value. The first point of it to emerge into our history is Newark, the present town of Niagara. In 1758 General Amherst led an expedition against Canada (then in the occupation of the French), and in the following year laid siege to and captured Fort Niagara. This expedition was accompanied by the Mohawk Indians from Fort Hunter, with the Rev. Dr. John Ogilvie, their S.P.G. Missionary, as chaplain. After the British conquest of Canada, these Indians returned to the Mohawk Valley until the close of the American War. On the removal of the seat of government to York (now Toronto) in 1776, a majority of the Mohawk nation, under the guidance of Chief Joseph Brant, fled from Fort Hunter, N.Y., to Niagara, and eventually settled on the Grand River above that town. The remainder, under Chief John Deserontyon, escaped to Lower Canada, and after a sojourn of six years at La Chine, some of them removed in 1782 to Niagara; but most of them permanently settled in 1784 on the Bay of Quinte, forty miles above Cataraqui (Kingston).

At their settlement on the Grand River near Newark, these Mohawk warriors built a village, and, mostly at their own cost, a church, having thus the honour of erecting the first Protestant church in Upper Canada after the conquest. The concession of Independence to the United States of America in 1783 was the signal for the wholesale emigration of those who had remained loyal to the English Crown, with their families, to the British possessions. About 10,000 of these U.E. Loyalists settled in Upper Canada in 1784. They were mostly attached to the Established Church, and were naturally, from the uncleared condition of the interior and the absence of roads, widely scattered along the lake front and the water courses. Nearly 300 families, chiefly from the State of New York, removed from Sorel in Lower Canada, to Cataraqui in Upper Canada. To the garrison at this place, the Rev. John Stuart, a U.E. Loyalist, was appointed chaplain, and was thus the first Church of England clergyman in Upper Canada. On the 2nd of June, 1784, leaving Montreal, he travelled west as far as Niagara, visiting on his way all the new settlements of Loyalists on the river and lake. Reaching Niagara on the 18th, he preached at the garrison on the following Sunday, and in the afternoon went on horseback to the Mohawk village, nine miles distant, and officiated in their church. After a short intermission, he returned to the church, where he baptized seventy-eight infants and five adults. From the Mohawk village, Dr. Stuart visited every encampment of Loyalists and of friendly Indians as far east as Coteau-du-Lac, ministering to all and baptizing about 150.

About this time the Government purchased a tract of land on the Grand River some ninety miles west of Niagara, as a Reserve for the Six Nation Indians. In 1785 they built the Mohawk Church, which is still in use, near Brantford. In 1786 the Rev. Dr. John Stuart settled at Cataraqui as the resident clergyman. In 1787 the Bishopric of Nova Scotia was established; and on 12th August Dr. Charles Inglis, former Rector of Trinity Church, New York, and a devoted Loyalist who had lost all in the cause, was consecrated to the See, at Lambeth, by Archbishop Moore of Canterbury. Thus was erected the first Colonial Bishopric of the Anglican Church. The Diocese of Nova Scotia, it may be added, embraced the whole of Canada. In the same

year the Rev. John Langhorne came out from England and was appointed to the charge of the Bay of Quinte district, with his head-quarters at Ernestown (now Bath). In his first year he had 1,500 in his charge and baptized 107. Within five years he had opened eight places for worship in his Parish—St. Oswald's, St. Cuthbert's, St. Warburgh's, St. Thomas', St. Paul's, St. John's, St. Peter's, and St. Luke's.

In 1788 Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) divided Upper Canada into the four Districts of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse. Bishop Inglis, of Nova Scotia, held his first Visitation in 1789. Arrived in Quebec, he summoned to Conference on Wednesday, the 5th of August, in the Church of the Recollets, the clergy of the "Province of Quebec" who numbered 86 from Lower Canada and two from Upper Canada. The latter were the Rev. Dr. John Stuart and the Rev. John Langhorne. The Bishop during the same visit Confirmed more than 130 persons. The population of Canada, at this time, was 140,000, of whom about 25,000 were English. In 1791 the Constitutional Act (31 Geo. III., Cap. 31) was passed, amongst the summarized provisions being the enactment that His Majesty might authorize the Governor to make allotments of lands for the support of a Protestant Clergy and authorize the Governor-in-Council to erect and endow Parsonages and present Incumbents thereto—such presentation and the enjoyment of such Rectories to be subject to the authority of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. The "Clergy Reserves Act" set apart one-seventh of the land or nearly 2,500,000 acres in Upper Canada "for the support of a Protestant Clergy." The Quebec Act divided Canada into the Upper and Lower Provinces. The year 1792 was signalized by the arrival from England of the third and fourth clergymen for Upper Canada. The Rev. Robert Addison became missionary at Niagara and chaplain to the Indians at Grand River, and the Rev. M. Pollard, missionary at Amherstburg. On the 17th of September the first Upper Canadian Parliament was opened at Newark (Niagara) by Lieut.-Governor J. Graves Simcoe. This Parliament changed the names of the Districts into "Eastern," "Midland," "Home," and "Western." In 1793 the first church was built in Kingston, of frame. On the 1st of November following the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, of Caius College, Cambridge, and Rector of Buckden in Huntingdonshire, who had been consecrated on the 7th of July to be the first Bishop of Quebec, arrived in Canada with his family and other relations, amounting to thirteen persons. "After a voyage of thirteen weeks these thirteen Mountains arrived in Quebec." It is said that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec "saluted his Anglican brother with a kiss on both cheeks,

The Right Rev. Dr. Arthur Sweatman.

and said that it was time he should come to keep his people in order."

At Bishop Mountain's first visitation, in 1794, there were six clergy in Lower Canada and three in Upper Canada. The next advance of the Church in this Province was not until 1801, when two important parishes were established: Cornwall, to which Rev. J. T. Rudd was appointed; and York (Toronto), which was placed under the charge of the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, son of the Rev. Dr. John Stuart, of Kingston. In 1802, York consisted of about 120 houses and seventy

families; in the whole township there might be 140 families. The prevailing Denominations were the Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, with a few Roman Catholics. Mr. Stuart had a numerous congregation but only ten communicants. The people had subscribed to build a church, for the site of which six acres had been reserved in 1797. Pending its erection he was officiating in the Government House. In 1803, the first wooden Church of St. James, fifty feet by forty, was built in a clearing of the pine forest, and was described as "a mere meeting-house for Episcopalians in the midst of a great grove, with stumps of various sizes in the foreground." By a noticeable coincidence, in the same year, on the 2nd of May, Mr. John Strachan was ordained Deacon. Upon his ordination to the Priesthood on the 3rd June, in the following year, he was appointed to Cornwall.

Eight years now elapsed without any change or advance in Church extension, till, in 1812, the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart resigned York, on his appointment to the Rectory of St. George's, Kingston, with the Archdeaconry, which had been rendered vacant by the death of his father (Dr. John Stuart) in 1811, at the age of seventy-five. The Rev. John Strachan was appointed to succeed him at York, and on the 18th of June the American War was declared. On the 2nd of August, the first Sunday after his arrival in York, Dr. Strachan preached his first sermon before the Legislature. Meanwhile he had been succeeded in Cornwall by Dr. W. Devereux Baldwin. In this year the population of Upper Canada was 70,000 to 75,000, and the number of the clergy five. The year 1814 saw two instances of Church extension in the eastern part of Ontario. The Rev. John Bethune was appointed to Elizabethtown and Augusta, and the Rev. John G. Weagent to Williamsburg.

This was the year of Bishop Mountain's first tour through the Western part of his Diocese. With two sons and a daughter, and two servants, he embarked in a *batteau* provided by the Government. "In the middle of it, under a neat awning, sat the Bishop in a great old arm chair. The crew consisted of a pilot and four rowers, for whom fifty pounds of pork and thirty loaves were provided by agreement, in addition to which the pilot was to receive four pounds, and the men nine dollars each." The Bishop's daughter, however, being taken suddenly ill, the party had to return to Quebec after accomplishing fifteen miles in three days. When the Bishop made another start, it was with his own horses, and he reached Montreal on the fifth day. At Lachine the party embarked in a *batteau* for Upper Canada, reaching first Cornwall and then Williamsburg. Mr. Weagent had been a Lutheran minister, but the Bishop ordained him, and his congregation went over to the Anglican Church with him. Mr. Weagent officiated alternately in German and English. Kingston was next visited, where the Bishop was entertained by the Rev. G. O'Kill Stuart, and from Kingston he went up the Bay of Quinte in a canoe with ten Indians and an interpreter.

Bishop Mountain took journeys of this kind usually every three years, travelling sometimes by land in waggons, "over high mountains and through deep valleys and woods, on roads composed of rocks and roots, only exchanged occasionally for short, but deep black swampy soil." Wherever he went, he preached and made arrangements for the establishing of future churches. In January, 1815, the American War came to a close, and in 1816 measures were taken to erect a corporation in each Province for the management of the Clergy Reserves. From this date commences the growth of the Church in the centre and west of the Province. The Rev. Ralph Leeming was appointed to Barton, and the Rev. John Strachan opened a Sunday afternoon service at Ketchum's or Hogg's Hollow, near York, thus laying the foundation of the future Parish of York Mills. Grimsby was the next Parish formed (in 1817) by the appointment of the Rev. William Sampson. During this year was commenced the long, protracted, and bitterly fought contest over the Clergy Reserves—a motion being made in the Legislature for the alienation of one-half of the grant from the Church of England. In 1818 the Parish of St. Peter's, Cobourg, was created by the appointment of the Rev. William Macaulay.

The year 1819 was marked by several advance steps in the history of the Province and of the Church. The immigration from England which

had previously been small and only gradually increasing, rose to 12,000 in number. Three new Parishes were formed: Perth, under the charge of the Rev. Michael Harris; Chippewa, under Rev. William Leeming, and Cavan, with Port Hope, under the Rev. J. Thompson. In this year the Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart, who has been styled the "Father of the Church of England in Upper Canada," was appointed to be Visiting Missionary for both provinces. He had settled in 1807 at St. Armand in Lower Canada. At this time the Clergy Reserves Corporations went into operation. The new Parishes commenced in 1820 were Matilda, with the Rev. Frederick Meyers in charge, and Queenston with the Rev. B. B. Stevens. In 1821 were added Prescott and Belleville: the Rev. Robert Blakey being appointed to the former, and the Rev. Thomas Campbell to the latter. In this year each Province was erected into an Archdeaconry, and payments to the Church of England out of the Clergy Reserves were recommenced. During the two years which followed no new additions appear to have been made to the list of Parishes. Meanwhile the labours of the Hon. and Rev. C. J. Stewart were abundant and fruitful.

Everywhere throughout the Province he visited and planted churches or laid the foundations of future parishes, and everywhere he left behind a memory of apostolic zeal and saintliness which lingers in many spots to the present day. He paid visits to England in 1816 and in 1823. In the former year he commenced a subscription for the purpose of aiding settlers in the building of churches; and the Government of the day promised the salary of a resident missionary to such settlements as exerted themselves to build the Church and Parsonage House—a promise which was not fulfilled. In his absence, the subscription was still carried on, with the result that between 1816 and 1823 a sum of more than £2,000 was raised, which was instrumental in the building of twenty-four churches. On his later visit he published an earnest appeal regarding the duty of England towards her spiritually destitute emigrants, dated London, August 26th, 1823; and founded the "Upper Canadian Travelling Mission Fund," which created and maintained the "Stewart Missions." His visit to England on this occasion was as the Bishop's commissioner to defend the claim of the Church to her rights under the Clergy Reserves Act, which had been attacked by the Canadian House of Assembly. In Upper Canada the Church of Scotland had petitioned for a portion of the Reserves.

In 1824 four new Parishes were supplied with clergymen: March, the Rev. Amos Ansley; Carrying Place, the Rev. John Grier; Port Talbot, the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh; and Sandwich, the Rev. Robert Short. In 1825, the Upper Province was divided into the two Archdeaconries of Kingston and York; Dr. John Strachan being appointed Archdeacon of York and the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart retaining the Archdeaconry of Kingston. Archdeacon Stewart, of Quebec, was in England during this year, commissioned to procure a division of the Diocese. The design was that he should become Bishop of Upper Canada; but before the negotiations were completed, the Bishop of Quebec died suddenly on the 18th June, at the age of 74, after an Episcopate of 32 years; and the Crown authorities appointed Dr. Stewart to succeed him. He was consecrated in England on the 21st of January, 1826, by Archbishop Sutton of Canterbury, and was installed in Quebec Cathedral on the 4th June. Bishop Jacob Mountain had travelled over his enormous Diocese eight times—making the journey, which amounted to about 3,000 miles, every three years. He left 61 clergymen where he had found nine. At his appointment there was only one church—at Sorel—with the foundation of one at Niagara. These had grown to 60, built or in progress.

At this date (1826) there were twenty-one parochial clergy in Upper Canada, Sandwich being vacant; and one missionary to the Mohawks on the Grand River—the Rev. Thomas Morley. The number of counties was twenty-three, divided into about 280 townships, of which eighty-seven are not separately enumerated. The total population was returned at 158,331, which was regarded as an under-estimate by about one-third. Kingston contained 2,329 inhabitants, and York 1,677. Brockville (Rev. John Wenham) was made a separate Parish in this year. Beverley (Rev. Rossington Elms) and Credit (Rev. James Magrath) were the additions in 1826. Peterbor-

ough (Rev. T. Armour) in 1827, Fort Erie (Rev. John Anderson), Woodhouse (Rev. F. Evans), and St. Catharines (Rev. Edward Parkin), were added in 1828. In this latter year the Rev. George Archbold, S.P.G. missionary, commenced his labours among the Indians on the north shore of Lake Huron. In 1829, St. Thomas (Rev. Mark Burnham), Markham and Vaughan (Rev. V. P. Meyerhoffer), Brantford (Rev. Abraham Nelles), and Oxford (Rev. Henry Patton), became Parishes. The opening of Upper Canada College, with its staff of masters: Principal, Rev. Joseph

The Rev. Professor Clark.

H. Harris, D.D., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge; Vice-Principal, Rev. Thomas Phillips, D.D., Queen's, Cambridge; Mathematics, Rev. Charles Dade, Fellow of Caius, Cambridge; First Classical, Rev. Charles Matthews, Pembroke, Cambridge; and Second Classical, Rev. William Boulton, Queen's, Oxford; also provided a great accession to the local clerical staff of York.

An important step in promoting the work of the Church was taken in 1830. On the 29th of October, a meeting, under the Presidency of the Bishop of Quebec (Stewart), was held at York to form a "Society for converting and civilizing the Indians in Upper Canada." Mr. James D. Cameron, who had taken over the Rev. George Archbold's work on Lake Huron, became the Society's first missionary. Much had meanwhile been done for the Six Nation Indians on the Grand River by missionaries of the New England Company. On the 22nd of November, a second meeting was held, when the scope of the Society was extended and its designation enlarged by adding, "and propagating the Gospel among destitute settlers." During the summer of 1831, the Bishop of Quebec obtained subscriptions for the Society in England and secured the co-operation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. The Rev. A. N. Bethune, who accompanied him, remained behind in England to receive further contributions. The first annual meeting, under Bishop Stewart, was held at York in November. The Report stated that Mr. Cameron had spent the winter at La Cloche and then removed to Sault Ste. Marie. The Rev. J. O'Brien was sent to the village which was being built by the Indian Department on the River St. Clair to report, and it was determined that annual sermons should be preached on behalf of the Society.

In 1832 the important Parishes of London and Guelph were constituted by the appointment of the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn and the Rev. Arthur Palmer respectively. The Rev. Adam Elliott was ordained in St. James' Church, York, to be the first travelling missionary of the new Society for the Home District. He laboured in this duty most indefatigably for three years, visiting the settlements in no less than 33 townships every six months, preaching, baptizing, administering the Holy Communion, and tending the sick. His journal is extant, and forms a deeply interesting and valuable record of Church work and of the religious condition of this extensive region; the burden of his report from every settlement being the eager desire for the ministrations of the Church, the readiness to provide a Church building, and the complaint of neglect in being left without a resident clergyman.

At the Second Annual Meeting of the Society in Upper Canada College, on the 10th of November, Bishop Stewart presiding, it was reported

that Mr. William MacMurray had been appointed Agent at Sault Ste. Marie, superseding Mr. Cameron, who had lost the confidence of the Society. During this year the English Government withdrew their grant to the S.P.G. There were 26 S.P.G. clergy in Upper Canada at £200 a year, and several on a lower scale. The missionaries were now transferred to the Government at £170 a year, to be paid out of local funds. All appointed subsequently to 1832 were to receive £100 a year. 1832 and 1834 were the Cholera years. For the 200 widows and 700 orphaned children left in York, a subscription of £1,320 was raised; all but £83 from Church of England people. In 1834 York was incorporated as the City of Toronto. At the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Society in November, 1835, it was resolved to relinquish Mr. Elliott's services in the Home District that he might devote himself to work among the Indians. In the preceding January, the Rev. W. F. S. Harper had been ordained to be the travelling missionary of the Midland District—the Rev. R. Cartwright, of Kingston, guaranteeing £75 per annum, and the Bishop of Quebec undertaking to make up the income to £100 out of the funds placed at his disposal by the "Upper Canadian Travelling Missionary Fund" in England.

The Bishop of Quebec having applied to His Majesty's Government for a Coadjutor, Archdeacon George Jehoshaphat Mountain was selected for the post, and consecrated in England by Archbishop Howley on February 14th, 1836, with the title of Bishop of Montreal. Bishop Stewart went home for rest to his native land, where he died July 13, 1837, whereupon Bishop Mountain became third Bishop of Quebec. This year was also memorable for the establishment of the 57 Crown Rectories of the Church of England in Canada by Sir John Colborne. Early in 1837 the Revs. W. Bettridge and B. Cronyn went to England and Ireland, respectively, in the interests of the Toronto Society, and Mr. Bettridge published "A Brief History of the Church in Upper Canada." In May the Rev. F. L. Osler, and in December the Rev. F. A. O'Meara, came out from the U.C. Clergy Society in England. The former was appointed to the Townships of Tecumseth and West Gwillimbury. The latter was sent to the Home District, and in the following year on being ordained priest, was appointed to succeed the Rev. William MacMurray in the Indian Post at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1838 the population of Upper Canada was under 500,000, of whom 150,000 were members of the Church of England, and 10,000 communicants. The clergy numbered sixty—26 receiving £170; 21 receiving £100; 2 being paid by their congregations; 2 by the exertions of the Rev. W. J. D. Waddilove, of England; 3 were missionaries of the Toronto Society, and 3 of the U.C. Clergy Society in London. The Travelling Missionaries complained that 100,000 persons, desirous of the ministrations of the Church, were either wholly destitute or only infrequently ministered to. One hundred more clergymen were declared to be needed.

On the 6th of January, St. James' Church, Toronto (the second building and only recently erected), was destroyed by fire. The Rev. William Morse, the fifth and last missionary sent out by the U.C. Clergy Society, arrived during this year and was appointed to Paris, in the Gore District. In May it was rumoured that Upper Canada was to be constituted a separate Diocese by Her Majesty's Government, and that the Archdeacon of York was to be its first Bishop. On the 5th of June Dr. Strachan was duly consecrated by Archbishop Howley as Bishop of Toronto, with the whole of Upper Canada for his Diocese. He was then sixty-one years of age. On his return on the 9th November, the Bishop found his church rebuilt and restored; the body being of stone and the tower of wood. In this year the Rev. R. J. C. Taylor, formerly Master of Peterborough Grammar School and Curate of Leeds, arrived as a Travelling Missionary of the S.P.G., and was assigned parts of the Home, Newcastle and Midland Districts. In 1840 the much vexed question of the Clergy Reserves received a settlement, for the time, by Act of Parliament. One-half of the lands were devoted to purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada; of the other half the Church of England benefitted to the extent of two-thirds and the Church of Scotland of one-third.

As far back as 1826, Dr. Strachan, who had interested himself actively in the cause of religious edu-

cation, by promoting the establishment of Grammar Schools in many places; after having paid a visit to England for the purpose had obtained the promise of a University for Toronto. It was to have a Royal Charter and to bear the title of King's College. It was not, however, until 1841 that the first step was taken to bring the University into existence when the Rev. Dr. Beaven was appointed to be its head. In the following summer, Sir Charles Bagot, as Chancellor of the University, sent to England for three Professors in Divinity, Mathematics and Chemistry respectively. Meanwhile the building in the College Avenue was proceeding vigourously and by the end of the year the south-east wing was sufficiently advanced for occupation. In 1841 a Divinity School for the Diocese was also established in Cobourg, under the Principalship of the Rev. A. N. Bethune, the Rector; and in this famous school, for many years, the candidates for Holy Orders received their training. On the 3rd of December in this year, the Royal Assent to the "Church Temporalities Act" (3 Vict., cap. 74) was promulgated. This Act, amended in 1866, still governs the procedure of the Church in the Province.

On April 22nd, 1842, an important step was taken by which the Church assumed her own financial responsibility, in place of dependence upon the support of English Societies. This was done through the establishment of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto. The "Church Societies Incorporation Act" (7 Vic., Cap. 68) incorporating the Societies in the Dioceses of Quebec and Toronto received the Royal Assent on June 27th, 1844. The Society having taken possession of its house, 144 King Street, held the first monthly meeting of the Central Board on August 4th, 1842, with Mr. Kent as Secretary, and Mr. Thomas Champion in charge of the Depository. In the summer of 1842 Bishop Strachan made one of his historic and arduous journeys—in which during twenty years he was wont to penetrate, through every discouragement of rough roads and great distances, to the remotest parts of his immense Diocese. Leaving Toronto on 19th July, he travelled to the Manitoulin Islands, visiting Sault Ste. Marie and returning by way of Sarnia to inspect the Indian Mission at Walpole Island. His Confirmation tour on this occasion comprised the Western, London, Talbot, Brock, Wellington, and Gore Districts, and occupied him until the beginning of October, when he returned to Toronto.

On February 1st, 1843, Sir Charles Metcalfe was sworn in at Windsor as Governor-General of Canada in succession to Sir Charles Bagot. On the 24th of April, the Rev. Dr. McCaul, who had resigned the Principalship of U. C. College, Commenced his duties as President of the University of King's College. On the 6th of June the Bishop of Toronto held his triennial visitation in St. James' Cathedral, when seventy-four of the clergy were present. Rev. William Macaulay preached the sermon and the Bishop's charge occupied two and a half hours in delivery. The four years, 1840 to 1844, was a period of rapid extension in the Church, as well as of consolidation of its methods. We are able to gain an accurate view of its strength and the ground it occupied from an elaborate tabulated statement published in the last named year, of the names of the clergy with their parishes and missions. The total number of clergy was 105—this number compared with the staff of 17 in 1820, indicates a large increase in the population in twenty years and a considerable amount of Church energy and work. Immigration and settlement had been very active since 1820 (the number of immigrants rising to over 60,000 in 1833), and by the date at which we have arrived the greater part of the Province was settled and all our present towns were supplied with churches and clergymen. The Church, too, had settled down to its work. Branches of the Church Society were in operation in every District, and the Annual Meeting of the Society transacted the secular business.

Arrangements were completed on March 5, 1847, for the Endowment of the See of Toronto; the Bishop resigned the Rectory of St. James' to the Rev. H. J. Grassett; and the Rev. Dr. Bethune was created Archdeacon of York. On 7th April, 1849, St. James' Cathedral was once more destroyed by fire, and the present noble edifice, not completed for worship until 1853, was erected at a cost of some $60,000. Another grievous blow fell upon the Bishop shortly afterwards in the secularization of the University of King's

College. This institution, which he had been chiefly instrumental in founding as a Church University, was made undenominational—its Divinity faculty suppressed and its chapel services abolished. The undaunted Bishop at once called upon the Church people of the Province to subscribe money and lands towards a new University, heading the list himself with $5,000, and, at seventy-two years of age crossed the ocean to appeal to the great Societies and individuals in England for assistance, and to the Throne itself for a Royal Charter. The complete success of his efforts was crowned by the auspicious opening of the University of Trinity College, with its five buildings; its staff of Professors in the faculties of Divinity, Arts, Medicine and Law, with the Rev. George Whittaker as Provost; on the 15th of January, 1852.

The year 1851 was signalized by a most important step in the self-government of the Church in Canada—the adoption of Synodical action, which carried with it the election of Bishops by the clergy and representatives of the laity. The First Annual Synod of the Diocese of Toronto was held in Holy Trinity Church, commencing on Thursday, 1st May, 1851. There were present 127 clergymen and 127 laymen. For 18 years the Church Society continued to exist co-ordinately with the Synod, until the two were united in the Act (32 Vic., Cap. 51) incorporating the Synod, assented to January 23rd, 1869. In 1854-5 the struggle over the Clergy Reserves was renewed, the Provincial Parliament seeming determined not to rest until it had swept away the last vestige of united Church and State in Canada. Finally the Government consented to pay a gross sum to the clergy in lieu of the stipends they were pledged to provide. By this composition the Government handed over £188,342 to the Church Society of the Diocese: and, by a noble act of disinterestedness, all the clergy but one agreed to leave their shares as a permanent endowment of the Church, receiving only the interest for their lifetime. Thus originated the Clergy Commutation Trust Fund, the surplus interest of which, as lives fell in, has proved such a boon to their successors.

In 1857 the first division of the Diocese of Upper Canada took place. It had been resolved in Synod to establish two new Dioceses, an eastern and a western one. The 13 westernmost counties of the Province were selected; and accordingly the clergy and lay representatives from these counties met in Synod in St. Paul's Church, London, on 9th July, 1857, to elect a Bishop—the Bishop of Toronto presiding. The number of clergy was 41, and at the first ballot the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, who had been Rector of London since 1832, was declared elected. Proceeding to England, he was consecrated in the same year by the Archbishop of Canterbury as Bishop

The Most Rev. Archbishop Lewis.

of Huron. In the next year the first Synod was held, a constitution adopted, and the Diocese thus fully organized. The necessary endowment for the new eastern Diocese was not raised until 1861. On the 12th June of that year Bishop Strachan convened the clergy and laity of the new Diocese at Kingston for the election of a Bishop. There were present 53 clergymen, of whom only 32 voted, and 112 laymen, representing 41 parishes or votes. The Rev. John Travers Lewis, LL.D., received 31 clerical and 39 lay votes,

and was declared elected on the first ballot. The new See was named by Bishop Strachan "Ontario." Owing to a delay in granting the Letters Patent—a formality since dispensed with—Dr. Lewis was not consecrated until March 25th, 1862. The consecration was held in St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, the Metropolitan, Bishop Fulford, being assisted by Bishop Strachan (then 85 years of age), Bishop G. J. Mountain (73 years old), Bishop Cronyn, of Huron, and Bishop McCoskry, of Michigan, U.S. This was the first Episcopal Consecration held in Canada.

The further stages in the development of the Church of England in this Province can only be indicated. In September, 1861, the first triennial Session of the Provincial Synod was held in Montreal. It comprised the Dioceses of Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, Huron and Ontario. At the fifth Session, 1874, the Dioceses of Nova Scotia and Fredericton were admitted into the Synod. Meanwhile the Missionary Diocese of Algoma had been set apart from Toronto, and at a special meeting of the Synod in 1873, Archdeacon F. D. Fauquier was elected the first Bishop. His consecration took place in Montreal on 28th October. Algoma did not receive representation in the Provincial Synod until 1892. In 1875 a further increase in the Episcopate was effected when the Diocese of Niagara was formed out of parts of Toronto and Huron, and Archdeacon T. B. Fuller was consecrated in Hamilton on 1st May as the first Bishop.

The latest sub-division occurred in 1896, when the new Diocese of Ottawa was erected out of that of Ontario. At a Synod held in Ottawa on the 18th of March, the Right Rev. Charles Hamilton, Bishop of Niagara, was elected to the new See, and was accordingly translated. In 1883 the Provincial Synod took the important step of founding, by canon, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of Canada. Its Board of Management is composed of the Bishops of the ten Dioceses, with two clerical and two lay representatives from each. It is very actively aided by a Woman's Auxiliary. The amount raised annually by the Society is about $50,000, and it supports several missionaries, male and female, in the foreign field, principally in Japan. The crowning act in this history is the consolidation of the whole Church in Canada in one General Synod which was happily consummated in 1893. The basis of the constitution was settled at the historical Conference held in Winnipeg in 1890. The General Synod met for the first time in Toronto in September, 1893, when seventeen Dioceses were represented by thirteen Bishops, forty-one clerical and forty lay representatives. The constitution was adopted and numerous Committees appointed. The present state of the Church of England in Upper Canada, or Ontario, by the latest returns, is as follows: Bishops, six; clergy, 565; Church population (census of 1891), 386,000; communicants, 61,898; Sunday-school teachers, 6,500; Sunday-school scholars, 62,514; contributions (yearly) for Parochial objects, $547,709; for Diocesan objects, $74,953; for Missions, $24,120. Such is a brief summary of the history of the Ontario Church.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN QUEBEC

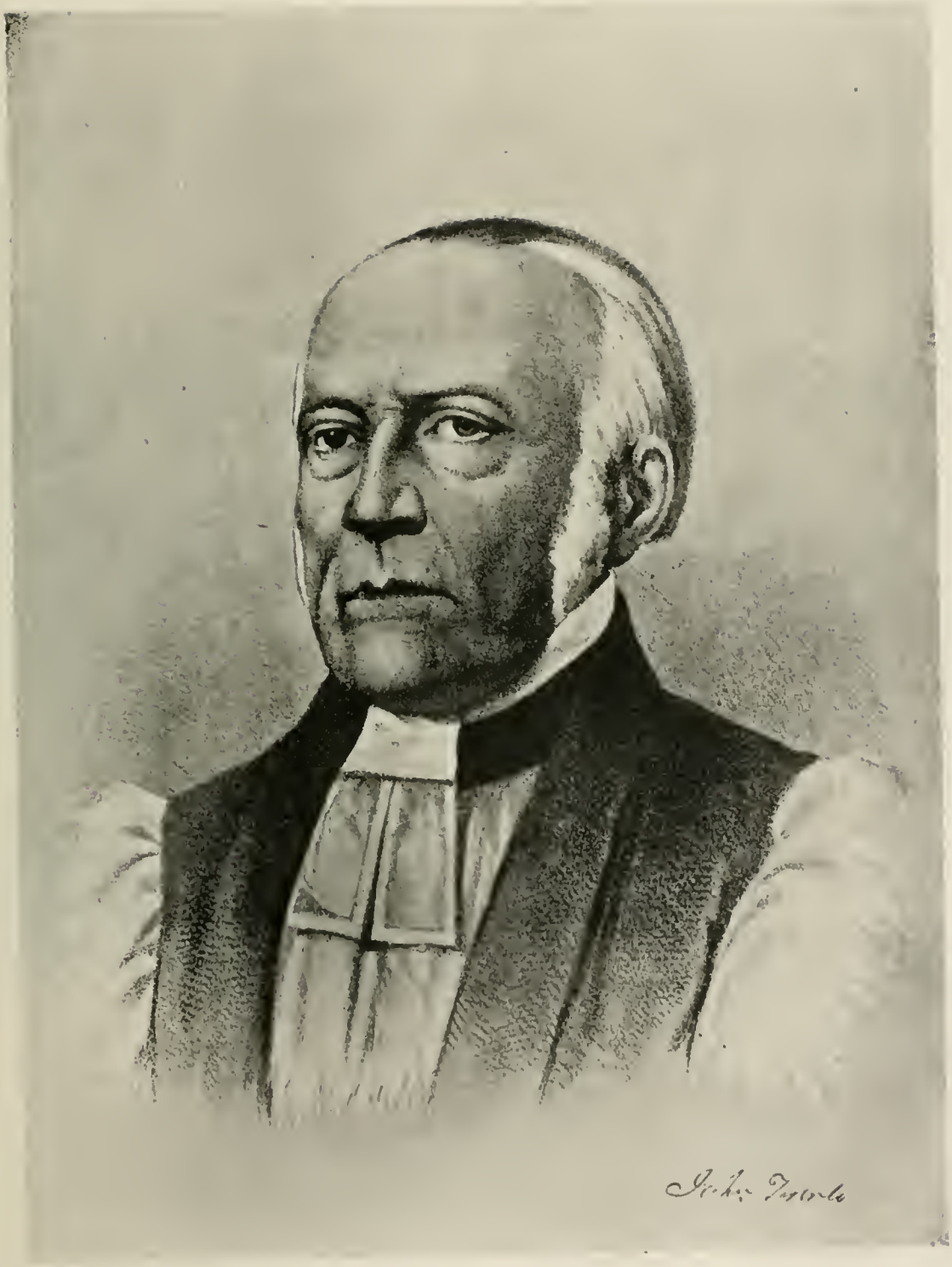
BY

THE VENERABLE HENRY ROE, D.D., Archdeacon of Quebec.

THE Diocese of Quebec. The history of the Church of England in the Province of Quebec really begins with the appointment of the first Anglican Bishop in 1793. During the thirty years which had elapsed between the cession of Canada and that date, the services of the Church in a small and desultory way had been within the reach of those English settlers who followed the King's troops into the country. The regiments had, of course, their own chaplains, but these seem to have taken little if any interest in the spiritual welfare of their fellow countrymen outside the barracks' gates. Out of the list of fourteen of these chaplains given by the Rev. H. C. Stuart in his little volume upon the Church of England in Canada, two, the Rev. Michael Houdin and the Rev. John Ogilvie, were full of zeal and activity, and did much good service outside of their military duties. These were not, however, really regimental chaplains, but Colonial clergymen from New York temporarily pressed into the service of the King's troops who had invaded French Canada from that Colony. The detention of these excellent men in Canada was short, the former remaining only two, and the latter four years, when they returned to their own country.

For the first few years after the Cession, the English-speaking people in the country were but few. In 1765 Governor Murray reports that the families in Quebec and Montreal numbered nineteen only. There were, indeed, in addition to these a considerable number of traders, mechanics and publicans, most of them followers of the army, and of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops, and not possessed of qualities calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with British laws, religion, or customs. Soon, however, English immigrants began to stream into the country, chiefly persecuted Loyalists from the revolted American Colonies. These came almost exclusively into Upper Canada or the far-away Maritime Provinces. In Lower Canada, nearly to the end of the century, the Protestant population was confined to Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers with smaller settlements in Sorel and St. John. During these early years the ministrations of religion were provided for British subjects in Canada in a haphazard sort of way, and the Rev. Dr. John Brooke, a man of high character, seems to have been the first English clergyman to settle in the country. He came out with the expedition of 1757 to Quebec and remained there ministering very acceptably to both soldiers and civilians for ten years, when to the great injury of the Church he was superseded, as we shall see, by a Frenchman, and returned to England. After Mr. Ogilvie's recall to New York, a Mr. Bennett served for a short time in Montreal and was superseded in like manner. The Rev. Dr. John Doty, a Loyalist refugee from New York, came to Sorel in 1784, and was settled over the Church people there for twenty years.

During these early years frequent and urgent representations of the need of more clergy, and churches, and schools for Canada were pressed upon the Government in England both by Colonists and by the great English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In answer to these, the Colonial Minister adopted the strange project of a wholesale conversion of the French Canadians to the Protestant faith by appointing French-speaking clergy over the English congregations of Lower Canada. The Governor of Canada was accordingly instructed to license three such clergymen to the charge of the Parishes of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers. This measure proved, of course, a failure. The English settlers could make nothing of the broken English of their new pastors and the French Canadians would have nothing to do



THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. DR. JOHN STRACHAN, BISHOP OF TORONTO.

with them. The result was the emptying of the English churches, and disappointment and exasperation on the part of all in those cities who cared for religion. The three Franco-Anglican clergymen thrust upon these unwilling congregations were the Rev. David Chadbrand Delisle in Montreal in 1766, the Rev. Francis David De Montmollin in Quebec about the same time, and the Rev. Leger J. B. N. Veyssiére in Three Rivers two years later. The two former were Swiss pastors, of course Episcopally ordained; the third a converted Recollet priest. They

The Venerable Dr. Henry Roe.

were superseded as useless in 1789, but enjoyed their handsome stipend of 200 pounds sterling to the end of their lives.

The Visitation of Quebec by Bishop Inglis, of Nova Scotia, in 1789, put an end to this miserable state of things which had lasted nearly a quarter of a century. He spent two months in the Province, invalided the three French clergymen and appointed good and able men in their place; delivered an excellent Charge to the Clergy; confirmed many who had never before seen a Bishop, and settled a number of burning questions to the satisfaction of all concerned. The evident good results of this Visitation led to one still more important. It opened the eyes of the British Government to the wisdom and necessity of appointing a Bishop to the sole charge of Upper and Lower Canada. Four years after the visit of Bishop Inglis this measure, so important to the Canadian Church, was carried into effect. The work of laying the foundations of the Canadian Church was committed to a Prelate worthy of the trust. The selection of the man for this high responsibility fell to the younger Pitt, and he chose Dr. Jacob Mountain, then Vicar of Brockden and Prebendary of Lincoln, being guided in his choice by the celebrated Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, whose examining chaplain and friend Dr. Mountain was.

Dr. Mountain was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on the 7th July, 1793, and almost immediately sailed for his new home. The discouragements which he had to face in his spiritual work were very great. He found himself, on the one hand, in the capital city of a Province, settled and cultivated now for a century and a quarter by an industrious, thriving, contented and religious people, with a Church thoroughly organized and a clergy loved and respected, and supported handsomely by their own parishioners. When he looked on the other hand at the material out of which he was required to build up the Church of England in Canada, the comparison was depressing. The whole British race in both Provinces was only about 15,000 in number, and so widely scattered as to require for their visitation a circuit of some 3,000 miles. The large majority of them were dissenters from the Church of England, and even of her own attached sons, not one probably had the faintest idea that it was his duty to make any personal sacrifice for her support, while there was no ecclesiastical building of any kind in his whole Diocese, excepting one church—and there were only nine clergymen.

The morals of part of Bishop Mountain's flock did not stand very high. The venerable Roman Catholic Bishop Briand had, indeed, welcomed him with a kiss on both cheeks, and remarked significantly: "Your presence was much needed to keep your people in order." The Bishop's

coming was well timed. The foundations of Canadian society under the new règime were only being laid. In Lower Canada the English were as yet few in numbers, and were found mainly in the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal; apart from these, scarcely an attempt at settlement had been made. The Bishop found six clergymen only in Lower Canada. The Bishop at once went to work. His own brother, placed first at Three Rivers, and subsequently at Montreal, and his nephew, the much loved Salter Mountain, Bishop's chaplain, and for twenty years Rector of Quebec, were invaluable additions to his staff. The difficulty of providing funds to pay the additional clergy needed was great. No one thought of calling upon the people to support their own Church. It was taken for granted that in an Established Church the clergy would be paid by the Government. Indeed, such provision was supposed to have been made when the Clergy Reserves were set apart, though they never became available to any extent in Canada.

With the generous help, however, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Bishop was enabled gradually to increase the number of his clergy and to keep the extension of the Church in some degree in pace with the advancing settlement of the country. At his decease in 1825 he left sixty-one clergymen (including the Archdeacons) where he had found nine, forty-eight of them being missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Bishop had seen the necessity of looking to the country itself to supply him with clergy, and early began to take measures for their regular training. The Society here again came to his aid, and, in 1815, placed the sum of £200 sterling a year at his disposal for the support of four students in Divinity while pursuing their studies with clergymen of ability and experience. This system, the precursor of the more developed Divinity Schools of today, the Bishop left in working order at his death. The Rev. Joseph Braithewaite at Chambly and the Rev. Samuel Simpson Wood at Three Rivers did much good service in this responsible work. Among those so ordained by the first Bishop of Quebec, with more or less of previous training, were Dr. John Bethune, the first Dean of Montreal; Dr. James Reid, the successor of Bishop Stewart at Frelighsburg, and his son, Dr. Charles Peter Reid, Rector of Sherbrooke; George Archbold, the saintly successor of Bishop Stewart in his work as Visiting Missionary; and, most distinguished of them all, his own son George, afterwards the third Bishop of Quebec.

There was the same destitution as to churches, parsonages, and schools. In the Province of Quebec there was not a single ecclesiastical building of any kind except a store turned into a church at Sorel. The clergy officiated in court-houses or in churches "borrowed" from the Church of Rome. This want, too, the Bishop set himself to remedy with the like success, and at his death left in this Province, his Diocese, nearly sixty churches built. Towards four of the most important of these the Bishop obtained a grant of £1,000 sterling from the Home Government, and towards them all liberal grants were made by the S.P.G. in addition to his own generous contributions. The entire credit, however, for the building of his own Cathedral must be conceded to himself. The Cathedral of Quebec still remains one of the most satisfactory churches for worship in Canada. The grant for its erection, in the name of the King, was for "a Metropolitan Church," indicating the intention of the Government to make Quebec the Metropolitan See. The Bishop's hope was to establish at once a regular Cathedral system, and he urged strongly upon the Government the propriety and wisdom of making provision by endowment for a Dean and Chapter. He failed in this part of his project, but, nevertheless, he provided upon its opening a surpliced choir and a choral service, both of which some twenty years after his death were allowed to fall through.

The regular triennial Visitation of the Diocese was of course the most important of the Bishop's functions. Eight times he went over his Diocese —each circuit involving more than 3,000 miles of travel—penetrating on these occasions to every spot where a mission had been opened, confirming the young, stimulating the zeal of the clergy, promoting the building of churches and schools, and above all, seeking to deepen the religious life of the people. His Confirmation addresses and sermons, coming from one of the greatest preachers of the age, and illustrated by his own beauti-

ful life, could not fail to leave permanent impressions. Bishop Mountain's efforts on behalf of superior education ought not to be here passed over in silence. He advocated a general scheme of a University and Grammar Schools for the whole country, endowed and fostered by the Government. The foundation of McGill College is indirectly due to him. He secured for it a Royal Charter, and submitted a plan for its establishment as a University to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, by whom it was approved. The will of Mr. McGill, however, having been contested, the establishment of the College was delayed.

In the earlier years of his Episcopate, the Bishop's Visitations in Lower Canada were necessarily confined to the towns and the few English settlements in the Seigneuries. The English-speaking settlements of the Province had scarcely begun. The Eastern Townships (the only part of the country of much value left unoccupied by the French) were at this time an unbroken wilderness. At the beginning of this century, however, emigrants began to pour rapidly into these Townships, mostly from the neighbouring States, a fair proportion of them U.E. Loyalists, but the greater number simply attracted by the Government's liberal offers of free grants of land. But however politically affected, they were nearly all imbued with strong Puritanical views and prejudices. The apostle of these Townships was the great missionary who afterwards became the second Bishop of Quebec. The Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart, fifth son of the Earl of Galloway, a Fellow of All Souls, and also holding a wealthy benefice in England, felt inwardly moved to devote himself to missionary work, came to Canada in the autumn of 1807, and at once settled himself at Frelighsburg. From this point as a centre he laboured for eight years in the townships west of Lake Memphremagog, now part of the Diocese of Montreal, with almost unprecedented success in gathering the people into the Church and reforming their lives. Then, satisfied that the pastoral care of those he had won could be entrusted to other hands, he first made two extensive circuits of exploration on the east side of the Lake, searching out the religious condition and needs of the people in what is now the County of Stanstead and the County of Compton, and finally selected Hatley as the centre of his labours for that region.

Here he was visited in 1819 by Archdeacon Mountain. "I found him," he says, "in occupation of a small garret in a wooden house reached by a sort of ladder. Here he had one room in which were his little open bed, his books and his writing table. And here, buried in the wood, this simple and single-hearted man, very far from strong in bodily health, was labouring to build up the Church of God among a population of utter

The Right Rev. Dr. George J. Mountain.

strangers to the Church of England, with the exception of a single family." The same remarkable success crowned his labours here. His stay at Hatley was only for two years, and yet in that time he had won the confidence and affection of all classes, and seemed to have leavened the whole country from Stanstead to Compton with the Church's doctrine and discipline. But he was not content to rest at this. He felt that he had gifts for pioneer work which might be utilized in a larger field. "My experience," he says, in a

letter to his sister, "suits me for the business. My being single is a great advantage to me as a missionary on a large scale. I am always ready to go or stay anywhere for a long or a short time, and no place and every place is my home. My personal expenses are so small. I reckon that those of myself and my servant come now to about £250 a year. This leaves me of my income £400 a year for public and private benevolent purposes." Accordingly, in 1820, he again passed on his work to another, and for himself solicited and obtained from the S.P.G. an office he had persuaded them to create, which he called his promotion—the post of Visiting Missionary for the whole of Upper and Lower Canada. In this truly apostolic work he laboured, with never flagging enthusiasm, and immense advantage to the Church, down to Bishop Mountain's death; searching out in all the new settlements of both Provinces the most promising fields for establishing missions of the Church, and, where there were no funds from other sources, securing by his influence in England the money necessary to pay the additional missionaries and to build the churches that were needed.

The work so well begun by Dr. Stewart, of leavening the Eastern Townships while they were in process of settlement with sound religious influence, was taken up and carried on with equal zeal by his younger contemporary and friend, Dr. George Mountain, who for the last seven years of his father's life was Official of the Diocese and, for the last four, Archdeacon. And here, perhaps, is the right place to say what ought to be said, that the benefit of highest value which Bishop Jacob Mountain conferred upon the Canadian Church was the religious influence which he brought to it in his own person and in his family. The Mountain family have been to their Church and country, in the silent, secret influence of their personal religion, "the very salt of the earth."

The limited space of this memoir will not permit the grounds of this assertion to be fully traced out, but one proof may be offered. In the higher classes of society, in cases where other honourable and lucrative callings are open to a man's sons, there is no surer sign of a true inward value for religion than his giving those sons, and their giving themselves, to the sacred ministry. Bishop Jacob Mountain and his elder and only brother, Jehoshaphat, were clergymen. Of the elder of these brothers, all the male descendants, the only son in each of three generations, have been clergymen. Three of Bishop Jacob Mountain's four sons devoted themselves to the same sacred office. One of the three had no children. Of the other two, the only son of Dr. Jacob Mountain and the eldest son of Dr. George Mountain, followed the same example. And all of these, who have passed away were saintly men, some of them pre-eminently so. Salter Mountain's life in Cornwall; Bishop George Mountain's fifty years' ministry in Quebec; his son Cormine Mountain's twenty years; his cousin Jacob Mountain's life in Newfoundland; were shining examples of the highest walking with God. The only two Mountains who embraced secular callings, both gallant soldiers, were equally attractive and beautiful patterns of the very best type of personal religion.

The character of the first Bishop of Quebec has been drawn by two of his children, both in the best position to compare him with the leading men of the age. "Our father lives in my recollection," writes Colonel Mountain, "as a being of a higher order and a different race from the men among whom my life has been passed. He was not only essentially a gentleman, but I have never in all my wanderings seen a prince who had his bearing. He united to all the true dignity of a Bishop, a kindness and tenderness peculiar to himself, and the easy grace of a highly accomplished man—at once manly and mild, and full of sparkling conversation. In the pulpit I have never heard his equal; his fine countenance and noble figure, his sonorous and melodious voice, his impressive action, produced an effect which none who ever heard him can forget. There was no escaping from that voice; it reached into every corner of the church, and every other sound was hushed. He was, in truth, the most princely-minded, the most highly gifted, the kindest, noblest, most strictly upright, simple-hearted human being I have ever known."

Bishop Jacob Mountain, after a very brief illness, was called to his rest on the 18th June, 1825. His health had been much broken for some time, and his son, the Archdeacon, was

then in England negotiating with the authorities to afford the Bishop some relief. A division of the Diocese was acceded to, Dr. Stewart to be appointed Bishop of Upper Canada, and to give the Bishop of Quebec such assistance as he might need, or, if necessary, to take full charge of the Church in both Provinces. On the death of Bishop Mountain, Dr. Stewart proceeded to England, as had been arranged, for consecration as Bishop of Upper Canada, carrying with him the suffrages of the whole Canadian Church that the Archdeacon should succeed his father as Bishop of Quebec. The Government, however, refused to carry the division of the Diocese into effect, on the ground that it had been rendered necessary only by the failing health of the late Bishop. Dr. Stewart was therefore consecrated Bishop of Quebec, with the charge of the whole of Canada, on the 1st of January, 1826, and in the summer returned to Canada and at once entered with zeal and energy upon the visitation of his vast Diocese, with every portion of which and its wants he was thoroughly acquainted.

During the first six years of his Episcopate, the Bishop went over the country (much of it on horse-back) from one end to the other, and portions of it two or three times, searching out and ministering to its scattered people, much as he had done while a simple missionary. He did not, however, permit the office of Visiting Missionary, on which he set so high a value, to fall through. A successor was found in the Rev. George Archbold, another of the noble band of saintly planters of the Church to whom Canada owes so much. Archdeacon Mountain, in a private letter written about this time, speaks of him as "this unaffectedly devoted servant of God and His Church, who is an example to us all, so zealous, so devout, so humble, so genuine, so single-hearted, so entirely given to the work to which he is called."

Dr. Stewart continued his labours with the same ardent zeal until his health began to fail. Indeed the oversight of so vast a field was quite too much for any man. He had, however, a strong man at his right hand. Archdeacon Mountain was, all through Bishop Stewart's administration, a most important factor in the growth and development of the Church. The whole Diocese was permeated with the influence of the burning zeal, and meek piety, and splendid work of the Archdeacon. His chief field of labour was, of course, his own Parish of Quebec, which included the whole city, with a Church population of 5,000 souls, and which he made by his amazing pastoral activity and holy example a model parish, such indeed as few parishes have ever been.

In the centre of the last ten years of his Rectorship came the invasion of cholera in 1832. His heroic devotion in meeting the plague won for him the highest place in the admiration and gratitude of the entire community. The pestilence took a most aggravated form, and the sufferings and terror of the people were beyond description. In little more than two months one-tenth of the population of Quebec, which then numbered 28,000, was carried off. The number of interments by the Rector and his one assistant in that year was 975—the Rector himself burying more than seventy bodies in two consecutive days. He never left his post for a day, and the whole of his time was given up in ministering to the sick and dying. And not in the city only, the country round Quebec for miles had no other clergyman to look to for its spiritual consolation. "A horse was kept saddled in his stable night and day to enable him and his curate to meet the calls from a distance. Their rule was to take night calls alternately, but on many nights they were both out, and for whole days together he was unable to return home." No wonder that henceforth the love and reverence of the people for their Rector was beyond expression.

His work in the city of Quebec, however, even in those days, was far from all. The planting of the Church throughout the whole of Lower Canada was largely the result of his personal exertions. He travelled again and again over the entire Province, preaching the Gospel of the Grace of God to the crowds who everywhere hung upon his lips, and setting the Church of their fathers, against which and her ways they were most of them deeply prejudiced, before the people in the most beautiful and attractive light. Meantime, during the last two or three years of his Episcopate, Bishop Stewart's labours were seriously interrupted by the breaking down of his bodily powers, and he prevailed upon Archdeacon

Mountain to proceed to England in 1835, and obtain from the Government some measure of relief. His desire was that Upper Canada should be set off as a Separate See, but, if this could not be obtained, he asked for a Coadjutor.

To this the Government consented, and Bishop Stewart, on his own part and that of the whole Canadian Church, nominated the Archdeacon for the appointment. In the autumn of 1830 Bishop Stewart returned to England in the hope of recruiting his health, but the faithful soldier of Christ was worn out. "His cheeks (says his old friend Bishop Henshaw, who met him at New York on his way) were sunken, his limbs shrunken, and his whole frame emaciated. He was suffering from the effects of a partial paralysis." He lingered on into the next year and died on the 13th of July, 1837. So passed away one of the most saintly of the servants of God. Bishop Stewart died possessed of no property, the whole of his private fortune having been spent in works of piety and charity. He never married, having deliberately chosen the unmarried state that he might be more free to serve Christ. He spent every Friday in retirement, fasting, and prayer, and did not hide his doing so. Men saw the simple reality of his self-denial and of his religion, and many were won by it to a better life. "His decease deprived the Church in Canada," as his successor beautifully expressed it, "of one who was her boast and her blessing, and the clergy of a father and a friend." During the ten years of Bishop Stewart's administration the number of the clergy had increased to thirty-four in Lower Canada, the churches, from twenty to forty-two.

Dr. George Mountain had been appointed to assist the Bishop of Quebec as Coadjutor, under the title of Bishop of Montreal, with the right of succession to the See of Quebec. His Episcopate extended over twenty-seven years, and under his able administration the Church in the Diocese of Quebec grew from infancy to manhood. The most important event in the life of the Diocese during the fourteen years that elapsed before the erection of the See of Montreal in 1850, were the establishment of the Church Society in 1842, the founding of Bishop's College in 1845, and the awful visitation of the Ship Fever in 1847. The history of the Church Society, told in its Jubilee Memoirs published in 1892, and of its unexampled success in developing and consolidating the finances of the Diocese reads almost like a fairy tale. Much of it was due to Bishop George Mountain. For twenty years of his Presidency he gave it his undivided devotion. He himself and his family were very large contributors to its funds. It was also doubtless due to the noble example of self-sacrifice which his whole life exhibited that the body of laymen whom he attracted around him in its management were men of so high a stamp. To him and to them, as working together in the Society in those early days, is largely due the strength and independence of the Diocese of Quebec in financial matters to-day.

In 1844, the Bishop made his memorable visit to Rupert's Land, a voyage by canoe of 3,000 miles, in which he not only carried to that "Great Lone Land" for the first time the gifts of Confirmation and Ordination, but also secured, by the unceasing efforts with which he followed it up, the appointment of a Bishop for the distant territory in 1849. The establishment of a College for the training of his clergy, long in the Bishop's thoughts, was accomplished in 1845. The site was fixed at Lennoxville, as the centre of the largest English-speaking section of the Province. The work of teaching began under the charge of Jasper Hume Nicolls, Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Bishop Mountain's nephew. He remained at the head of the institution thirty-two years, down to his death, and was succeeded for eight years by Dr. Joseph Lobly, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Under their management the College grew to be the great power for good it now is in the Canadian Church. Dr. Nicholls and Dr. Lobly were both men of singular elevation and purity of character, both great teachers, both greatly beloved, both true sons of the Church of England, and both left the stamp of their own transparent honesty and truth, as well as of their own personal religion, upon all receptive souls who were so happy as to come under their influence. In 1853, a Royal Charter was granted by the Queen under which the University of Bishop's College was organized and now takes its place as one of the four great Universities of Old Canada, with its Faculties, so far, of Divinity, Arts, and Medicine in full working

order. Besides the work here done in training the clergy, the College and the School have been eminently successful in imparting to the Alumni the culture of Christian gentlemen, and have been in many ways a power for good in both Church and State in Canada.

No sketch of the history of the Church of England in the Province of Quebec could pass over in silence the heroism with which the Bishop and his clergy jeopardized their lives during the awful visitation of ship fever in 1847. In the spring of that year, following upon the Irish famine of 1846, tens of thousands of poor famine-stricken Irish emigrants fled to Canada, bringing with them typhus fever in its most malignant form. They were carried ashore out of the emigrant vessels at the Quarantine station at Grosse Isle, and there died in thousands. No language could adequately describe the horrors of that awful summer. The island was almost literally covered with the poor dying people, men, women and children. The emigrant sheds, the churches, every available building, nearly one hundred tents, overflowed with them, and many were seen lying in the open air. There were, for much of the time, as many as seventeen hundred down with the fever on the Island, and half as many more afloat in the ships for whom room could not be found ashore. The description of the scenes given in the Bishop's private letters—the suffering, the filth, the sickening stenches, the cries of the dying people, the wailing of orphans—is most heartrending. The heroic Bishop met this awful irruption of plague as he had met the inroad of cholera fifteen years before, with a calm courage which communicated itself to others. Taking the first turn at Grosse Isle himself, after the chaplain for the season was prostrated by the disease, and a second later on, he invited such of the clergy of the Diocese as seemed most able for the service to offer themselves for the work of ministering to their poor dying fellow-creatures, each to take one week. To this call fourteen of the clergy responded. It was surely a sublime devotion for men to leave their own quiet, healthy country parishes, their wives and their children, and go far away down into the valley of death on that lonely, plague-stricken island. Of these clergymen, two caught the fever and died. Three of the clergy took it in attendance on the emigrant sheds elsewhere and died. Seven more took the fever and recovered. Six, equally meritorious, besides the Bishop, escaped unhurt.

The Diocese of Montreal was founded in 1850, and on St. James' Day in that year Dr. Francis Fulford was consecrated its first Bishop. During the fourteen years of Bishop George Mountain's tenure of the undivided See, the clergy in Lower Canada had increased from thirty-four to eighty-six, while eighty-three new churches had been built and 8,500 persons had been confirmed. The revival of her Synodical organization was, in many respects, the most important movement of the century in the Church of England. In this revival the Bishop of Quebec took an influential part. After several years of correspondence, he brought about, in the autumn of 1851, a meeting of the Bishops of British North America at Quebec, for a preliminary conference on this important matter, at which five of the seven Bishops were present, and remained ten days together closely engaged in consultation. A statement was drawn up of the conclusions they had arrived at and was sent in the first instance to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The statement is a statesmanlike document, admirably calculated to be what it was—the foundation of all future Synodical action in the Canadian Church. The subject treated of included the organization of the Colonial Church by means of Provincial and Diocesan Synods, under a Provincial Metropolitan; Church membership, the Canons, Articles and Formularies; the Division of the Services; an Authorized Hymnal; the revival of the Offertory; the exclusion of evil livers from the Holy Communion, and of those married within the Prohibited Degrees; inter-communion with other Reformed Episcopal Churches; the religious education of the laity and the training of the clergy; Provision for the maintenance of the clergy and the restraint of Deacons from the charge of Parishes. The Archbishop's reply was disappointing, as he saw no hope of the legal impediments in the way of Synodical action being removed.

The matter did not long rest there. At the end of 1852 the Bishop of Quebec was summoned to England, as the senior Prelate of Brit-

ish North America, to meet the Bishop of Sydney, who was the senior Bishop of Australia, with a view to removing the supposed legal impediments. Conferences of the Colonial Bishops then in England—those of Sydney, Quebec, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Cape Town and Antigua—were held, the Bishop of Quebec presiding; and afterwards joint conferences between them and the English Bishops, eighteen of the latter taking part, with the Archbishop presiding. The result was a Bill introduced by the Archbishop into Parliament, with Mr. Gladstone in charge of it in the House of Commons, for the removal of the supposed disabilities. The Bill did not pass, happily for the Canadian Church, to the expansion of which such an Act might have proved a serious obstacle. An Act of the Canadian Parliament, however, was obtained in 1857, and under it the first Synod of Quebec met in 1859. The framing of a constitution for the Synod was the occasion of an agitation extending over several years, owing to an attempt made to exclude two principles which the great body of the Church felt to be essential. These were that no act of the Synod should be valid without the Bishop's assent, and that the lay delegates should be chosen from among the Communicants of the Church. When the Synod met, however, these points were settled with practical unanimity.

In 1860, a Metropolitan See for Canada was created by Letters Patent of the Queen, Montreal being settled as the Metropolis, and in 1861 the first Provincial Synod met in that city. The original arrangement agreed upon at the London Episcopal Conference of 1853 was that Quebec should be the Metropolitan See for British North America. When the Synod met it was proposed that the Bishop who was senior by consecration should be the Metropolitan, but Bishop Mountain wrote so strongly against this arrangement as contrary to all ancient precedent, that it was dropped, and Montreal, by his advice, was chosen as the fixed Metropolitan See. The Synodical organization of the Church in Upper and Lower Canada was then completed.

One more organization, in many respects the most important of all to the healthy development of his Diocese, Bishop George Mountain lived to see completed and its work begun. This was what is locally known as the Diocesan Board, and elsewhere as the Quebec System, which has been the instrument of doing for the Diocese of Quebec so splendid a work of financial organization and missionary extension. The Board has charge of the missionary work of the Diocese, and two great principles forming its constitutional foundation lie at the root of all its success: First, an equitable assessment of all the missions of the Diocese for the support of the clergy; second, the payment of this assessment into a common fund out of which all the missionary clergy receive their stipends. The Diocesan Board went into operation on the 1st January, 1863, and five days later the beloved Bishop died.

The spiritual work that Bishop Mountain did, his devoting himself from the first with such absorption to the preaching of Christ crucified, and the conversion and edification of souls, stands out so prominently in his life that it seems as if he could have paid attention to nothing else. On the other hand, so extended and complete was the organization of the Diocese effected under his administration that it seems as if it must have engrossed all his time. He took charge of the Parish of Quebec, with its five thousand souls, in its infancy. Its gradual expansion into five distinct curés; its Parish, day and Sunday Schools; its two Orphan Asylums with their endowments and beautiful homes; its Church Home for the aged and infirm poor; its religious and bountiful care for the destitute and indigent; all this was his work. Best of all was the sober, healthy, religious tone which pervaded the whole. What the Bishop did for his own Parish he sought to do, and in a measure effected, for the whole Diocese. The provision of clergy for all the English-speaking settlements within the Diocese, however remote or however small their numbers, even for the Magdalen Islands and Labrador, was the result of his own personal investigation of their needs. He never left any portion of the flock of Christ entrusted to him unquestioningly to others. "He fed them all faithfully with a true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power." The result of this loving care was that he left his Diocese in the best possible condition, with sound foundations laid on which others might safely build.

There is little need to draw here a portrait of the character of Bishop George Mountain. It stands out from every line of the foregoing sketch. "Applied to him," writes the present Bishop of Connecticut, U.S.A., "the line on Berkeley was hardly an exaggeration, for he really did seem to have every virtue under heaven." Bishop George Mountain was what all the Bishops of Quebec have been, a true and loyal son of the Church of England, though without a particle of party character. Yet in the maintenance of the distinctive doctrines and observances of the Church he was thoroughly uncompromising. His death was what might have been expected after such a life, holy and peaceful. He was full of humility but strong in faith, thoughtful for others to the last, pouring himself out for them in intercession and blessing. The blessed memory of his holy life will ever be the peculiar treasure of the Canadian Church. He took a cold, which rapidly developed into pneumonia, from ministering to the prisoners in the Quebec Jail on Christmas Day. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1863, he died.

The first three Bishops of Quebec were appointed by the Crown with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The fourth Bishop was freely elected by the suffrages of the clergy and faithful laity of his own Diocese. The Synod met on the 4th March, 1863. Balloting began on the morning of the 5th, and continued till late in the evening, when the Rev. James William Williams, of Pembroke College, Oxford, then Rector of the Lennoxville Grammar School, was chosen Bishop. He was the son of David Williams, Rector of Banghurst, Hampshire, cousin of the saintly Isaac Williams, who, with Archdeacon Sir George Prevost, son of a former Governor-General of Canada, were his god-parents. In 1857, Mr. Williams resigned a mastership in Leamington College to become Rector of the Lennoxville Grammar School, which attained increased success under his rule. In 1863, when the Rector was called to a higher office the school was filled to overflowing with 150 boys. Those were days to which all the old Lennoxville boys, who are fortunate enough to date within the period, look back with peculiar pride and affection. A permanent memorial of their love and of the great services then rendered to the Lennoxville School by its head-master, was erected in 1888 in the Bishop Williams wing, replaced by the still handsomer Bishop Williams Hall in 1891.

Dr. Williams was consecrated in his own Cathedral on the 21st June, 1863, and was called to his rest on the Wednesday in Easter week, 1892. During the intervening twenty-nine years, the Bishop won for himself in an eminent degree, by his able, wise and loving administration of his Diocese, the confidence and affection of his own people, and by his statesmanlike ability, manliness, and admirable social qualities, the esteem and respect of all classes of the community. He took up the reins of government at that point where an organization had been provided for carrying the Diocese from a condition of dependence to a condition of independence, from being largely a colony of foreigners in the midst of an unsympathizing native people, a colony supplied with the ministrations of religion and the support of its ministers from the aid of the Old Land, to being a Church deriving its resources, as well as its members, from Canadian soil. For such a crisis and such a work no man more admirably qualified than Bishop Williams could have been found. With all the qualities of a great statesman, he inspired confidence in everyone, and had, from the first, the entire body of thoughtful laymen in the Diocese, as well as the clergy, at his back. The splendid result is seen on the day of his removal, of a Diocese emancipated. The Bishop's own last days of health were given to consulting how to do what his successor in the very first days of his Episcopate has been enabled to bring to a successful issue, namely, voluntarily to surrender to the great Society on whose bounty the Church in Quebec had from its first day depended, its last remaining subsidy.

At the beginning of his Episcopate, even in Quebec itself, there was not one self-supporting Parish. Outside the city of Quebec there were then thirty-four missions, the clergy of which did not receive on an average a hundred dollars a year from their own people, the bulk of their income being derived from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Now, a scheme proposed by the Diocesan Board has been accepted by the Society by which the Diocese voluntarily relinquishes the whole S.P.G. grant at the close

of the year 1899. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of this rapid growth is that under it, the salaries of the clergy, not promised but paid, have increased from a dead level of one hundred pounds sterling to a scale of from $600 to $900 per annum, graded according to term of service. Sixty new churches and twenty-nine new parsonages have been built. Local endowments for forty-three Parishes, which now amount to $161,000, have been founded. A Pension Fund for aged and infirm clergy already has a capital of $50,000, under which pensions varying from $400 to $600 per annum, according to length of service, are being paid. The Widows and Orphans Fund now pays the widows of the clergy in the Diocese $400 a year, and their orphans up to $75 a year each. The endowment of Bishop's College has been about doubled, almost exclusively from contributions within the Diocese. Side by side with this splendid provision for the material prosperity of the Diocese has grown the missionary spirit, so that now nearly $4,000 a year is sent out of this poor Diocese to help in the missionary work of the Church.

The year 1888 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bishop's consecration, and it was marked by the appointment of an Archdeacon, and the organization of the Cathedral Chapter. The Bishop appointed the Rev. Dr. Norman, Rector of the Parish, as the first Dean. The first Canons, limited to four in number, were, for the city, the Rev. A. A. Von Iffland, M.A., Rector of St. Michael's, and the Rev. T. Richardson, S.A.C., Rector of St. Paul's. The Canon's Rural were the Rev. J. Foster, M.A., Rector of Coaticooke, and the Rev. G. Thornloe, M.A., Rector of Sherbrooke. The Rev. Henry Roe, D.D., Professor of Divinity in Bishop's College, had been previously appointed Archdeacon, being the first to hold the office in succession to Bishop George Mountain, who had retained it to his death.

The supreme importance of spiritual and personal religion was stamped, it may be hoped indelibly, upon the Diocese of Quebec by its first three saintly Pastors: and Bishop Williams always followed closely in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors in urging upon his clergy to make the progress of their people in spiritual things ever first in their thoughts and efforts. Towards promoting the revival of personal religion and deepening the spiritual life, much use has been made of Parochial Missions in the Diocese of Quebec of late years. The profound impressions made by Archdeacon Wilberforce's Mission, in the City of Quebec in 1880, led to the appointment of the Rev. Isaac Thompson as Diocesan Missioner for the three years following. This was followed by the second visit of a great Missioner from England, Canon Bullock. It is perhaps chiefly this character of the Church as evidently seeking first the conversion of souls to God and their growth in spiritual religion, which has made her work in winning those belonging to no religious body in the Eastern Townships so successful.

The Bishop's death came as a terribly sudden blow to his Diocese. The sense of loss was overwhelming. A severe cold, aggravated by taking several successive Confirmations for which he was quite unfit, brought on pneumonia. On Tuesday in Holy week he Confirmed in the Cathedral; on Wednesday in Easter week he died. With the close of the Episcopate of Bishop Williams, the first hundred years of the life of the Diocese of Quebec were fast drawing to a close also: but before they ran out the vacant See was filled. On the 22nd June of the same year, the Rev. Andrew Hunter Dunn, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vicar of All Saints', South Acton, London, was elected successor to Bishop Williams, and was consecrated on Sunday, the 18th of September, in the Cathedral Church of Montreal.

The Diocese of Montreal. In 1850, in reward of the ceaseless efforts of Bishop George Mountain, the Diocese of Quebec had been divided. The Western half of it was erected into what is now the Diocese of Montreal, with Dr. Francis Fulford, an able and statesmanlike clergyman of London, for its Bishop. The first Bishop of Montreal was the last Canadian Bishop appointed by the Crown. The part of the Crown in the selection was rather small. The Archbishop of Canterbury made the nomination to the Colonial Secretary, but the great Church of England Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or rather its Secretary, nominated to him. The S.P.G Secretary at this time, who was also Secretary of

the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund which provided the stipend, was the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, a man to whom the Colonial Church owes much. Most of that "glorious company"—the Colonial Bishops of the first half of this century—a body unexcelled in any age of the Church in the union of statesmanship and saintliness, were sought out and sent out by him. His choice of Dr. Fulford for Montreal was a happy thing for the Church in Canada.

In many respects it was a day of small things for the new Diocese. In the city there were but five churches and seven clergymen, with thirty-five parishes or missions in the remainder of the Diocese. Of these six were Crown Rectories created by Letters Patent, the Crown also paying the stipends. The remaining clergy were paid by the S.P.G. and some few from the Clergy Reserves—the congregations not having even begun to learn self-support. Now, at the close of the second half-century there are in Montreal alone twenty-one churches, most of them handsome and costly, with thirty-one clergy. These parishes not only pay their own expenses, but send away large and steadily increasing sums of money to help in the Church's missionary work outside. The Church of England in Montreal, as the Church of the most important city in the Dominion, naturally holds a position of dignity and influence. Great cities attract great preachers and provide fields for the full exercise and development of their talents. Montreal has had many able preachers among her clergy. The four most brilliant preachers in the Dominion (if we except the Bishop of Nova Scotia) Bishops Sullivan, Baldwin and Dumoulin, and Dean Carmichael, were or are Montreal Rectors.

It is a weakness, no doubt, in the Diocese of Montreal that outside of the city it possesses no town of any importance and that there is little if any home mission field affording ground for Church expansion. The mass of the people everywhere are French, and though work of a proselytizing nature has for many years been carried on among them in this Diocese in a half-hearted sort of way it has never met with any success and is now practically abandoned. The Diocese, however, outside the city as well as within it, has made substantial progress. The whole field of the English-speaking people has been gradually occupied. A considerable endowment for its own sustentation has been provided. A Theological College with handsome buildings, the gift of a noble-hearted Churchman, has been erected and an encouraging beginning made in its endowment. Altogether the Diocese will enter upon the new century with little financial anxiety about the future. Bishop Fulford, it has already been said, was a statesman as well as a great Churchman, and these qualities were called into full play in the organization and expansion of the Church. He was appointed Metropolitan

The Right Rev. Dr. Francis Fulford.

of Canada by the Queen in 1850, and in 1861 the Provincial Synod held its first Session under his Presidency. Its jurisdiction was then limited to the Civil Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. In 1874 the Maritime Provinces came in, and added greatly to the Church's strength and *esprit-de-corps*.

The first Metropolitan was appointed by the Crown, but the Letters Patent declared that for the future the appointment was to be governed by such rules and regulations as the Provincial

Synod itself should enact. After much controversy, a scheme was adopted for fixing the Metropolitan See permanently at Montreal, by an enactment to which Montreal was a party, that the Diocesan Synod of Montreal should elect the Bishop only out of names submitted to it by the House of Bishops. Unhappily the Montreal Synod on the first vacancy tried to render this privilege of the House of Bishops a nullity by voting "No" to all nominations until the Bishop should send down the name which the Montreal people were resolved to have. After much unseemly contention and a six months' adjournment a Bishop was elected, but at its next ensuing session the Bishops persuaded the Provincial Synod to repeal the provision for securing a fixed Metropolitan See, and to give the election of the Metropolitan to the House of Bishops. Thus Montreal lost this high dignity never to regain it.

Party spirit, to which this loss was due, ran high in the early days of Bishop Fulford, and sadly hindered the Church's work. Against so great an evil he set himself with all his heart. He did much to kill it, for all looked up to him, and all reasonable men trusted implicitly his calm good sense. Among the many benefits conferred by him upon his Diocese one must not be passed over—the building of the present noble and beautiful Cathedral to replace old Christ Church, destroyed by fire in 1857. The Bishop secured the services of a great architect, and the result is one of the finest Cathedral churches which our century has produced. The burden of providing funds for this great work did much to break the Bishop down, but it brought out one of the finest episodes in his life. When it became plain that there would remain a heavy debt upon the building, the Bishop, in addition to using all other legitimate means of providing for the discharge of the debt, cut down his own private expenditure in every way, gave up his handsome See House, retired to the rooms in the Parish School-House provided for the Parish School-master, and there lived in a quiet modest way until he died, devoting every shilling that could be saved to the redemption of the debt. This was, it need not be said, an object lesson to the Church, the value of which cannot be over-rated. The Montreal Cathedral will remain forever a monument to Bishop Fulford's fine taste, his unflinching courage, and his beautiful self-denial. On the 9th September, 1868, as the members of the Provincial Synod summoned for the morrow were arriving in the city, the first Metropolitan of Canada was stricken with apoplexy, and in a few hours surrendered up his great trust to God.

The painful scenes amid which his successor was elected have been mentioned above. At the close of the struggle, Dr. Ashton Oxenden, a well-known English clergyman of the Evangelical school, but singularly free from the spirit of party, was chosen as the second Bishop and Metropolitan. Dr. Oxenden was a gentleman of family and private means, highly esteemed by High Churchmen for his personal piety, and eminently successful as the writer of books of devotion in simple language. His Episcopate covered ten years, and was marked by energy and success in extending the Church to the remote rural Districts of his Diocese. To provide clergy for this work the Bishop founded a Theological School in Montreal, where he fondly hoped that under his own eye, and with the help of the local clergy, young men working in the shops of the city all day might, in night-classes, and at small expense, be moulded into good and useful clergymen. The good Bishop's project in this respect was happily a failure, but out of it has grown the present Montreal Diocesan Theological College, which has already won for itself a good measure of success.

A more immediate benefit to the Church in Canada resulted from Bishop Oxenden's project of procuring and placing at the head of his infant Clergy School a man of splendid ability and of singular simplicity and humility of character—the Rev. Joseph Lobley, a distinguished scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. After three years' service in Montreal, on the death in 1877 of Dr. Nicolls, the first Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Dr. Lobley was chosen as his successor, and left the stamp of his own beautiful character very deeply upon the whole institution. In 1881 he was elected to the much more attractive office of Provost of Trinity College, Toronto, in succession to Provost Whitaker. This, however, with the generosity and self-sacrifice which characterized his whole life, knowing what an in-

jury his retirement would be to Bishop's College, he declined, and remained at Lennoxville till 1885, when he returned to England.

At the close of the twentieth year of his Episcopate Bishop Oxenden, who had never quite adapted himself to Canadian life, resigned his See. By his resignation was severed the tie by which the Metropolitan dignity was attached to the See of Montreal. The Bishops of the Province at once met, and, under the new canon, elected their own Metropolitan, their choice falling upon Dr. Medley, Bishop of Fredericton. The Diocesan Synod of Montreal also met and elected their Bishop. Their choice was the Rev. Dr. William Bennett Bond, then Dean of the Cathedral and Rector of St. George's Parish, Montreal, who still, after twenty years of arduous labour and wise administration, remains the honoured and trusted Bishop of the principal See of the Canadian Church.

The Right Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

THE VERY REV. FRANCIS PARTRIDGE, D.D., Dean of Fredericton, N.B

EARLY Days. The Province of Nova Scotia was finally ceded to the British Crown in the year 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht. At that period the inhabitants were almost entirely French Roman Catholics. The earliest attempts at settlement in Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was then called, were made at Port Royal, by the French, as early as 1604. In 1710 the strong fortress of Port Royal surrendered to a British force under Colonel Nicholson, and at the conclusion of the Treaty its name was changed to Annapolis, in honour of the British Queen. There is no record of the establishment of any mission of the Church of England in Nova Scotia from 1713 to 1749. A military chaplain was occasionally stationed at Annapolis, and ministered to the few English residents, but the Acadians, numbering 2,500 at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, and 7,000 in 1755, with the Indians who had been converted to Christianity, were Roman Catholics. The only evidence of the existence of the Church of England in Acadia during the thirty-six years is the partial support by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of a school-master at Annapolis from 1729 to 1738, and of another at Canso from 1736 to 1743.

The policy having been adopted by the Lords of Trade and Plantations of sending out settlers to Nova Scotia, a number of whom would naturally be members of the National Church, six townships were laid out on the Atlantic coast of the Province to receive them, and careful provision was made for the support of clergymen and school-masters by liberal grants of land for themselves and their families. The Lords Commissioner applied to the S.P.G. for the nomination of a clergyman and school-master for each township, some of whom should be able to speak the French language, which "might be particularly useful in cultivating a sense of the true Protestant religion among the said inhabitants, and educating their children in the principles thereof." (Extract from a despatch from Whitehall to the S.P.G., April 6th, 1749.)

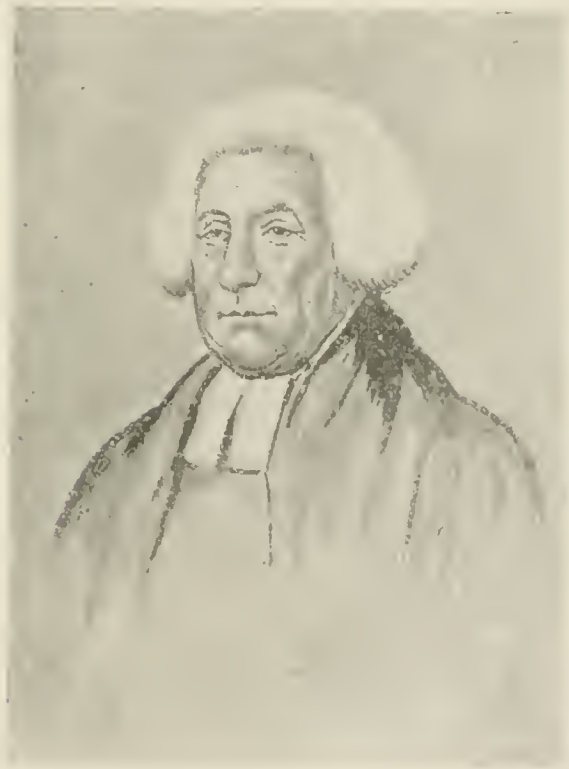
The S.P.G. gladly met the proposition of the Commissioners, and arranged to send the six clergymen and school-masters as they might be required. On June 21st, 1749, Colonel Cornwallis entered the harbour of Chebucto, as Governor, empowered to establish a city and fort which should be an efficient rival to Louisbourg. The town, named after Lord Halifax, was laid out, a lot of land being set apart by the Government as a site for a church. The first clergymen sent by the S.P.G. were the Rev. W. Anwell, and the Rev. J. Baptiste Moreau, who had been formerly Prior of the Abbey of Brest, and who ministered to the French. These clergymen accompanied Cornwallis' expedition, and the Rev. William Tutty arrived during the following July. The frame-work of a commodious church was brought from Boston, Mass., the building was duly erected and equipped for divine service, and Mr. Tutty preached his first sermon in it on September 2nd, 1750.

Mr. Anwell being recalled very soon after his arrival, the Rev. John Breynton was sent out in his place, whose energy and piety were signally blessed. His ministrations were eagerly sought for by both Dissenters and members of the Church. Mr. Tutty dying in 1753, the Rev. T. Wood, from New Jersey, was appointed Assistant by Mr. Breynton. In 1751, and again in 1753, a large number of German Lutherans were brought to Halifax, all of whom, with the exception of fifteen families, removed to the township of Merliguish—after their arrival called Lunenburg. These, with some French settlers who were granted lands along the west coast of Halifax, almost to a family became members of the Church of England. The fifteen families remained in Halifax, where they built a small

church, which still remains in good preservation. This building was opened for divine service, and dedicated under the name of St. George's Church, by Mr. Breynton, in 1761. This congregation "followed the English Church's rules of doctrine and appointed their Elders and Vestry. (Records of St. George's Church, Halifax.) For many years the services were conducted in the German language. Mr. Breynton and Mr. Wood continued their labours in Halifax until 1763, when Mr. Wood removed to Annapolis. Both these clergymen were men of great parts and ability. Mr. Wood appears to have been a linguist. Taking great interest in work among the Indians, he early acquired the Micmac tongue, and afterwards published an Indian grammar and dictionary. Mr. Breynton was in the habit of officiating to the Germans in their own language. He was held in high esteem by all creeds and classes, and ample testimony is borne to his devoted character and arduous labours. The following is the witness of a Dissenter who had been won to the Church by Mr. Breynton's instrumentality:

"He is a person who, during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this Province, has deservedly won the good-will and esteem of men of all ranks and Denominations. He preaches the Gospel of peace and purity with an eloquence of language and delivery far beyond anything I ever heard in America." (History of the Canadian Church—Rev. E. Hawkins.) In 1770, the Corresponding Committee of the S.P.G., consisting of the Governor, the Chief Justice and the Secretary of the Province, "approved his constant vigilance and prudent care," and of the "happy effects of his labours in his parish Church at Halifax, as well for his parochial zeal in visiting his parishioners, as from his respected life and doctrines" (M.S.S. "Proceedings"), and desired the Society to obtain for him, if possible, the honourary degree of D.D., to which his standing in the University of Cambridge entitled him. This degree was duly conferred.

The Corresponding Committee above referred to had been organized on 13th June, 1769. It was intended to furnish a medium of communication between the Society and the Colony. The Society asked them to make reports and recommendations, and pledged itself to give "the utmost attention and every kind of respect" to their decisions, and "that all private applications of persons in their own behalf would be suspended till ratified by their full consent and approbation." The Committee existed for several years, and proved most useful in promoting the affairs of the Church. The subsequent labours of Mr. Wood were continuous and arduous. Before his appointment to Annapolis, he discharged the duties of travelling missionary, and to his zeal and discretion is to be attributed much of the local



The Rev. Dr. John Breynton.

growth and advancement of the Church. In 1762 he visited the interior parts of the Province, including East and West Falmouth, Cornwallis, Horton and Granville, being welcomed on all occasions by the people. In the S.P.G. Report for 1764, he mentions having ministered to the French Vicar-General, Abbè Maillard on his death-bed, and the performance of the burial service in French over his remains, at Halifax, in the presence of a large concourse, including many Indians and Acadian French. In the following

year he visited the eastern part of the Province, and officiated in September in Chignecto (Cumberland). He is recorded as having made a journey of visitation up the River St. John in 1769, when he was most cordially received by the Indians. On another occasion he conducted divine service in St. Paul's Church, Halifax, where a large assemblage of Indians had gathered, in their own language, the Governor, Lord W. Campbell, and his staff being present. This much space has been given to these two men, because in the infancy of the Church and the Province, at a time when many perplexing questions arose, and the Government had numerous difficult problems to solve, the influence of the Church, as wielded by Dr. Breynton and Mr. Wood, was uniformly in the direction of peace and conciliation. The Church of England owes a deep debt of gratitude to these most wise and efficient clergymen.

The development of the Church on the western shore may now be noted. The name of the Rev. Jean Baptiste Moreau has been already mentioned. He had been admitted to the Church of England in London, and was sent out to minister to his countrymen, and did so for the first time on Sept. 9th, 1750. Five hundred French Protestants of the Augsburg Confession arrived from Montbelliard, at Halifax, in 1752. The S.P.C.K. sent a large supply of Bibles and Prayer-books in French for the use of Mr. Moreau's congregation. He accompanied his people to Lunenburg in 1763, and there laboured faithfully amongst them until his death in 1770. He was succeeded by the Rev. Peter de la Roche, who also learnt German, and at Easter, 1773, reported his communicants to be: Germans, 120; French, fifty; English, thirty. The Rev. Paulin Bryzelius was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1767 for work among the Germans at Lunenburg, where he was assisted by the Rev. Mr. Binger, a Swiss, and the Rev. Peter Vincent. He laboured among them with great assiduity until his death, which occurred on Good Friday, 1773, when he died of apoplexy while preaching. The result of their work is that at the present time there is no part of Nova Scotia where the people are more moral or more attached to the Church of England than in the townships along the shore west of Halifax.

There were at this time on the Atlantic coast between Cape Sable and Cape Breton Island several thousand inhabitants. The Rev. Joseph Bennett, appointed by the Society in 1775, lived an apostolic life in itinerating through these districts. The record of his unremitting toils would fill a volume. Year after year he visited the bays and harbours of the Atlantic seaboard and even reached the Gulf, bringing the message of Gospel truth, and the blessings of the Sacraments, and steadily building up the Church. Once his schooner was wrecked and became a total loss. It is especially noted that under his ministrations the prejudices existing against the Church among the Dissenting bodies were largely dissipated, and that many of the Nonconformists were reconciled.

Thus, slowly but surely, the Church was winning her way, and although at no time previous to 1783 did the number of clergy of the Church of England within the Acadian Provinces exceed twelve, yet the way had been paved for its rapid extension when the time should come for it. The name of Rev. Mr. Ellis, who officiated at Falmouth and Newport and the adjoining territory along the Basin of Minas; the Rev. Mr. Bailey, who ministered at Cornwallis and along the Annapolis Valley; the Rev. Mr. Eagleson, formerly a Presbyterian minister (but ordained by the Bishop of London), at Fort Cumberland; deserve honourable mention as labourers of sterling worth, indomitable perseverance, and examples of true and lasting success. The first record of a visit to Prince Edward Island is that of Mr. Eagleson, who went to the "Island of St. John" in 1773. He preached at Charlottetown, visited St. Peter's, Stanhope, Tracadie, Malpeck, and Princetown, "reading prayers and preaching to the satisfaction of the inhabitants." (Journal of Corresponding Committee.) The work had been hitherto carried on by a few men, and in limited spheres. Events were now to happen, however, which would largely increase the number of clergy, and bring a large accession of members of the Church to the rock-bound shores of Acadia.

The Loyalist Period. For many years before the separation of the Colonies in America from the Kingdom of England, the progress, and almost the very life of the Church was threatened by the want of adeqnate supervision, and the

difficulty of obtaining clergy. As early as 1638 the question of an Episcopate for New England had occupied the far-seeing mind of Archbishop Laud. After the Restoration, steps were taken towards the same end. Strong representations were constantly made by clergy residing in the Colonies as to the need of Episcopal oversight and rule. Various causes arose to prevent the consummation of these plans, yet when two clergymen, Talbot and Welton, received consecration from non-juring bishops, they were prevented by the British Government from exercising jurisdiction. The grand opportunity presented during the first half of the eighteenth century for the firm foundation of the Church of England in the American Colonies was wasted and lost. The Bishop of London was considered to have jurisdiction over all congregations outside of the British Isles, and all persons seeking Holy Orders were obliged to cross the ocean to obtain the gift, some even perishing on the journey.

The success of the Revolution forced this matter upon the attention both of the daughter and the mother Church. No oath of allegiance could be taken by American candidates for Orders at the hands of the Bishop of London, and the latter could obtain no authority to ordain without it. The Archbishop and Bishops could, they conceived, consecrate no man as Bishop for America without consent or petition from the American Government. And it was not until Samuel Seabury had actually obtained consecration from the Scottish Bishops, that the way was opened for the English Prelates to act. The revolt of the American Colonies against the British Crown, and the change of allegiance which was its result, caused multitudes of Churchmen who could not set at naught the obligations of a life-time to seek another home. Many of them who had been prominent in the struggle on behalf of the King, were obliged to flee for their lives, and all who would not conform to the altered condition of things, suffered the loss of their property and homes.

On March 21st, 1783, a plan was drawn up by eighteen clergymen who assembled in New York, for the establishment of an Episcopate in Nova Scotia, to which Province, as well as to New Brunswick, the eyes of many were turning for refuge. Prominent among the eighteen were Charles Inglis, then Rector of Trinity Church, New York; Samuel Seabury, of Staten Island; Benjamin Moore, Assistant to Inglis (all three afterwards Bishops), with others, of whom many are found later ministering to their fellow-exiles in the Maritime Provinces. This gathering recommended the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., formerly Rector of Elizabeth, New Jersey, but who had been compelled to return to England and was now residing there, as Bishop. A Convention of ten clergymen at Woodbury, Conn., recommended the Rev. Samuel Seabury as suitable for the Bishopric of Connecticut. Seabury at once sailed for England, and failing to obtain consecration from the English Bishops, applied successfully to those of the Scottish Church in 1784. Dr. Chandler had been for some time in England, where the Archbishop of Canterbury had an opporunity of observing his fitness for so responsible a position. On the final removal of all legal obstacles to the consecration, the Archbishop gladly accepted Dr. Chandler's nomination to the newly founded See. But during the interval of waiting, Dr. Chandler had developed symptoms of an incurable disease in the face, and was on that account obliged to decline the appointment. Being asked to suggest some one else, he named his friend, Dr. Charles Inglis, who had recently arrived in England. On the appointment being offered to Dr. Inglis, he accepted it, and was consecrated at Lambeth on August 12th, 1787.

A very large number of people had meantime voluntarily, or under pressure, left their homes for safety. The exodus had begun as early as the evacuation of Boston in 1776. Families were continually moving northwards, until in 1783-4 the Loyalist refugees came in swarms. No less than 18,000 reached Nova Scotia, and 11,000 found a home in New Brunswick. Their coming thus suddenly was the cause of great embarrassment both to the Government of the Province and to the inhabitants, and there was much inevitable suffering, which was alleviated as far as possible, and was in most cases bravely and uncomplainingly borne. Among the Loyalists were to be found several of the clergy, who had been marked men during the war, and some

of whom found it necessary to flee before the end of the conflict. These were received with great kindness and hospitality by the Governor, who had, with his Council, the right of appointment, and, as occasion served, they were provided with parishes. Many of them were gentlemen of fine education and culture, and proved a most effective acquisition to the ranks of working clergy in the two Provinces. Subjoined is a list of the clergy with their curés in the year 1786:

Nova Scotia. Dr. Breynton, Halifax; Jacob Bailey, Annapolis; P. De la Roche, Lunenburg; W. Ellis, Windsor; J. Wiswell, Cornwallis, Horton and Wilmot; J. Eagleson, Cumberland; Roger Viets, Digby; G. Panton, Yarmouth; J. W. Weeks, Halifax; Isaac Brown, superannuated.

New Brunswick. Samuel Cooke, Fredericton; John Beardsley, Maugerville; James Scovil, Samuel Andrews, Richard Clark, and George Bisset, lately arrived, and not yet provided with parishes, (Mr. Bisset eventually was placed at St. John); Mather Byles, St. John.

The joy with which this band of clergy received their Bishop may be imagined. Several of them had been acquainted with him before the war, and knew his worth. They gave him loyal service and faithful support. The Right Rev. Charles Inglis was the third son of the Rev. Archibald Inglis, of Glen and Kilcarr, Ireland, and was born in 1734. He came of a family of hereditary clergymen. Coming to Pennsylvania at an early age he engaged in school teaching, but afterwards determined to seek Holy Orders. Returning to England for that purpose he was ordained by the Bishop of London, and was appointed by the S.P.G. their missionary at Dover, Delaware, where he began his ministry in 1759. Here he laboured very successfully until 1764, when he removed to New York, as Assistant to Dr. Auchmuty, who was Rector of Trinity Church, in that city. He continued to rise in the esteem and affection of his people until in 1777 he was elected Rector of Trinity Church. In 1767 the Hon. degree of B.A. was conferred upon him by King's College, N.Y., and a few years later that of M.A. by the University of Oxford, which University also made him D.D. in 1778.*

Dr. Inglis had never wavered in his loyalty to the British Crown. His private estate was confiscated, his house and possessions seized, and he retired first to Nova Scotia and then to England. His appointment to Nova Scotia gave him jurisdiction, as the first Bishop in British North America, over Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda. At the time of his consecration there were eight clergy in Nova Scotia, six in New Brunswick, two in Newfoundland, one in Cape Breton, and two or three in Canada. In the whole Diocese there were but five school-masters. The sum allowed by the S.P.G. to its missionaries was from £35 to £70 sterling a year, which was supplemented by a small allowance from the Government. A good supply of Bibles and Prayer-books was provided by the Society for distribution. The new Bishop struggled manfully with the tremendous difficulties of his enormous Diocese. His first care was the establishment of a seat of learning, and a School and College were speedily in operation at Windsor.*

The missionaries stationed at the various centres above named were diligently visited and their work encouraged by one who had himself experienced the trials and vicissitudes of a missionary's life. The Bishop applied himself most assiduously to his Episcopal duties, seldom leaving home save for his journeys among his flock. His Visitation to New Brunswick, which had been separated from Nova Scotia politically in 1784, aroused and regulated the attachment and support of Church people, and step by step, by the arrival of clergy from the States and from England, the ground was slowly occupied for the Church. He could do but little for the Canadas. Distances were very great, and facilities for travel very primitive.

In 1793, however, the unwieldy diocese was divided by the consecration of Dr. Jacob Moun-

Note. A full account of Dr. Inglis' part in the history of these times may be found in Hawkins' Missions, ch. xiv., and also in a series of articles written by Bishop Perry, of Iowa, in the American Church Review for May to September, 1887, where extensive correspondence is given.

*See "The University of King's College," in another Volume of this work, where much additional information will be found regarding Bishop Inglis and his labours. The history of King's College is largely the history of the Church in Nova Scotia.

tain as first Bishop of Quebec. The See of Nova Scotia was thus limited to the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. Bishop Inglis' work in New Brunswick was ably and zealously assisted by Governor Carleton, who was not only an earnest and consistent Churchman himself, but forwarded the interests of the Church in every way. The Bishop was also most efficiently seconded by his son, the Rev. John Inglis, who had been the first pupil in the Collegiate School at Windsor, had graduated at King's College, and during his father's declining years proved himself his greatest support and comfort. In the year of the founding of the See of Quebec there were in Nova Scotia eighteen clergy, with two missions vacant, and in New Brunswick ten. Among this list one clergyman is reported from Cape Breton, the Rev. R. Cossitt, who had been appointed to Sydney in 1784. Nothing appears to have been done during the Episcopate of Bishop Charles Inglis towards planting the Church in Prince Edward Island, that territory having been principally colonized by Scotch Presbyterians.

The Germans mentioned as having been left in Halifax in 1753, and as having built their church, to their great delight found a clergyman in the Rev. B. M. Houseal, who had emigrated from Germany to New York, and had been in charge of St. Andrew's Lutheran Church in that city. As a Loyalist he sought ordination from the Bishop of London, and settled in Halifax as S.P.G. missionary to the Germans in 1784. He died in 1799. A new church was built under the Rev. George Wright, and the German church is now the prosperous English Church of St. George —having become a parish at its own request in 1827. Bishop Inglis died at Halifax in 1816, at the age of eighty-two, in the fifty-eighth year of his ministry, and the thirtieth of his consecration. In 1815, the year before his death, there were in Nova Scotia fifteen clergymen, with four vacant missions, and nineteen school-masters. In New Brunswick there were eight clergymen and nine school-masters.

Third Period, 1816-1851. There can be little doubt that Dr. John Inglis, the son of the Bishop, fully expected the appointment to the See of Nova Scotia at his father's death. He had acted as Commissary for several years, knew the ground well, was active and strong, a capable administrator, a good scholar, an eloquent preacher, and possessed a most genial and winning manner. He went to England without delay, and was graciously received by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But on the same ship which conveyed Dr. Inglis to England was sent by mail the recommendation by the Governor, Council and Assembly of the Province (the House being then in Session) of their chaplain, the Rev. Robert Stanser, M.A., then Rector of St. Paul's, Halifax. He

The Right Rev. Dr. John Inglis.

had come out in 1791 on the recommendation of Dr. Breynton, who had retired and was living in England. He had been appointed Rector of St. Paul's on his arrival, was a graduate of Cambridge, and was much esteemed in Halifax. It is said that Lord Bathurst, on perusing the credentials of Dr. Stanser, immediately informed the Archbishop and Dr. Inglis that such a recommendation could not be overlooked by His Majesty's Government. Dr. Stanser was accordingly consecrated, while Dr. Inglis was appointed

Rector of St. Paul's, and Ecclesiastical Commissary. The latter returned to Nova Scotia at once. Bishop Stanser followed, but only remained for a few months, when he once more set sail for England, and never went back to his Diocese. He was physically incapicitated, probably when made Bishop, having received severe injury at a fire in Halifax some time previously, and being very subject to gout. The Diocese was deprived of all Episcopal acts during many years, and at a critical period of its history. Bishop Stanser retired in 1824 on a pension of £400 a year. He died in 1829.

The Right Rev. John Inglis, D.D., was born in 1777, in New York, and consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia on Palm Sunday, March 27th, 1825. He arrived at Halifax in November of that year. The condition of the Diocese was at that time such as might be expected from the long absence of its Bishop, and although Dr. Inglis, as Commissary, had exerted himself to the utmost, there was much work to be undertaken. The Diocese was forthwith divided into four Archdeaconries. The Rev. Robert Willis was made Archdeacon of Nova Scotia and Rector of St. Paul's, Halifax. The Rev. George Best, who was a son-in-law of Bishop Stanser, became Archdeacon of New Brunswick, the Rev. A. G. Spencer, Archdeacon of Bermuda, and the Rev. George Coster, Archdeacon of Newfoundland. These officials proceeded at once to visit and report upon the respective jurisdictions, with most encouraging results. The Bishop, active, earnest, able, made his influence felt in every part of his charge. His exertion on behalf of King's College saved it from extinction, and throughout the various portions of the Diocese his Visitations were regular and stimulating. The setting off of the Diocese of Newfoundland under Bishop Spencer in 1839, and of Fredericton in 1846 under Bishop Medley, left him with the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and the Island of Cape Breton. His personal energy and his wise and paternal rule gave a great impetus to the work of the Church. In 1837 a Church Society was formed in the Archdeaconry of New Brunswick as well as for that of Nova Scotia. He was also the first to grapple in earnest with the planting of the Church in Prince Edward Island. The Report of the S.P.G. for 1827 says: "It is only within the last four years that the Society have extended their operations to this fertile and valuable Colony. It was considered as almost exclusively devoted to the Presbyterian form of worship, the principal proprietors being originally from Scotland." The first missionary, the Rev. Theodore Desbrisay, was sent there in 1819, followed by the Rev. Mr. Aden. Both clergymen found the difficulties almost insurmountable. The Rev. Louis Jenkins was appointed to Charlottetown and succeeded in building a church and organizing a parish, since which time the work of the Church has continued to flourish.

In 1829 there were 27 clergy in Nova Scotia, two in Cape Breton, 26 in New Brunswick, and two in Prince Edward Island, which shows the rapid advance of the Church under the direction of Bishop Inglis. At the same date there were 51 school-masters in Nova Scotia, 36 in New Brunswick, and one in Prince Edward Island. During Bishop Inglis' Episcopate great troubles arose with regard to the support of the clergy, not only in Nova Scotia, but also all over Canada. Government grants were beginning to be withdrawn, and attacks were everywhere made on the glebes and reserved lands originally granted to the clergy. In spite, however, of many privations and diminutions of income suffered by the Church, the spirit of true piety and of zeal for the salvation of souls was during this time of trial greatly developed. Bishop Inglis and his energetic fellow-helpers laid the foundation of the system of self-help which has grown to such large proportions now that all outside assistance is withdrawn. The "Church Societies" included in their objects the supply of books and tracts, the aid of the College at Windsor, the help of Divinity students, Sunday Schools, day schools, the erection and enlargement of churches and chapels, and the support of the ministrations of the Gospel. In addition to these self-furnished aids the work of the Church was augmented by grants of money and books from the Colonial and Continental Church and School Society, and in some instances whole missions have been sustained by this means. Bishop Inglis died in London at the age of 72, in 1850. He was worn out by incessant labours and anxieties. His Episcopate

marked an era in the history of the Church in Canada, during which great progress was made, and many difficulties surmounted. His name will always be held in reverence not only for his personal qualities, but also for his services to the Church during his whole life.

Fourth Period, 1851 to 1898. The vacancy in the See of Nova Scotia was filled by the appointment by the Crown of the Rev. Hibbert Binney, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford. Mr. Binney was born at Sydney, C.B., of which parish his father was Rector. He had a most distinguished career at the University, having taken a first in Mathematics, and a very high second in Classics. He was only thirty-one years of age at his consecration, which took place at Lambeth on March 25th, 1851. He arrived in Halifax in July of the same year. He was full of vigour both physical and mental, and set to work with great determination to meet the problems presented to him. One of his first battles was for his College at Windsor, from which the Government had just cut off all State aid. The old political Board of Governors was abolished, and the College Committee for the first time in its history placed in the hands of Churchmen. He reinvigorated the Church Society, pleading its cause with earnestness and effect. In due time a Diocesan Synod was organized, rural deaneries re-constructed, new missions opened up, regular Visitations accomplished, the standard of education for Holy Orders raised, and the mind and aims of the Bishop impressed on a large proportion of his flock and nearly the whole of his clergy. During the thirty-six years of his Episcopate he saw the number of clergy more than doubled, the offering of the laity largely increased, a Church Endowment Fund of $165,000 raised, funds for Widows and Orphans of Clergy, and for the superannuation of the incapacitated clergy provided. In 1874 the Diocese, with that of Fredericton, was admitted to the Provincial Synod of Canada, thus adding the influence of its clergy and laity as well as the sagacity and experience of the Bishop to the central councils of the Church. The Bishop was possessed of a large private fortune, and spent it generously, giving with a free hand to every good and deserving object. Under his guidance the Church in Prince Edward Island made great advances, there being at his death ten clergy in active work. He died suddenly on April 30th, 1887, in New York, where he had gone for medical treatment. He was the last Bishop appointed by the Crown to the See of Nova Scotia. Bishop Binney was succeeded by the Rev. Frederick Courtney, D.D., at the time of his election by the Synod Rector of St. Paul's, Boston, Mass. Bishop Courtney is an Englishman who has filled several important positions both in England and in the United States. He was consecrated April 25th, 1888, in St. Luke's Cathedral, Halifax. He is an excellent man of business, is possessed of a gracious and genial manner, and is much sought after as a preacher of remarkable powers. During the ten years of his incumbency the Church has been steadily growing in influence and efficiency, there being not a single vacant mission at the present date.

The Church in New Brunswick. The history of the Church in this Province is the history of the Diocese of Nova Scotia up to the year 1845. In that year the See of Fredericton was erected, its bounds being those of the Province of New Brunswick. The first Bishop was the Rev. John Medley, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral and Rector of St. Thomas' Church in that city. Dr. Medley set out for his Diocese immediately on his consecration, arriving in Fredericton on June 11, 1845. He set to work at once on a Visitation of the Diocese, and within a very short time laid the foundation stone of a Cathedral, which was consecrated in 1853. Bishop Medley was a ripe scholar, and a preacher of deep spiritual insight. Under his wise and energetic rule, the Church in New Brunswick made rapid strides. He found in Archdeacon Coster a true fellow-worker who had exercised diligent oversight over the Church's work in the Province; and a number of other clergy who had brought their respective charges to a high state of efficiency. Bishop Medley was a highly trained theologian, and his Charges to his clergy have a permanent value. On the young men ordained by him, he impressed in a marked degree his qualities of Christian simplicity of character and absolute and fearless devotion to duty. Meeting with much opposition at first, he succeeded by his patient consistency in con-

ciliating many of his strongest opponents, and winning them to his view. The Diocesan Church Society, founded before his appointment, was warmly supported by him, and has done a noble work. The principles of self-support were, during his long Episcopate, diligently inculcated upon the people, and preparation made for the day when the Church in the Diocese must be entirely self-sustained.

The Bishop's skill in architecture, and the beautiful Cathedral which he erected, gradually improved the style of church building throughout

The Very Rev. Dr. Francis Partridge.

the Province, the Cathedral, indeed, being his abiding monument. By the aid of a large number of zealous and efficient laity, the missions of the Church were rapidly developed. New churches were consecrated in every direction, and as the construction of railways gradually increased the facilities of travel, and opened up new spheres of work, the Church has been quick to recognize and encourage them. The formation of the Diocesan Synod in 1871 brought the members of the Church together for mutual counsel, and has proved more than anything else the safeguard and outlet of her missionary enthusiasm. The lives and labours of the clergy, who have ministered to the spiritual needs of five generations of Church people, can only be alluded to and summarized here. Their work has gone on with uninterrupted regularity and quick perseverance, and has produced abundant result, most of it unnoticed by the ordinary eye. Other influences more plausible or more exciting have passed over the ground, drawing away some from the steadfastness which was the characteristic of their fathers. But there are not wanting signs of a reaction towards the more sober and undemonstrative system of the Church of England, which will yet, with the advance of education, commend itself more and more to the appreciation of thoughtful men.

The election by the Synod in 1881 of a Bishop Coadjutor gave a great impetus to the work of the Church in the Diocese of Fredericton. The Rev. H. T. Kingdon, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was consecrated in July, 1881, in the Cathedral at Fredericton, and took a large portion of the travelling at once from the aged Bishop, whose duties had been increased by his election, in 1879, as Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. The admission of the Dioceses of Nova Scotia and Fredericton to the Provincial Synod in 1874 had given to that body a number of delegates of experience, wisdom and debating power which has helped to unify the Church, and has been reflected to the remotest portions of the Church in Canada, while the formation, in 1893, of the General Synod for the whole Dominion has consolidated her resources and bestowed moral power upon her decisions and opinions. Bishop Medley died on Sept. 9th, 1892, at the age of eighty-seven years. He was succeeded by Dr. Kingdon, who had proved himself a clergyman of accurate and extensive learning, as well as of a wide and varied experience.

The pious and abundant labours of the clergy, and the ever-increasing appreciation of their position and privileges among the laity, as they have proved the means of steady advance in the spiritual growth and influence of the Church of England in the Maritime Provinces, so they have also constituted the best earnest of her continued

success. There is a unity and harmony in her councils, an intelligent acquaintance with her history and relations to other Christian bodies, an inflexible adherence to her teachings, combined with a noble-hearted charity towards all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, which are as sound as they are attractive. The Church by the sea will take her full share in the moral development of the country, and the training of pure and high-principled men and women, of which her institutions of learning at Windsor, the College, the Collegiate School, and the still better known, if possible, School for Girls, called Edgehill, are the surest pledges.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN RUPERT'S LAND

BY

THE MOST REV. R. MACHRAY, D.D., I L.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Rupert's Land; Metropolitan of Canada.

THE original Diocese of Rupert's Land, now an Ecclesiastical Province, consisted not only of the Colony of Rupert's Land which was the watershed of Hudson's Bay, but of the Mackenzie River and Yukon Districts now comprised in the Dioceses of Athabasca, Mackenzie River, and Selkirk. There have also been established in the Colony of Rupert's Land the Dioceses of Moosonee, Saskatchewan, Qu'Appelle, and Calgary, so that the original Diocese has now been reduced to the Province of Manitoba and an equal area in Western Ontario. In this vast country, though the Liturgy of the Church of England may in obedience to the regulations of the Hudson's Bay Company, have been read more or less regularly at some of their posts, yet for nearly a century and a half from the formation of the Colony there were no churches, no schools, not a single educational or religious effort for either the heathen Indians or the scattered Half-breeds resident in the country, and latterly numbering several thousands.

At length a French Roman Catholic mission was established at St. Boniface, and two or three years later, in 1820, the Hudson's Bay Company sent out a chaplain to Fort Garry, who was also a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. This was the Rev. John West, a clergyman with views of Church Order and work far in advance of his time. As Chaplain of the Company he visited their nearer posts, and in addition administered to the small body of Presbyterian settlers which had lately come from the parish of Kildonan, in Scotland, and to a few retired officers and servants of the Company and their families, who had settled along the Red River. He seems to have encouraged systematic contributions by the people. Mr. Smith, Clerk of the Council of Assiniboia, in 1865, used to tell how he carried on his back a sack of wheat or flour, as a kind of tithe. There remains a memorial of Mr. West's methodical carefulness in the excellent blank books he brought out for registering baptisms, marriages, and burials, and which afterwards proved of essential service to the early settlers in securing the land grants assigned to them by the Dominion Government. He built, about two miles from Fort Garry, a little wooden church, the mother church in the country of the Church of England, which in time gave place to St. John's Cathedral. He also established a school which was the precursor of St. John's College. Nor did he lose sight of his missionary duties. He had been Curate to the Rev. Henry Budd, one of the early friends of the C.M.S., and had caught his Rector's spirit.

On reaching York Factory he obtained two Indian boys whom he brought down in his canoe

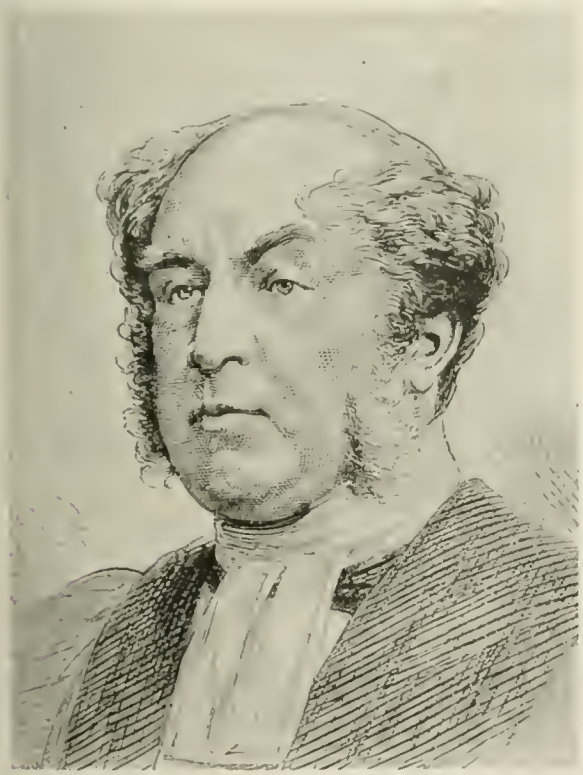
to Fort Garry, and baptized after instructing them for fourteen months, when they had acquired a knowledge of English and had learned the Church Catechism. One of these he named Henry Budd, after his old Rector. This lad became a catechist, and later on the first native clergyman. He proved a successful missionary, and what is more rare with the Indian race, a careful and capable manager. An Inspecting Chief Factor once spoke of him as a "spoilt Chief Factor," by which he meant that if he had entered the Company's service, he could have risen to the highest rank of its officers. Mr. West 'established at his school a home for Indian boys and lads with a view to future usefulness in their tribes. One who was thus admitted in 1823, but after Mr. West had left for England, is still (1898) living in hale old age—the Rev. James Settee. Unfortunately for the Church of England, Mr. West remained only three years in the country. Another C.M.S. missionary, the Rev. David Jones, reached York Factory by the vessel in which Mr. West returned, temporarily took up Mr. West's work, and at length was appointed Chaplain in his place. On this, the C.M.S. sent out in 1825 the Rev. W. Cochrane, better known latterly as Archdeacon Cochrane, a man eminently fitted for his work. It has been said of him that he was at once "minister, clerk, school-master, arbitrator, peace maker and agricultural director." To him is due the first really aggressive work for the Indians in the establishment of the Indian Settlement Mission, now St. Peter's Parish.

The first Indian mission in the interior was commenced in 1840 by Mr. Budd as catechist. It was at the pass on the Saskatchewan, since known as Devon Mission. His labours were so successful that a missionary from the Red River in 1842 was able to baptize eighty-five Indian converts. As time went on, other missionaries of the C.M.S. came out. Amongst them may be specially mentioned the Ven. Archdeacon Hunter, an able preacher, who held with much appreciation after his return to England in 1865, the important Vicarage of St. Matthew's, Bayswater, London; and the Ven. Archdeacon Cowley, a devoted missionary, who died in the country in 1887, after a service of more than forty years. Archdeacon Cowley began the mission at Fairford. All were heathen. The influence of the Medicine Man was supreme. He lived to see the large church at Fairford filled with an Indian congregation entering heartily into the Church services both in English and in their own tongue. The Mission School of Mr. West, having grown under Mr. Jones into an excellent higher school both for boys and girls, was for years under an admirable Head Master, the Rev. John Mc allum, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen. In this School many of the sons of officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were educated, who themselves rose to the highest position in the service. One of the pupils was Dr. Isbister, Head Master of the Stationer's School, London, and Dean of the College of Preceptors—the munificent benefactor of the University of Manitoba, who left to it over $80,000 for scholarships, and prizes in Colleges and Schools throughout Manitoba.

In 1844 the C.M.S. arranged for a Visitation of their missions in the Red River Settlement by the Bishop of Montreal. Attended by a chaplain and servant he left Lachine, near Montreal, in a large canoe paddled by fourteen *voyageurs*, on the 16th May, and returned on the 14th of August after spending from June 23rd to July 10th amongst the missions. This visit was most helpful. The Protestant population was at the time 2,345, of whom 646 were confirmed. The people greatly enjoyed the services of the Bishop, who preached day after day. One man said that every day in the week was a Sabbath. The Bishop of Montreal and the C.M.S. were very anxious for the founding of a Bishopric for these distant and isolated missions. Just at this time an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company (an Aberdeenshire gentleman, Mr. Chief Factor Leith) left a large bequest for the work of the Church. A decree of the Court of Chancery established a Bishopric as the most satisfactory way of carrying out Mr. Leith's wishes. The Hudson's Bay Company kindly co-operated by executing a deed binding itself to provide £300 a year and a suitable house and glebe for the Bishop. It was understood that the Bishop would take charge of one of the parishes, an arrangement from which he was afterwards relieved.

The Crown in 1849 nominated as Bishop the Rev. Dr. David Anderson, a Scholar of Exeter Col-

lege, Oxford, who was consecrated on May 29th. The country was still so isolated that the Bishop had to come by Hudson's Bay and York Factory. The ship left the Thames in the beginning of June, York Factory on August 29th, and the Bishop arrived at Lower Fort Garry on October 3rd. On the same day Mr. McCallum died and the Bishop felt that his best course was to place himself at the head of the School. He was an accomplished scholar in French as well as in Classics and Mathematics, and for a number of years the School, which was now



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called St. John's College, continued to do excellent service in the small community and turned out many who did credit to it. Several gained Scholarships at Cambridge. Among the pupils distinguished in after life was the Hon. John Norquay, for many years Premier of Manitoba, whose early death in the midst of health and strength was greatly lamented not only by his friends but by the whole country. However, after some years the institution was closed owing to the difficulty of getting competent masters and the growing uncertainty of pupils. The Bishop along with the School took charge of the congregation at St. John's, which during his stay in the country enjoyed his able and devoted pastoral services.

The Church became the Cathedral. Two or three years after his arrival the Kildonan Presbyterians by the help of a yearly grant from the Hudson's Bay Company obtained a resident minister. They had been seeking this for years, and the pastor they received, the Rev. John Black, endeared himself to all by his many excellent qualities. The Kildonan settlers at once ceased to attend the services at St. John's Cathedral. This secession, if it can be so called, of several hundred excellent settlers was no doubt a serious loss to the Church. Looking back at the past from modern experience there can be little doubt that the action of the estimable missionaries who succeeded Mr. West almost ensured this result. If they had kept to the order of their Church, and from the first had followed the course of Mr. West in bringing out the help of the people, the issue probably would have been different. The medley of service at St. John's in those days, when a selection from the prayers of the English Prayer Book was followed by what was practically a full service, as conducted by Presbyterians, could never win the Presbyterians to the Liturgy of the Church of England—so attractive when worthily and faithfully expressed. But, while this is true, the congregation at St. John's was served by a succession of godly men, who were personally beloved and respected both for their consistent lives and their spiritual ministrations. The population in the Red River Settlement slowly increased, as families from the interior settled along the banks of the Red River and its tributary, the Assiniboine, and some six or seven Half-breed parishes were formed. The mission work in the interior for the Indians was also greatly extended from the generous support of the Church Missionary Society, or C.M.S. as it is everywhere known, fostered by the loving labours of the Bishop. Missions were planted along the great rivers up to the Arctic circle, at distances reckoned almost by the thousand miles and many months of travel.

One of the most interesting was that at the

Yukon among the Tukuth Indians, by Archdeacon Robert McDonald, a scholar of St. John's College. He had about 1,000 converts. In the last years of Bishop Anderson the isolation of the Red River Settlement became less. A steamer ran for a year or two on the Red River, and regular communication was opened with St. Paul in Minnesota, U.S.A. But the terrible Sioux massacre in the northern part of Minnesota in 1862 for a time interrupted traffic and stopped the advance of settlement. Bishop Anderson returned to England and resigned in 1864, when the Bishopric was offered to Dr. Machray, Fellow and Dean of Sidney College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Madingley, but he was not consecrated till June 24th, 1865. Meantime Archdeacon Hunter had returned to England, and Archdeacon Cochrane had died after just completing his fortieth year in the country. There had at one time been twenty-three clergy in the Diocese, but from one cause or another the number had now fallen to eighteen, including Mr. Bompas, the present Bishop of Selkirk, whom the Bishop had ordained priest the day after his own consecration. These eighteen clergymen were scattered over the whole country —one in the present Diocese of Selkirk, two in Mackenzie River, three in Moosonee, three in Saskatchewan, one in Qu'Appelle, and eight in Rupert's Land. The new Bishop reached St. Paul, Minn., by steamer on the Mississippi, and fourteen days were spent in driving over bare prairie after the settlements were left—a longer time than is now required for the whole journey from London in England. Near Fort Garry there were a few houses and stores chiefly of "free traders" engaged in the fur trade, but Winnipeg had not yet come into existence. There was not a baker, butcher, tailor or shoemaker in the whole land. The population of the Settlement at Red River had reached 12,000, of whom the larger number were French-Canadians. But a change was felt to be near. The gradual advance of settlement in Minnesota made access easier from year to year, and the railway was coming nearer.

Steamers once more ran on the Red River. Visitors came to the country. Negotiations were begun by Canada for its transfer. At last, after considerable trouble from a rising of the French-Canadians under Riel, the Colony of Rupert's Land was conveyed to Canada in 1870 and the Province of Manitoba was formed out of a small portion of it, including the Red River Settlement. The little hamlet of Winnipeg that had been growing for the previous three or four years, became the capital of a Province, the seat of a Lieutenant-Governor, a responsible Ministry, and a Parliament. The census of 1871 gave it 70 houses and shanties and 241 inhabitants. Settlement was still confined to the banks of the Red River and the Assiniboine, and the prairies lay in their wild, natural condition. During the six years from 1865 to 1871 the Bishop, in addition to the frequent Visitation of parishes and of missions in the interior, with Confirmations in the Red River Settlement, was busily employed in preparing for the future by organizing the Church for self-government and self-support, and by building up a college for the education of clergy and supplying Higher Education. The Bishop arrived on October 12th, 1865, and immediately arranged for visiting the parishes of the Settlement and holding Confirmations in them. When in residence at Bishop's Court he served the Cathedral parish. His Chaplain and Registrar, the Rev. W. H. Taylor, Incumbent of St. James', and Mrs. Taylor kindly lived with him the first year and were very helpful. Up to the arrival of Bishop Machray there had been no collection in the churches except on the rare occasion of Holy Communion or for some special object. But both the C.M.S. and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had expressed to him a wish for the introduction of systematic giving.

The Bishop, therefore, at once recommended the taking up of a collection at every service and gave the example by introducing this in the Cathedral on Advent Sunday, preaching on the previous Sunday from Phil. iv. 17, "Not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit that may abound to your account." He held a meeting on December 5th of the clergy in the Settlement, six in number, of whom five attended. A report was drawn up of the state of the Diocese, which was published in England by the kindness of the C.M.S. The offertory had by this time been introduced in three churches besides the Cathedral. It was agreed to have it in the New Year in all. An Ecclesiastical organization was also

adopted for self-government. This was simply an extension to all parishes of the system of Vestries which had already by the advice of Bishop Anderson been in operation in several. Arrangement was also made for convoking on May 30th, 1866, for consultation, a Conference of Clergy and Lay Delegates from the parishes as the first step towards a Synod. In the beginning of 1866 the Bishop, travelling by dog cariole, spent eight weeks in visiting the interior missions under clergymen and catechists, in what are now the Dioceses of Rupert's Land, Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan, and in holding fourteen Confirmations. At the Conference on May 30th the Bishop explained his scheme for the revival of St. John's College, and announced his appointment of an old friend, a distinguished graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, the Rev. John McLean, as Warden of the College and also as Archdeacon of Assiniboia in place of the late Archdeacon Cochrane.

The care of St. John's congregation was consigned to Archdeacon McLean, and the Bishop took charge for some years of the Parish of St. Paul's, whose church was six miles from Bishop's Court. After the Conference the Bishop visited York Factory on Hudson's Bay, where he confirmed 55, of whom 51 were Indians. The College was opened on Nov. 1st, 1866. Little remained of the old College but a rather dilapidated building and a small but well selected library. The old St. Cross House that had served for some years as a Ladies' School and had been conveyed to the Bishop by Bishop Anderson, was also utilized. The old name, St. John's College, was retained with its excellent motto, "In Thy light we shall see light." (Psalms xxxvi. 9.) The staff consisted of the Warden, who took Latin, Greek and Systematic and Pastoral Theology, the Bishop, who took Mathematics and Ecclesiastical History and Liturgiology, and the Rev. S. Pritchard, who took English, Arithmetic, and Book-keeping. The Church Missionary School gave £200 towards the tuition and £250, if required, towards the support of scholars who were being educated as missionaries, catechists or teachers in its missions. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge contributed £300 towards an extension of buildings, being the balance of an old grant, and the Hudson's Bay Company gave £100 a year for some years. In 1868 the Bishop held a most interesting Visitation of the missions in Eastern Moosonee, holding Confirmations at Rupert's House, Albany, and Moose Factory on James' Bay. It was his practice in those days, when practicable, to examine individually every Indian candidate. In this way he spent a week at Rupert's House, where he confirmed over 80 adult Indians, most of whom were able to read the Bible in Cree in the syllabic character, and

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wherever this was the case the Scriptural knowledge was usually highly satisfactory.

In 1869 the Bishop visited many inland missions, holding Confirmations at Grand Rapids, Devon and Cumberland on the Saskatchewan and Stanley on the English River. Meantime the Bishop had also raised considerable funds for various Diocesan purposes such as Clergy Endowment and Clergy, Widow, and Orphan Funds, but especially for Professorships and Scholarships in St. John's College.

The first gift he received for a College Professor-

ship was £100, the result of a missionary effort by ladies of the Parish of Newton, near Cambridge, which he had served from College for three years, before he was Vicar of Madingley. Help was obtained from Eastern Canada during short visits of the Bishop and Warden, and several thousand pounds were secured by Bishop Machray when visiting England in 1871, 1878 and 1886. The S.P.C.K. gave £500 to each of three Chairs. A friend of the C.M.S. gave £1,000 for Exegetical Theology, to be held by the Society, and the late Hon. Secretary of the C.M.S., Prebendary Wigram, gave £1,000 for the same Chair and afterwards released the College from £500 of a loan. The Bishop gave £2,000 for the Chair of Ecclesiastical History. A sum of £10,000 was raised for general purposes, partly in Manitoba. This included £1,500 from the S.P.G., £1,000 from the S.P.C.K., and £600 from the present Lord Strathcona. A large sum was raised for the erection of the new College, including £1,000 from the S.P.C.K. By an Act of Parliament, in 1874, the Church of St. John's was incorporated as a Collegiate Church, with Dean and Canons who had Professorships in St. John's College attached to their positions. After some years the sale of a part of the glebe brought an addition to their salaries. In 1897 the S.P.G. voted to the College funds from the Marriott Bequest, £50 yearly, being the interest of £2,000 retained in the Society's hands,. A Ladies' School was also established in 1877. The Rev. Prebendary Wright, Hon. Sec. of the C.M.S., gave towards this £2,000, and the Bishop of Rupert's Land about the same. But the country was rather young for such a school and it has had to struggle with many difficulties.

The Bishop in his visit to England in 1871 arranged with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the C.M.S. for the division of his Diocese into four Dioceses and the formation of a Provincial Synod. The new Dioceses were Moosonee, Athabasca and Saskatchewan. The C.M.S. provided stipends for the Bishops of the first two Sees, in which all the Missions belonged to that Society. The Endowment of the See of Saskatchewan was raised by Archdeacon McLean, its first Bishop. He secured about $75,000 and the money for building a See House, inclusive of grants from the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G. and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. The Synod of Rupert's Land met on January 8th, 1873, and passed a canon for the formation of the new Dioceses and the calling of a Provincial Synod. The Bishops were consecrated in England. The first Provincial Synod met in Winnipeg in Bishop's Court on August 3rd, 1875. The Bishop of Athabasca had gone to his distant home on the Mackenzie River. The Bishops of Rupert's Land, Moosonee and Saskatchewan were present. The sermon at the opening service, a very appropriate and touching one, was by Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, U.S., "The Apostle of the Indians." The Constitution was adopted by an unanimous vote of both Houses. The Bishop of Rupert's Land became the Metropolitan, and later on, the See of Rupert's Land was made the Metropolitan See of all Canada.

St. John's College was incorporated in 1871, and under a provision in the statutes, the future government was conveyed to the Synod in 1876. In the same year the future government of St. John's Cathedral was also conveyed to the Synod. In both cases the Bishop retained a veto on any proposed changes, but he has this for all proposed legislation of the Synod. Thus, before the country was opened for settlement by the entrance of a railway, a strong centre for mission and educational work was provided in St. John's College and Cathedral. In the years from 1871 some immigrants entered in anticipation of a railway, but, till the road actually reached Winnipeg, there could be no exportation of agricultural produce, and consequently no market except for the supply of local needs. In 1879 the railway in the United States reached the British frontier, and was there met by a short line of sixty miles from St. Boniface on the opposite side of the Red River from Winnipeg. In 1880 the railway was carried across to Winnipeg. Then the Canadian Pacific Railway was pushed forward east and west of that city, so that in a few years it was finished for over 1,000 miles east to the other Canadian railways, and 1,500 miles west to the Pacific Ocean. Five other lines nearly parallel were soon carried across the south half of the Province of Manitoba, and various connecting lines were made. The result has been a quite unprecedented dispersion of the immigrants.

Notwithstanding the healthiness of the climate, the fertility of the soil and the facility of cultivation, the number of settlers did not reach expectations, owing to the low prices of agricultural produce which immediately followed the opening of the country. Then, the C.P.R. carried many of the immigrants beyond Manitoba into the North-West Territories and British Columbia. The result is a sadly sparse population everywhere, outside a few small towns, villages and hamlets and their immediate neighbourhood.

In 1896 out of 786 School Districts in Manitoba,

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740 had not an average school attendance of 30 pupils, and of these 637 not of 20, 462 not of 15, and 211 not of 10. The difficulty of supplying the means of grace is evident. The College and Cathedral Mission has done a valuable service in mission work. It has served parishes in Winnipeg till they could sustain Rectors. Two of the first formed parishes, Holy Trinity and Christ Church, had each a grant of £60 from the S.P.G. for two or three years, but none of the others. It has served by its staff and students a large proportion of the country missions till with the aid of a grant they could have a resident clergyman. Of course if the S.P.G. and other Societies had not increased their grants as population increased, and if a measure of help had not latterly been secured by our Secretary or other deputations sent to Eastern Canada, the work of the Central Mission would have been very limited; but, on the other hand, it prepared the way for utilizing these grants. There are now fourteen self-supporting parishes with 20 clergymen not receiving grants from mission funds; 55 country missions under 41 clergymen and 14 lay readers present or prospective students of the College, resident usually only in the summer; and 12 clergymen in the Indian Missions, chiefly supported by the C.M.S. There are several clergymen absent from the Diocese for health or other causes, and several have only a general license. The College has also done a great work for the Church in the training and education of clergy. In 1897 there were 48 of the clergy from the College, including 11 of the Indian missionaries; there were other graduates of the College in eight of the western and north-western Dioceses. Indeed, if clergymen had not been attracted from time to time to the American Church, the College would for years have amply supplied the wants of the Diocese. There are clergy from the College in ten of the American Dioceses.

The College has also, as a College in Arts and as providing a College School for boys, done good service both to the Church and the community. With the growth of the missions of the Church and of the clergy and other workers there has been a healthy growth in the giving of the people. In 1880 the contributions for all Church purposes were $6,300, in 1897, $75,000. In 1888, the gifts for the Mission Fund were $1,629, in 1897, $6,000. The average contributions last year for each Church family reported by the clergy as attending their ministrations was fifteen dollars for all Church objects and one dollar for the Mission Fund. Unfortunately, nearly one-third of the members of the Church according to the census seems to be still outside the services of the Church. The various Dioceses which have been formed out of the original Diocese have grown steadily. There are over twenty clergymen

in each of the Dioceses of Saskatchewan, Qu'-Appelle and Calgary.

The Church in Rupert's Land has now become part of a larger organization. In 1890 an important Conference was held in Winnipeg under the Presidency of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, attended by representatives of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Canada and Rupert's Land and the Diocese of New Westminster. The scheme for the unification of the Church, which was then adopted, was with little change made the basis of the constitution of the General Synod of Canada, which met in Toronto in 1893. The Bishop of Rupert's Land was unanimously elected Primate of all Canada with the title of Archbishop. The title of Archbishop was also conferred on Metropolitans. The Legislature of Manitoba made the Archbishop of Rupert's Land a corporation sole. There was a second meeting of the General Synod in Winnipeg in 1896, when a good deal of legislation was passed, but it will take time to bring the new organization into proper working order. There is much to give hope and courage in the life and work of the Church in the Diocese. Not only is Winnipeg self-supporting and well supplied with churches and clergy but it gave last year nearly $2,600 for the missions of the Diocese, and it may be said that nearly every mission with a town of 1,000 people, or not more than 250 Church people, including children, has become self-supporting. What is wanted is the filling up of the large missions with more people. It is impossible to pass in review what the small community in Manitoba have done for themselves not only in the provision of the means of grace by the members of the different Denominations but in furnishing schools, building up noble charitable institutions, making roads and bridges over such a large area, not to speak of the erection of their own houses, farm buildings, and shops, without feeling what a fine and generous and pushing people is being reared in this fair Province and what hope the Dominion may well have in the future of North-Western Canada.

The Right Rev. Dr. Robert Young.

THE DOCTRINES AND POLITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA

BY

THE REV. JOHN LANGTRY, M.A., D.C.L.

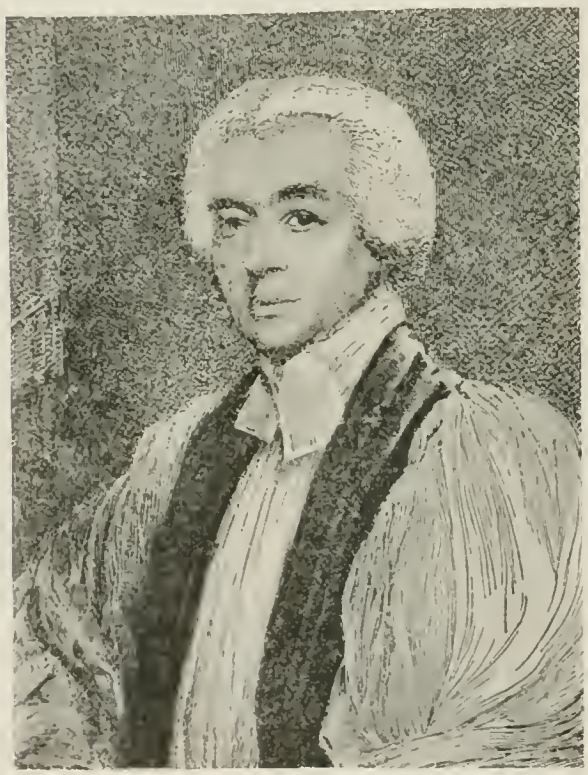
THE Church of England in Canada—or British North America—had her beginning in what is now becoming a remote antiquity. It seems almost certain that the first celebration of the divine offices, according to the Prayer Book of the Reformed Church of England, was held in Newfoundland in the year 1583. Certain it is that Sir Humphrey Gilbert on the fourth of August of that year, in the harbour of St. John's, made the first proclamation of religion on this North American continent, and he declared that it should be according to the Reformed Church of England.

For more than a hundred years after this proclamation the attention and energies of the English Church and people were absorbed by the strifes that grew out of the Reformation period. The spirits of enterprise and devotion were alike paralyzed by these conflicts, and no organized or continuous work of the Church was carried on. Indeed, the French were allowed quietly to take possession of the country, which had long before been claimed as a British possession by Royal proclamation, and it was not until the Province of Nova Scotia had been re-captured and ceded to England in A.D. 1713, that organized work was begun. The Rev. William Tutly and the Rev. J. W. Anwell were the first missionaries sent out to Halifax with the first settlers who came in 1749 to take possession of the newly conquered territory. These had, of course, to endure something more than the usual pioneer missionary hardships, conducting their services in the open air far into the winter, and having for a long time nothing better than rough store-houses or barns, or settlers' shanties in which to carry on their work.

The real settlement of the land and the active organized work of the Church, both in the eastern provinces and in Western Canada, were due to the people called U.E. Loyalists, the name given to those inhabitants of the Thirteen States who continued loyal to the British Crown when their fellow countrymen threw off their allegiance. These Loyalists were, to a large extent, the clergy and people of the Anglican communion. The mere fact that they were the upholders on this continent of an institution that in England was part and parcel of the State, was enough to make them the objects of suspicion. And the further fact that in the beginning of the conflict they almost without exception espoused the British cause, brought down upon them the hatred and persecution of an enraged people, which soon made their position in the nascent Republic untenable. Their sufferings were in many cases very severe; and when they flocked into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Western Canada, it was for the most part as penniless and almost naked exiles that they came. It is well known that the animosity that was awakened against them, and against the Institution which they represented, almost paralyzed the efforts of the Episcopal Church in the United States for more than two generations after their departure; and accounts, in a large measure, for the comparative weakness of that Church in the United States to this day.

The Clergy who thus came were as speedily as possible employed by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and were assigned spheres of labour among their fellow-exiles, as these set to work to cut out for themselves new homes amid the forests of this northern land. Dr. Charles Inglis, who had been Rector of Trinity Church, New York, during the progress of the Revolutionary War, was consecrated first Bishop of the nascent Church in 1787, and he became the first Colonial Bishop of the Church of England. He was settled at Halifax, and had for his Diocese the whole of British North Am-

erica, which then comprised a much larger territory than at present. This one Diocese has now grown to twenty-one, with promise of speedy increase to twenty-four or twenty-five. The twenty-two Clergy then employed in that whole vast territory have now multiplied to over eleven hundred. These twenty-one Bishops are exercising jurisdiction over a territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and considerably larger than the whole United States. Their dioceses are joined together by the Canadian Pacific Railway, 3,668 miles in length, running



The Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D.

almost due west from one ocean to the other, and through a territory varying from two to eight hundred miles in depth of as fertile and productive land as is to be found anywhere under the sun. As this territory must perforce come in for rapid settlement before long, there is evidently a great work before the Canadian Church, as there is also the possibility of great achievements for her within her own territory.

In polity, by which is meant the orders of her Ministry, or her mode of government, the Anglican Communion in Canada differs in no particular from the Church of England in the Mother-Land. Her position on this point is defined in the Preface to her ordination services, written in all probability by Cranmer himself, which states as a matter of history that "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' times there have been these three orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same, and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereto by Lawful Authority. And therefore to the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in the United Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions except he hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination."

The position is evidently this: The Church of the new covenant, which Jesus Christ, its Founder, promised that He would build, which St. Paul says He did build upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head Corner Stone, is and was from the beginning a visible organized society, with an inner spiritual life or being—which society is declared to be "The Habitation of God through the Spirit," "The Body of Christ," "The Bride of the Lamb." To it, our Lord promised the abiding inhabitation of His Spirit; assured it of His own perpetual presence; and guaranteed it, in the most solemn manner, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. These are exceeding great and precious promises to be given to any society. They cannot be appropriated by or transferred to any other society; and the question is how can we be assured that that society to which they belong has been continued to our time, and that we are in it. Like every other society, the Church of Christ can only be extended from place to place and perpetuated from age to age by its appointed officers. There must have been a devolution of authority for this

work from those who first received it to others after them and so on from age to age down to the present time. No man can confer this honour upon himself, or all authority would end. It is for this reason that the Church of England states her position, on this question, historically. She says in effect that "others may think and theorize as they please but to me it is plain, as a matter of history, that the Church has preserved her continuity through her Bishops. They alone have ordained—and so, while I do not lay down any theory, or pronounce any sentence upon others, I cannot see in what other way the authority of the Ministry, or the continuity of the Body, can be preserved, and, therefore, I cannot allow anyone to minister at my altars, or to exercise any function of the Ministry, who has not received Episcopal consecration or ordination." This much seems necessarily implied in the most liberal interpretation of this authoritative Preface, and the Ordinal which follows it. It is at this point perhaps, more than any other that the Church of England comes into painful conflict with those who are separated from her. And at which the two great sections within her fold stand widest apart.

On the one hand there is the unvarying practice of the Catholic Church. Into whatever land that original society extended itself, it was found, when we come upon clear historic times, to be organized in the same way—to have the same polity of Bishops, Priests and Deacons—and to exercise the power of extension and perpetuation through its Bishops alone, and in that way to maintain unity with, and the continuity of, the original society. There is absolutely no exception to this rule in any part of the Historic Apostolic Church. The ancient British and Scandinavian Churches which were held by some to have been constituted on a Presbyterian basis, are now admitted by the authorities of that system to have had the threefold order, and to have confined the power of Ordination to Bishops. And so the English Church, by her acceptance of the Preface above quoted, has taken the position that, whatever others may think, she cannot be satisfied as to the validity of any ordination not conferred by a Bishop, and cannot recognize as a part of the original historic society any community constituted in modern times by those who have rejected Episcopacy and separated themselves from the historic organization.

On the other hand there is the position taken by most of the Continental reformers that Presbyters or Priests originally ordained and have the inherent right to ordain. It has been pointed out that this theory is not supported by one definite Scriptural statement, or by one adducible fact. There is not an instance in Holy Scripture or in any ancient author, of Presbyters having ordained other Presbyters. Hooker's challenge, given nearly three hundred years ago to the Presbyterians of his time, "Show us one Church that hath been ordered by your Regimen (Polity) or that hath not been ordered by ours, and we will acknowledge you in the right!" remains unanswered and will so remain.

This theory, however, became largely identified with the Reformation movement. With the coming in of the Calvinistic wave it swept all before it in Scotland; and for awhile, together with that doctrinal system, it held the ascendency in England. It has had sympathizers, and even open advocates in the Church of England ever since. A more radical theory about the Church and the Ministry sprang up about the same time, and spread rapidly in England, until it gained complete political and ecclesiastical ascendency under Cromwell. This was called Independency, and is known amongst us now as Congregationalism. Their theory is that any number of Christian people agreeing to form themselves into an organized congregation constitute a Church; that these have the right to appoint their own ministers; that every such Church is complete in itself and independent, so that no one has a right to interfere with its doctrine or disciple; that its Clergy have no Divine right to rule, or teach, or administer sacraments; but that it has a right to claim recognition and be received into full communion by all other Churches.

This theory, so contradictory of the facts of Scripture, and primitive Church history, has been widely adopted outside the present limits of Congregationalism, and tinges largely the theories of the Denominations as to what the Church is. It is sympathy with that Protestantism which

became so identified with one or other of these movements, that led, and still leads, a large section of Churchmen, more or less, to accept and act upon these theories, rather than upon that to which the Church of England has unquestionably, no less by her practice than by her doctrines, committed herself.

As was said of the Polity, so may we say of the Doctrines. In doctrine the Church of England in Canada differs in no respect from the same Church in England. It is often said for the purpose of disparagement that the Church of England is a compromise; contains two contradictory systems; has no definite faith; and does not exactly know what she believes. This could only be said by those who have never studied her doctrinal standards, or who have been misled by a superficial acquaintance with her character and history. It would not be possible for the Church of Rome herself to be more definite, dogmatic and uncompromising than the Church of England is on every essential doctrine of the Faith. She proclaims her acceptance of the three Creeds—the Nicene, Athanasian, and Apostles,—as thoroughly to be received and believed. These contain the Catholic doctrine of the one Godhead—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—of the Incarnation, Atonement, Judgment to come, Personality, Divinity, and permanent work of the Holy Ghost, the one Catholic and Apostolic Church (in the historical sense which those words alone bore when she adopted them), the resurrection of the body, and the life of the world to come.

And on those points not defined in the Creeds, on which the separated Protestant communities differ most from her, and on which there is greatest divergence of opinion within her own fold, no one who studies her formularies can for a moment think that she speaks in uncertain tones, or uses the language of compromise or hesitancy in defining her doctrines. Take the doctrine of Baptism as one of the most crucial. It is regarded throughout her offices as a supernatural ordinance of Divine Institution, a holy sacrament for the initiation of new members into the Christian Society—the Church. The Holy Ghost is the Baptizer, the Minister is the Agent through whom the Spirit acts, the water and the words are the instruments which He uses to symbolize and convey His grace. What that grace is, is expressed in the plainest terms. First of all before the baptism of each individual who comes to receive that Holy Sacrament, the congregation are exhorted to pray that "God of His bounteous Mercy will grant to this child or person that thing which by nature he cannot have, that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost and be received into Christ's holy Church and be made a lively member of the same." In the Second Collect she prays "Look upon this child, wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, that he being delivered from thy wrath may be received into the Ark of Christ's Church." And in the Third Collect "We call upon Thee for this infant, that he coming to thy Holy Baptism may receive remission of sins by Spiritual regeneration." And again, "We beseech thee hear the supplications of thy congregation, sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin."

But when Baptism has been administered the language of supplication is exchanged for the language of confident faith and positive assertion. And the Minister is directed to say with reference to every child baptized "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." And again "We yield thee hearty thanks most merciful Father that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church." No language could be more positive than this is. There is no shadow of compromise about it. There is no loophole for the theory that the Church is merely expressing a charitable hope that the gift of regeneration may be conferred. She states in the most positive terms that could be used that it has been conferred; that the person has been regenerated in baptism. This is asserted in the plainest terms in the service for receiving a child who has been privately baptized. The Minister is directed to say "I certify you that this child is now by the Laver of Regeneration in baptism received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life." It may be well to remark that the

Church in using this positive language uses it in its ancient and Catholic sense, not in that modern sense which confounds regeneration with conversion. The words describe wholly different operations of grace. The one is God's gift; the other man's response to that gift. The subject matter of the one is *Life*, of the other *Will*. No man can be the author of his own being. Regeneration, or the New Birth, must be the sole act of God the Holy Ghost, the Author and Giver of life. And this takes place ordinarily, for God is not tied to means, at Baptism, where, as the Master taught and the Church has always believed, Man is born of Water and of the Spirit.

Conversion on the other hand takes place whenever, under the operation of this regenerating grace, a man's own will turns and sets itself solidly in the direction of God. It cannot impart new life. It does but awaken into activity that dormant gift, "Which is you, which ye have of God." Regeneration then is the sole act of God. Conversion is the act of man, assisted by God's grace. In this sense the Church of England teaches the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration without any compromise or hesitancy whatever. And so children are taught to start with the conviction that God is their Father and that they are his children, and not that God is waiting to be their Father till they are good enough to be His children. This is of great practical importance. The Calvinist, for example, takes the irreversible decrees of God as his guiding thought, and so he waits for God to move and manifest His decree. The Lutheran takes Faith, and he calls upon man to rouse himself for the effort and so to become the author of his own spiritual being. The Methodist selects conversion, and he naturally resorts to expedients that may bring it about, with the same end in view as the Lutheran. But the Church from the beginning has made the whole possibilities of the spiritual life to rest upon God's pledged, but free and unmerited gift in Baptism.

No less definite, dogmatic and clear is the language of the Church on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, about which these divergences again cluster. The inward part of that Sacrament is defined to be the "Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," or as the twenty-eighth Article expresses it, are "given, taken and eaten." To be given, taken or eaten they must be present, and the Church defines that presence as being after a spiritual and Heavenly manner. And in that sense she assures us that "If with a true, penitent heart and lively faith we receive that Holy Sacrament," we do then and there spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His Blood. We dwell in Christ and Christ in us. We are made one with Christ and Christ with us. Surely this is as definite as human speech can be, in defining so great a mystery!

Equally definite and dogmatic is the language of the Church on the other great subject around which controversy has raged—the Ministry of the Christian Church. There are two views. The one called the Presbyter view was first propounded by Grotius, a Dutch Calvinist, and expanded by Vatringa, another Dutch Calvinist. It teaches us that the word Priest or Presbyter, for they are the same word, describes the office of one who is commissioned to teach, exercise discipline and administer religious rites and ceremonies. This and no more.

The other view is that the Priest is one commissioned to act as an ambassador of Christ, as God's representative, agent and spokesman, to speak and act in God's behalf towards the people, and in behalf of the people towards God. His office on one side is to deliver God's message, to pronounce God's absolution, to convey God's blessing, to act instead of Christ, the great High Priest, in celebrating the Divine mysteries, in making the appointed memorial of Christ's death, and so holding up and pleading before the Father the Sacrifice of Calvary as the one prevailing plea for pardon and for grace. As between these two views, the formularies of the Church of England speak with unhesitating and dogmatic clearness. She declares that there have always been Priests in the Christian Church as well as Bishops. She has appointed a very solemn and elaborate service for making men Priests. In that service she professes to confer upon those whom she ordains authority to preach the Word of God and to administer the Holy Sacraments. She confers upon them alone the power and authority to de-

clare and pronounce in God's name the absolution and remission of sins, saying to them, "Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained," and directing them to say to each penitent soul desiring that benefit, "By His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins." And all mitigations that are sought to be imported into these plain and positive statements, by turning to the original etymological meaning of the word Priest, are set aside by the simple fact that when the present formularies of the Church of England were drawn up, the word had taken on and bore a definite meaning as the equivalent of the Sacerdos of the Office Books, and in that sense it was deliberately adopted to the exclusion of the word Pastor or Minister, which the Continental and Puritan party were substituting for it and urging upon the English Reformers. So that here again there is neither compromise nor indefiniteness in the doctrinal statements of the Church of England, and an extended examination of all her dogmatic utterances will show that the charge with regard to any of her doctrinal statements is without foundation.

The real ground of this charge is the co-existence in the Church of England of three or more parties holding very divergent, and on some points contradictory views—those who believe that the Church is a supernatural, visible, organized Society; those who insist that it is an invisible association of good men and women; those who accept the Bible as the infallible Word of God, and those who debase it to the level of human composition; those who believe in Baptismal regeneration, and those who utterly deny it; those who teach a real presence of the Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar, and those who reject that belief; those who believe that the Church is a Divine institution and its sacraments and ordinances of a supernatural character, and those who think of them as human, though more or less edifying appointments. Is not a Church, it is asked, that tolerates such a state of things, justly described as a compromise? And we must answer, in practice, yes. Whether the tolerance of such confusion and uncertainty in the practical teaching of the Church is to be attributed to a loss and lack of discipline, or to a patient endurance of present chaos with a view to, and hope of, coming order and peace, the fact is plain, and it sorely distresses eager and enthusiastic souls on the one side and the other. It has its great weaknesses, and in the present state of the Christian world it has at least no inconsiderable advantages.

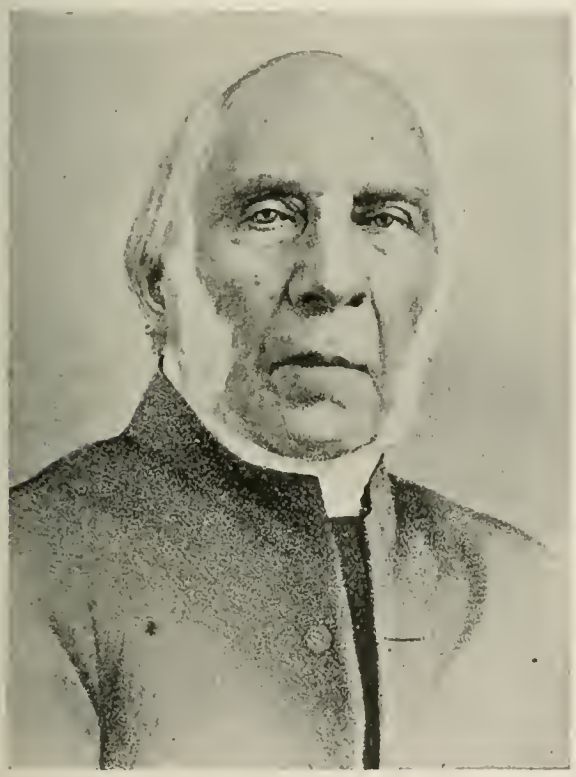
It is not, however, as we have seen, the result of any lack of definite, dogmatic doctrinal statement, but of the history and present environment of the Church of England. It is in the process of solution. The bitterness and estrangement of even a few years ago is passing away. Brotherly love is growing, and kindly intercourse is leading the way to the removal of misunderstanding and an ultimate, and it is to be hoped, a not far off, agreement in the truth. When that day comes the Church will go forth to the battle as an army with banners, "Strong in the strength which God's grace supplies." In the meantime she shows no signs of decay, and is in no peril of death.

The Anglican Church in Canada now possesses four Universities, together with seventeen Colleges and Collegiate Institutions for the education of her young men and women. She is now educating nearly all her own Clergy, and the result is that a new race of men imbued with the sentiments and spirit of the people among whom they labour are going forth as her standard bearers, and are doing much to win back the children of the Church who have, through neglect, strayed from her fold.

Already we have springing up among us men and women who are throwing themselves into the spirit of Apostolic days, and without waiting for guaranteed or promised salaries are going forth into the long-neglected settlements to live the life of poverty, or, if need be, to live by the labour of their own hands, that they may win men to Christ, and gather them into what they believe to be His divinely instituted fold. When the contagion of this life of the Cross spreads, as spread it will, the Anglican Church in Canada will wake up to a vigour of life and power which she has not yet known. But however this hope may turn out, certain it is that the Canadian Church to-day is more completely organized for united and onward work than any other branch of the Anglican Communion, not excepting the Protes-

tant Episcopal Church of the United States. She has her territorially constituted Parishes, her regular gradations of Synods—Diocesan, Provincial and National or General. She has her Bishops and Archbishops, with a Primate at their head, to give unity to her plans and action, and to be her Executive for the carrying out of the enactments of the General Synod, and to see to it that the Bishops—no less than the Clergy—are not flagrantly failing in the discharge of those solemn duties to which they have been consecrated.

Whether this complete organization will remain



The Most Rev. Dr Medley.

merely as a piece of perfected machinery, or will become instinct with the Spirit of God for the edification of His people and the conversion of the nations, is a question which the future must answer, and which depends for its answer upon the persevering prayers of her people. Certain it is, however, that it is not synods, nor canons, nor committees, nor any mere outward organization that is going to effect the regeneration of the world, but the living faith of loving men—men who have yielded themselves up to God to be the instruments through whom His quickening Spirit shall speak to and act upon the hearts and lives of other men. The Anglican Church in Canada is not without the inspiring example in her past history of many men, who would have been conspicuous in any land for the whole-hearted consecration of themselves to their Master's work, and for the lives of paintul self-denial, by which they have attested the reality of their faith.

No one can become familiar with the lives of the two Bishops Mountain, or of the saintly Bishop Steward, without being lifted up by the example of their simple devotion and unceasing self-denial. No one can have known Bishop Strachan, the first great Bishop of Toronto, or his almost "alter ego," Bishop Medley, of Fredericton, without feeling the moulding power of strong, clear intellect and sanctified will, steadfastly set to do that which was right. No one can have read the annals of Bishop Field's life, as he battled his way through fog and foam for the long years of his Episcopate, enduring cheerfully unceasing hardships and perils to reach the scattered settlers of his desolate Diocese, without feeling ashamed of his own poor endurances in the Master's cause. No one can reflect on the life of Bishop Horden, living for forty years on the ice-bound shores of Hudson's Bay, or still more upon the life of Bishop Bompas, who twenty-four years ago passed within the Arctic circle, and has never once been outside of it since; no one can recall the names of the pioneer missionaries, who in Nova Scotia, in Newfoundland, in Canada, and in the great lone land of the North, gave up in many cases comfortable homes and fair prospects in the land of their birth, to seek and save the scattered sheep in the wilderness or on the lonely shores, living, many of them, without salaries pledged or promised, and seeking no reward but the "well done" of the closing hour; no one can know these things and not feel that the Cross of Christ in its individual application gleams out in many a life in our past history, and that if the Anglican Church in Canada is only true to her opportunities and worthy of the heritage of heroism which her past history supplies, she has a great and glorious future in store for her.

HISTORIC PARTIES IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY

THE REV. T. C. STREET MACKLEM, M.A.

IN the Church of England in Canada, as in the Mother Country, there are three Church parties—High, Low and Broad. The aim of this brief article is to exhibit only the more prominent characteristics of each party.

1. *The High Churchman's position.* Always foremost in the High Churchman's mind is the thought of the Church as a Divine Society—divine because founded by the Incarnate Son of God, and also because instinct with the life of God the Holy Ghost. The corporate life of the Church is to him of the utmost importance. He lays great stress upon the continuity of the Church from the time of Christ and His Apostles; he refuses to acknowledge the authority of any ministry that is not derived in apostolic succession from the same source; and he views sectarianism with horror as a rending asunder of the one Body of Christ. The Doctrine which holds the foremost place in his theological system is that of the Incarnation, telling, as it does, of boundless possibilities of fellowship with God and man; and the effort to realize this fellowship more and more completely is the keynote to his whole Church life. He lays great stress upon baptismal regeneration, as the new birth into Christ and the beginning of a higher supernatural life, which thenceforth runs its course along with the natural life of the Christian. He sees in the Sacraments "the extension of the Incarnation," that is to say, the application to each individual through successive generations of the benefits purchased for all mankind by the Incarnation, Passion, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ. He believes that it is not safe to neglect the Sacraments where they may be had, for they are to him not merely signs and pledges, but the very channels through which the grace of God flows into the soul of man. He is wont to describe the Church as the Ark of Salvation; and while he does not presume to set any limit to the extraordinary workings of the Holy Spirit, yet he does declare with much emphasis that God has revealed no other method of salvation than that which is offered in the Church and through the Sacraments. He is fond of ritual, and delights to clothe the public worship of God with much ceremonial; partly because he believes that the outward garment of worship should be as beautiful as its inner soul, and partly because he finds ritual a great help to the realization of those unseen mysteries of the faith which he is ever striving to apprehend. In a word, he seeks to live, by the help of the Sacraments, a supernatural life, believing in the boundless power of God flowing down to man through the appointed sacramental channels, and appropriated by man according to his faith. I would sum up the characteristics of the High Churchman as: Exceeding love of the Church and devotion to her welfare; great reverence for the Sacraments and belief in their efficacy as channels of God's grace; an elevating appreciation of the beauty of worship; and deep insight into the hidden mysteries of faith.

2. *The Low Churchman's position.* Like Christ himself, the Church of Christ is both human and divine; and while the High Churchman is more impressed with its divine nature, the Low Churchman, on the other hand, more often views the Church in its human aspect, as a Society for the sacred work of preaching Christ and Him crucified; of banding together within its holy influences all who bear the name of Christ; and of ministering to them the Sacraments, as pledges of God's love. He is not so keenly alive as the High Churchman to the importance of developing the corporate life of the Church, neither does he lay so much stress upon its historic continuity or its possession of a ministry derived in apostolic succession from Christ and His Apostles. He regards Episcopacy as of the *bene esse* rather than of

the *esse* of the Church. His thoughts dwell more upon the reality of the operations of the Holy Spirit upon individual souls than upon the sphere of these operations and the channels through which the grace is bestowed. He is, therefore, more ready than the High Churchman to believe that the Holy Spirit may often be found working in spheres outside the Church, and through channels other than those of divine and primitive appointment. The touchstone of his faith is *personal religion;* and in the insistence with which he demands this of every individual, he parallels the High Churchman's zeal for the corporate life of the Church. In his effort to attain personal holiness he has developed much study of the Bible, in the interpretation of which he is strictly conservative. He claims for each individual the right of private judgment, resisting any claim on the part of the Church to be the sole interpreter of Holy Writ. The doctrine which holds the foremost place in his theological system is that of the Atonement, and his teaching is directed mainly to exhibiting the sinfulness of man, the greatness of the love of God, the fulness of the redemption wrought once for all upon the Cross of Calvary, and the need on the part of every individual to personally appropriate the benefits of the Cross by an effort of faith.

In contrast to the High Churchman's view of the primary necessity of entering within the "Ark of Salvation," he places in the forefront the text, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." He affirms that conversion is necessary to every Christian, and in this also represents a contrast to the High Churchman, who believes in such steadfast perseverance in grace from the time of baptismal regeneration, and the subsequent gift of the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, and the continual feeding upon Christ in Holy Communion, that conversion finds no *necessary* place in the normal Christian life. To the Low Churchman the Sacraments are the seal and pledge of grace already received, rather than the very channels of that grace, and they occupy, therefore, a much less prominent place in his religious life. I have said that the Atonement is the Doctrine which holds the foremost position in the theological system of the Low Churchman. It might be added that his teaching is so largely restricted to the continual re-iteration of this and other fundamental doctrines of the faith that he does not follow on so far into the development of doctrine as does the High Churchman. This confinement of his home teaching has had the happy effect of helping to force an outlet into the heathen world; for finding the fundamental doctrines of the faith largely, if not abundantly, preached at home, he has felt with great force the compulsion to preach them to the millions abroad who have never heard them. This has helped to make Low Churchmen noble leaders in missionary enterprise. The typical Low Churchman has a profound fear of ritual, believing that it tends to formalism. It is his firm conviction that to indulge in much ceremonial in worship is to walk on the brink of a precipice with Romanism yawning close beside, and that the adherents of Romanism are always watching their opportunity to undermine the pathway and precipitate the ritualists into the chasm. I would sum up the characteristics of the Low Churchman as: Great zeal for personal religion; large knowledge of the Bible and love of its study, coupled with conservative views of its inspiration and of literal interpretation; and splendid enthusiasm in the great cause of preaching the Gospel of Christ throughout the whole world.

3. *The Broad Churchman's position.* The key-note of this is *practical religion.* "He that doeth righteousness is righteous," is one text which might be quoted as helping to explain his position; another is, "I will show thee my faith *by my works.*" He considers that doctrine is unimportant. "Let a man believe what he will," is his dictum, "so long as his life is moral and unselfish." He has little patience with the disputes of High and Low Churchmen. "Let them settle their differences," he says, "and combine to ameliorate the hard conditions of society." The Church, in his view, is nothing more than a human society or association for purposes of common worship of God through Jesus Christ and of works of charity and benevolence. He is generally indifferent concerning questions of ritual in worship, being content that each man should follow his own bent in such matters. He goes further than the Low Churchman in divesting the

Sacraments of their supernatural character; indeed, it can hardly be said that the Sacraments, as defined in the Church Catechism, hold any real place in his religious system. His leading characteristics are: Unquestioned devotion to the amelioration of the misery that is in the world; a charitable tolerance of all men in matters of faith; and the unpretentious character of his own religion—for in his abhorrence of all kinds of hypocrisy he is often a far better man than he is willing to admit.

It must not be supposed that the Church is so completely divided into parties that every Churchman can readily be described as adhering to one or other of the theological systems outlined above. On the contrary, the average Churchman combines in himself characteristics drawn from each of the three parties; and it would be a far-reaching mistake to suppose that it is only High Churchmen who deeply reverence the Sacraments and show great devotion to the Church in her corporate capacity; or that only Low Churchmen realize the primary importance of personal religion, and are zealous in missionary work; or that only Broad Churchmen place in the forefront the necessity of dealing in a self-sacrificing spirit with the hard social conditions of our age. But it is true that few minds are large enough to grasp all truth equally at once, and my aim has been to exhibit some of the leading characteristics which have been developed in different minds in the Anglican Church. It only needs to add to this a recognition of the tendency for men of like views and opinions to band themselves together for their common work, and of the readiness of their fellow-men to stamp them with a distinctive name, and we have what are called "parties" in the Church. We may well believe that there is a work for each of these parties to fulfil, and that on the principle that every man has his proper gift of God, one after this manner and another after that, each of the parties contributes its appropriate and valuable quota to the fulness of the Church's life.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA—EDITOR'S NOTES

The Church of England in Cape Breton. The history and progress of the Church of England in the Island of Cape Breton—now a part of Nova Scotia—were dealt with at length by the Venerable David Smith, D.D., Archdeacon of Cape Breton, in the columns of the Halifax *Herald* on June 27th, 1896. From this valuable article the following facts are compiled. It seems that the first spiritual provision for the inhabitants of the Island, after it had passed into the hands of the English, was contemporaneous with the founding of the town of Sydney in the spring of 1785, when, after many years of stagnation and discontent amongst its limited population, Major DesBarres had arrived in Cape Breton as the new Governor, and at once decided to establish the seat of Government at the head of the south arm of Spanish River. To the new town, the building of which was begun in the spring of 1785, the Lieut.-Governor gave the name of Sydney, in honour of Thomas Townsend, Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary of the Ministry which had initiated the new policy of settlement, and encouragement to the Colonists. A number of persons, called the "Associated Loyalists," who arrived in Cape Breton in October, 1784, had obtained free grants of land, and early in the spring of 1785, they accompanied the Governor to Sydney, together with six companies of the 33rd Regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel York. From the period of the arrival of the troops must be dated the beginning of the history of the Church of England in the Town of Sydney and the Island of Cape Breton. No parish was formed until the following year, but entries in the parish register of baptisms, marriages and burials carry us back to April 18th, 1785. The Chaplain of the Forces and first officiating clergyman was the Rev. Benjamin Lovell, grandfather of the late Colonel Lovell, C.B., who was once commanding officer of the Royal Engineers at Halifax. The Rev. R. Cos-

CANADIAN SCENERY—VIEW OF MOUNT LEFROY IN THE ROCKIES.

sitt entered upon his duties as first Rector of the Parish of St. George, Cape Breton, about the 1st of June, 1786.

The Rev. Ranna Cossitt, who was of French extraction, and had officiated in the ministry of the Church in New England, held the Rectorship of the Parish of St. George from June, 1786, to July, 1805. The building of the parish church, which was of stone, was begun soon after his appointment, and the British Parliament voted £500 for the purpose. An additional vote of £300 towards its completion was made in 1803 at the instance of Lord Hobart. A large space in the church was reserved for the garrison, and occupied by it until the final withdrawal of the troops from Sydney at the time of the Crimean war. On this account Earl Bathurst, at the suggestion of Sir James Kempt, appropriated £250 from the coal mine revenue for its repair in the year 1821; and in 1839 a further grant of £150 for the same purpose was made by Sir Colin Campbell and Council, with the approval of the Marquess of Normanby, Colonial Secretary, and the Lords of the Treasury. Mr. Cossitt's ministrations were almost wholly confined to the town of Sydney, but he occasionally visited Mainadieu, where, on January 10th, 1803, he received into the Church twenty-nine children and one adult, who had been baptized by Mr. Charles Martell—for many years "lay reader" in that village. Two years later Mr. Cossitt left Sydney, and was appointed to the Rectory of Yarmouth, where he died. The year of his removal, 1805, is one of the most memorable in the annals of the Parish of St. George. Twenty years had passed since the establishment of the Church in the infant town of Sydney, and nineteen since the appointment of the first Rector, who was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to which the Church of England in all Canada is so deeply indebted; but it had not yet welcomed its Bishop. The first Episcopal visit and Confirmation occurred in this year, when the Right Rev. Charles Inglis, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, arrived in Sydney early in July, and officiated on Sunday, the 7th, and Sunday, the 14th of that month.

A period of eleven months elapsed between the departure of the Rev. R. Cossitt and the appointment of his successor, the Rev. William Twining, who took charge of the parish at the beginning of June, 1806. Mr. Twining was evidently a diligent and labourious pastor. The records describe missionary journeys to places never before visited by a clergyman of the Church of England. On the 22nd of August, 1807, he baptized three children at Arichat. On September 13th, 1811, he was at the Gut of Canso, where he baptized eighteen children and three adults. During the same month he baptized four infants at St. Peter's Bay. He received from the Government a stipend of £144 a year as Parochial Chaplain.

Among the persons baptized by Mr. Twining were two African boys, of twelve years of age, belonging to His Majesty's sloop "Adder," one of whom received the name of "Roderic Random." His incumbency of eight years terminated in the autumn of 1814. Besides his clerical duties, he also performed those of a Member of the Council of the Lieut.-Governor, Brigadier-General Nepean. After an interval of twelve or thirteen months, he was succeeded by the third Rector, the Rev. Robert P. Ferryman, who took charge of the parish in September, 1815, and left in April, 1816. The registers bear witness of his great energy and activity. During his short pastorate, Mr. Ferryman visited Sydney Mines, Bras d'Or, the North West Arm, St. Peters, Little River and the Gut of Canso. He baptized fifty-six children, nearly all of them infants of two years old and under.

The Rev. Herbert Binney, the next Rector, entered upon the duties of his office in November, 1816. On the 25th of September, 1818, he was married to a daughter of Mr. Richard Stout, his first child being Hibbert, afterwards Bishop of Nova Scotia. The Parish of St. George was coterminus with the Province of Cape Breton, and each succeeding Rector carried the ministrations of the Church into districts which had not been visited by his predecessors, being aided by the making of roads and the improved means of communication. Mr. Binney threw himself into this missionary work with great vigour. During his seven years' incumbency he baptized six hundred and sixteen persons; in 1819, one hundred and twenty-eight; and the year following, one hundred and twenty-six—most of them in districts in which the sacrament of baptism had never before been

administered. The 15th of September, 1819, was an eventful day, for at Gabarus, then visited apparently for the first time, sixty-six persons of various ages received the sacrament of baptism. In 1818, a grant of 380 acres of land in the vicinity of Sydney, to be held in trust for the benefit of the Rector, and of two small plots in the town of Sydney for a Rectory and paddock, was made by the Governor, Major-General Ainslie. Mr. Binney resigned in November, 1823. His successor was the Rev. Charles Ingles. Mr. Ingles spent the last fortnight of June and the first few days of July, 1824, on the Island, visiting Sydney, the North-West Arm, Gabarus, Louisbourg, Mira, Sydney Mines, Baddeck, Arichat and St. Peters, and baptizing in these places sixty-one persons.

The Parish of St. George was made co-extensive with the township of Sydney by the Council on April 7th, 1828, and at the suggestion of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. Some years later the Parish of Holy Trinity, Sydney Mines, of which the Rev. Mr. Elder was the first incumbent, and which has since been sub-divided, was formed out of the Parish of St. George. A few years ago the Mission of Cow Bay and Glace Bay was detached from St. George's, and erected into a parish, now known as the Parish of St. Paul's, Port Morien. Louisbourg, with Mainadieu and the surrounding country, was constituted a parish about the same time. The division of St. George's Parish in 1828 was doubtless due immediately to the knowledge of the condition and wants of the Church, which Bishop John Inglis had gathered on the occasion of his first visit the previous year. A Bishop was *rara avis in insula* in those days, and his arrival must have been looked forward to with much curiosity as well as interest. The people who had welcomed Bishop Charles Inglis twenty years after the Church had been established in Sydney probably did not contemplate the possibility that another twenty years and more might elapse, during which three Rectors would come and go and a fourth be settled among them, before he himself, or a successor, would again set foot upon the shores of Cape Breton. Yet so it was. Bishop Charles Inglis died in 1816. His immediate successor, the Right Rev. Dr. Stanser, was so appalled by ill-health and difficulties of the duties of his office that he never even attempted to discharge them, but withdrew to England, where he died in 1829. He resigned the Bishopric in 1825, and was succeeded by Dr. John Inglis, a son of the first Bishop. The new Bishop, whose Diocese was co-extensive with the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, first visited Sydney in 1827, and administered the rite of Confirmation. In the autumn of the previous year Mr. Ingles had sixty-seven candidates for the ordinance. It was not until the second visit of the Bishop, in 1833, that the church which had been used for nearly fifty years was consecrated.

The third and last Confirmation held in the parish by Bishop John Inglis was in 1843. Two more Episcopal visits were made during Mr. Ingles' incumbency, the former by the Right Rev. Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland, in 1850, and the latter in 1852 by Dr. Hibbert Binney, who, after leaving Sydney twenty-nine years before as a child of four years, now returned as a Bishop of the Church. Mr. Ingles resigned the Rectorship in 1853, and was succeeded by the Rev. R. J. Uniacke. He continued, however, to discharge the duties of acting Garrison Chaplain until the final withdrawal of the troops on September 23rd, 1854. In the following year he removed to Upper Canada and resided with his son, the late Rev. C. R. Ingles, Rector of Drummondville, in the Diocese of Niagara, From the year 1840 Mr. Ingles had received the assistance of the Rev. William Y. Porter, who with great energy and faithfulness discharged the duties of a travelling missionary, not only in the settlements immediately surrounding Sydney, but also in what are now the parishes of Louisbourg and Port Morien, and at Gabarus. His life was suddenly cut short on the 18th of February, 1859, by drowning, in the harbour of North Sydney. A tablet in the chancel of St. George's Church, erected by the various congregations which he had served, bears testimony to his faithful labours. In this year, during the incumbency of Dr. Uniacke, the parish church was rebuilt; three years later a chancel was added; in 1878 a tower and spire were erected. The church has two beautiful memorial windows—one in memory of Bishop Binney, and another in memory of the Hon. John Bourinot.

When the parish was divided in 1828, St. George's was the only place of worship which the Church of England possessed in what is now the county of Cape Breton. The Rectors on their missionary journeys officiated and dispensed the sacraments wherever a few people could be gathered together. The place of assembly at Louisbourg in Mr. Ingles' time was a log-house. The present Rector of Louisbourg, the Rev. T. F. Draper, was told by a parishioner who died recently, that he, with others, was baptized on the banks of the Mira River by the Rev. H. Binney. In July, 1832, Mr. Ingles baptized three Gaelic children in a boat at the entrance to the Big Bras d'Or Lake. Now there are consecrated churches at Coxheath, North West Arm, North Sydney, Sydney Mines, Glace Bay, Big Glace Bay, Reserve Mines, Port Morien, South Head of Cow Bay, Mainadieu, Louisbourg, and Lorraine. There are churches also at Arichat, Baddeck, Big Baddeck, and Neil's Harbour. But in the other parts of the island, in which the population is chiefly Gaelic, the Church of England is scarcely represented. In 1877, after twenty-five years of faithful service, Dr. Uniacke retired from active work and from Sydney, carrying with him the respect and esteem of all classes in the community. He retained, however, his connection with the parish until his death, which took place in Halifax in December, 1877. He was succeeded in the Rectorate by the Rev. Dr. Smith, who, having been assistant curate since 1872, took charge of the parish in October, 1877. From 1825, when the Archdeaconry of Nova Scotia was founded, until 1889, Cape Breton formed part of that archdeaconry. But in the latter year the present Bishop, Dr. Courtney, acting under the authority of letters patent, separated therefrom the four counties of Cape Breton, and erected the new Archdeaconry of Cape Breton, of which he appointed the Rector of Sydney as the first Archdeacon.

The Canadian Church in Pioneer Days. The early position of the Church in all the older Provinces of Canada is well illustrated in the following extracts from a Report prepared by Bishop George J. Mountain, of Quebec, dealing with the Upper Canada part of his large Diocese and presented to the Earl of Durham in November, 1838:

"The number of persons professing adherence to the Church of England in the Province of Upper Canada is roughly stated at 150,000. I believe it is by no means accurately known, but measures are understood to be in contemplation for ascertaining it. The number of clergy in the exercise of their ministry, including some whom I ordained during my Visitation, is seventy-three. The number of churches built, or in progress towards their completion, is about ninety. These data, however, would give a very imperfect idea of the condition and the wants of the population, as it respects the means of spiritual instruction, or, to speak more properly, could furnish no grounds whatever of forming a correct estimate upon the subject. The prodigious extent of country, the widely scattered location of the inhabitants, and the state of the roads in the settlements of more recent formation, must, as will readily appear to the judgment of Your Excellency, be all taken into the account; and it will be found, in point of fact, that a lamentable proportion of the Church of England population are destitute of any provision for their religious wants, another large proportion very insufficiently provided, and almost all the remainder served by a clergy who can only meet the demands made upon them by strained efforts, which prejudice their usefulness in other points.

The object of this Report to Your Excellency will, I presume, be sufficiently answered by the adduction of some particular examples in support of what I have just said. In travelling from the town of London to Goderich, I passed through a tract of country sixty miles in length, in which there is not one clergyman or minister of any Denomination. I believe I am safe in saying that the great majority of inhabitants, among whom are comprehended the Land Company's settlers, are of the Church of England; and the services of some of our missionaries, who have partially visited this tract of country, have been thankfully received by those who pass under other names. Between Wodehouse, upon Lake Erie, and St. Thomas, a distance of upwards of fifty miles, which may be travelled by two different roads, there is not one clergyman upon either.

From the reports made to me by one of our travelling missionaries, and by a solitary catechist stationed at Port Burwell, I know that there is a great body of Church people scattered through this part of the country. In the whole of the newly-erected district of Wellington, which is everywhere scattered over with a Church population, there is only one clergyman of the Church. In the district of Newcastle there are six. I have good reason to know that if ten more could be immediately added there would be full employment for them, with regular congregations. In one or two of the districts there is a missionary engaged in labours exclusively of an itinerant character; but how sparingly the word and ordinances of God are supplied, even to those among the unprovided settlements which are thus far favoured, Your Excellency will have no difficulty in conceiving. The clergy, however, except in the few comparatively large towns, are almost all more or less itinerants.

I take one example almost at hazard from the returns officially made to me, to which I could produce many parallel instances; it is that of a clergyman in the Bathurst District (a place noted at certain seasons for the excessive badness of the roads), who performs three full services every Sunday, distributing his labours in such a way in four different places, that once a fortnight he travels twenty-eight, and once a fortnight sixteen miles; besides which he has in the winter months four week-day appointments for divine service. Most of the clergy have what they call out-stations, which they serve in this manner on week-days, to supply settlements which would otherwise be wholly destitute; and many of them make occasional visits during the year to places still more remote. These objects they do not accomplish without many sacrifices, and much severe exertion; but the reward which they seek is not in the praise of men, and it is the value rather than the merit of their services to which I desire to solicit the attention of Your Excellency. I do not speak here of those higher effects which constitute the ground and ultimate object of their ministry, but in proportion as means are taken for the extension of their influence, in such proportion, My Lord, I have no hesitation in saying —for the effect is everywhere sufficiently marked— that the loyalty, the good order, the steady habits, the peaceable and industrious deportment of the population will be promoted, and the ties strengthened which bind the Colony to the parent State. Apart, also, from any consideration of preserving the supremacy of Britain over the Canadas, there is a sacred duty to be performed in laying such a foundation for the moral and religious character of the inhabitants in time to come as will best ensure their happiness and welfare; and it is not for me to point out to Your Excellency that it is now that this foundation must be laid. In the young settlements now struggling into existance, or beginning to develop the signs of prosperous improvement, we see the germ of a great and important future which must be vitally affected by the mould given to the population in this early stage of its formation. Millions who are yet unborn will have cause to bless or to reproach the present Government of Britain for the measures taken to provide for them those habits, principles and attachments, which form the only sure basis of national happiness.

Up to this period, although not a few people have been lost to the Church from the want of her ministrations, and a far more extensive defection must inevitably follow if things are left much longer upon their present footing; yet, very generally, the privations which have been experienced in this respect have served to teach our congregations the full value of those privileges which are enjoyed at home. The importunate solicitations which I constantly receive from different quarters of this Province for the supply of clerical services; the overflowing warmth of feeling with which the travelling missionaries of the Church are greeted in their visits to the destitute settlements; the marks of affection and respect towards my own office which I experienced throughout the Province; the exertions made by the people, in a great number of instances, to erect churches even without any definite prospect of a minister, and the examples in which this has been done by individuals at their own private expense; the rapidly increasing circulation of the religious newspaper, which is called *The Church*, these are altogether unequivocal and striking evidences of the attachment to Church principles which pervades a great body of the population."

Early Financial History of the Church. The necessity of external aid to those engaged in missionary labours in a new and pioneer community is very clear, and to the Canadian Provinces it has been given by the Imperial Government, by British religious societies, and by private individuals in most bountiful measure. This has been especially the case in the early history of the Church of England in Canada, and for this reason the following extracts from an elaborate pamphlet prepared and published by Bishop Strachan, in January, 1849, are of considerable value: "In order to give as complete and satisfactory an account of the secular affairs of the Church in this Province as I am able, it appears necessary to commence from the beginning. The clergy in the British Colonies before the American Revolution were chiefly, if not all, missionaries sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. After the peace of 1783, this Society withdrew all assistance from such of the missionaries as remained in the United States, and recognized those only who removed into the Colonies which still remained faithful to their allegiance, and to these they determined in future to confine their benevolence. And here it may be observed, that the Society from its first incorporation in 1701 requires, as it still requires, before sending out a missionary to any new place in the Colonies, that a petition be presented by the people or congregation of such place requesting a clergyman, and signifying their ability and willingness to contribute towards his support. It was further required that a church should be immediately built, a glebe secured, a parsonage therein erected, and a subscription entered into for the missionary's maintenance. All this having been done a missionary was sent with a salary of £50 sterling per annum, and an outfit of not less than £30. But if the people failed in their engagements the missionary was removed to another station where the like terms were insisted upon and guaranteed.

The Society never intended to relieve the people from all expense in the support of religion. Their object has ever been to cherish and assist the exertions of the Colonists, and to encourage poor and feeble congregations for a time, and as they became able and willing to maintain public worship, the Society expect them to do so, and to do it wholly, so that the salary and other aid which they had perhaps for a long time enjoyed, might be transferred to some other settlement where the people were still poor and destitute, and thus by transferring the same assistance to many different places in succession, the Society would be enabled to do much more good at a comparatively small expense. The Rev. Dr. Stuart, who had been many years Missionary to the Six Nations, on the Mohawk River, was the only clergyman who came into Upper Canada on the restoration of peace. He took up his residence at Kingston, where he soon gathered a respectable congregation, while he made occasional visits to his old parishioners, the Six Nations, a portion of whom had settled in the Bay of Quinte. In his new station the Society continued to Dr. Stuart his allowance of £50 per annum, and the Government granted him a stipend of £100 sterling in addition. The Rev. John Langhorne was some years after sent out by the Society from England, and received from them and the Provincial Government the same stipend as had been granted to Dr. Stuart.

On the division of the Government of Quebec into two Provinces, the portion of the stipends of these two clergymen paid by Government was transferred to the Civil List of Upper Canada, and no other clergyman appears to have been paid out of the Provincial revenue till the appointment of the Rev. John Weagant in 1814. The other clergymen of the Established Church, who from time to time settled in the Province, were paid £100 sterling each, by the Provincial Agent in London, on whom they drew half-yearly, as well as on the Society for half that amount, of £50 sterling. I find in the estimate of the Provincial expenditure in 1817, which was laid before the Legislature, because in that year it had assumed the payment of the Civil List, an allowance of four hundred pounds to four clergymen as part of the charge which the Secretary of State had sanctioned, although only three had been as yet appointed. This item was, however, struck out by the House of Assembly, and the charge thrown upon the Crown Revenue. Since that period none of the clergy have been paid from the revenues at the disposal of the Legislature.

In 1813, the few clergymen, only five in number, serving in the Province, found their small incomes very much reduced from causes over which they had no control. First: The property tax of ten per cent. was levied on their salaries, being paid in England. Second: Their bills on London being of small amount, were subject to a deduction from exchange of from twenty-two and one-half to twenty-seven per cent. Third: To this was added a depreciation of twenty-five per cent. on army bills, almost the only currency in the Colony. All these items, when added, made a fearful deduction from the small incomes of the clergy. In this dilemma I was requested by my brethren to make a full statement of the facts to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, who was always most anxious to protect and assist his clergy. His Lordship lost no time in forwarding this statement, accompanied by a very strong representation of his own to the Government at home as well as to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stating our great distress and urging the necessity of immediate relief. Not satisfied with this, the Bishop, in a second dispatch to the Society, of the 5th of November, 1813, impressed upon them in the strongest language the justice of increasing their allowances to their missionaries, and without waiting for the action of the Government, which in a period of such peril might be long delayed, to cover at least the loss by exchange and the property tax. So much was immediately done by the Society, and at length the Bishop's urgent representations, aided by the combined exertions of the Society, induced the Government to give their attention to the subject. The result was an arrangement entered into by the Government to make an annual grant to the Society from Parliament of £16,000, by which they were enabled, with their own funds, to allow their missionaries in British North America £200 per annum, clear of all deductions.

The effect of this was to raise the incomes of the missionaries from £150, their former nominal allowance, to £200; but inasmuch as the £150 had been liable to the property tax and loss by exchange, they were allowed to add these to their bills so long as such charges continued, so that the real proceeds should be exactly £200. In regard to loss from army bills, it could not be taken into account. From this arrangement the Incumbent of Toronto, then York, was so far excepted, that no addition was made to his income, because being at the Seat of Government it had been settled at £275. But he had leave to add the amount of loss by exchange and the property tax, so long as they continued, that his income might suffer no diminution. For all this the clergy was indebted to the first Bishop of Quebec, strongly seconded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—for His Lordship never rested after he became acquainted with the pecuniary difficulties which were distressing his clergy till a remedy was found. Under this arrangement matters remained without disturbance till 1833. In the meantime exchange instead of continuing adverse became favourable, and in 1816 the property tax was repealed, but of these advantages neither the Government nor the Society took any notice.

For several years prior to 1833, strong objections had been made in Parliament, when the Colonial estimates were voted, to the grants for the support of Religious Establishments, and more especially those of the British North American Colonies. The Ministry being weak, or, perhaps, participating in the same spirit, gave way, or as they said, found themselves compelled to relinquish the grant of £16,000 per annum, not at once, but in a gradual manner by four thousand pounds annually—though afterwards they consented to continue a small portion of £4,000 for the benefit of Nova Scotia, where there were no local resources. When this arrangement was made only two of the clergy with whom, through the representation of the first Bishop of Quebec, that of 1813 was made, remained—the Archdeacon of Kingston and the then Archdeacon of York. The immediate consequence of the loss of so great a portion of their income would have compelled the Society to reduce the salaries of all their missionaries to such a sum as their own funds might supply, which it was found would not exceed one-half of £100 per annum. But the remonstrance made by the Society and the Colonial Bishops induced the Government to pause and at length to re-consider the matter with a favourable intention.

Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the

Colonial Department, showed much good feeling on the occasion and took great pains to find some mitigation of the evil which the Government was inflicting on a meritorious class of men, who had a just claim to the continuance of their stipends during their lives. After much enquiry, His Lordship proposed a partial remedy, to take effect from the 1st of July, 1833; at the same time lamenting the impossibility of continuing to the missionaries the full amount of the emoluments, of which the expectation had been held out to them when they proceeded to the Colonies. He therein acknowledged the principle of protecting persons actually in the employment from loss; but nevertheless declared that there were, unfortunately, not the means of carrying this rule fully into effect in the case of the missionaries, but that he felt the justice of acting upon it so far as circumstances would permit. The partial remedy was to reduce the salaries of the missionaries 15 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. as at first intended; and for the Government to assume the payment of the stipends of all the missionaries in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia at that reduced rate, leaving the other North American Colonies with the Society, the missionaries of which were to be paid from their own funds to the same amount, the appropriation to diminish as missionaries dropped off, and at length to cease altogether. It is further stated, that the sole object of the arrangement is to secure some competent provision for those individuals who have heretofore been engaged as missionaries, as it is not intended to apply to any future missions, or to any other Ecclesiastical establishment in these Colonies. The Lords of the Treasury request to be favoured with a statement specifying the names of the Society's missionaries now employed in Upper and Lower Canada, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; the periods at which they were sent out by the Society; the places at which they are stationed; the amount of the stipends they received prior to the 1st July, 1833, either from the Society or the Colonial Funds, or other sources; and the amount of the stipends to which they will now be entitled. And, my Lords conceive it will be proper that copies of these should be transmitted to the Governors of each of the respective Colonies, with directions to report all casualities that may occur among the individuals whose names appear in them, in order to the gradual reduction and discontinuance, both of the applications to Parliament, and of the appropriations of Colonial Funds, as the parties may die off, or otherwise remove from or resign their missions.

Hence it would appear that the benefit of this arrangement was, in the view of the Government, confined to those actually sent out by the Society and serving in Missions, on the 1st of July, 1833. And this may account for the fact that in the list of missionaries returned by the Society, for Upper Canada, some have no stipends opposite to their names, or only £100. Such must have come out of their own accord, or been ordained in the Province; the number of these last is not great, being only seven or eight; but I consider their case to be one of peculiar hardship, and well deserving the favourable consideration of the venerable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. . . . But though the arguments and remonstrances of the Society failed to produce any effect, the representations from the Colonies induced Ministers to relax, in some degree, from their resolve, and to make a small provision for clergymen who have already undertaken their high, important and responsible situation on the implied faith of the Government. The missionary, on the faith of that assurance, has established his family and himself in a far distant land in the wilderness, and has, in some cases, expended his slender means in building a parsonage house. The Government has now consented to pay to the missionaries their former salaries, deducting fifteen per cent. He who received £200 is now to receive £170.

After the completion of this arrangement, the clergy of Upper Canada were paid by the Government, and had not for a short time the same intercourse as formerly with the Society, which, nevertheless, continued to assist in building our churches and parsonages, purchasing land for glebes and sites of churches, furnishing catechists, etc., and meeting, with a benevolence only bounded by their resources, such pressing wants as were brought under their consideration."

And, as the Bishop proceeds to point out, when the Bishopric of Toronto was established in 1839,

the Society enlarged its local donations far beyond even its former generosity, as the following table most amply proves:

1841	£5,474	6	9
1842	6,033	0	4
1843	7,573	4	2
1844	6,016	2	4
1845	5,750	9	8
1846	5,502	16	4
1847	5,828	18	0
Total in seven years	£42,178	17	7

These extracts fully illustrate the historic part taken by England in helping the infant Church in Canada. They are still further borne out by Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin in his valuable work published in 1843 dealing with the "History of the British Colonies." It gives a great many statistics which illustrate very fully the financial condition of the Church of England in British America during the year 1836. Concerning the position in Upper Canada the following figures are given of what was termed "Clergy Fund Expenditure" for that year, and they show the immense financial aid given to the Anglican Church and other Denominations by the Imperial Government in the early stages of Canadian development:

Erection of parsonage houses, £367; Missionaries of Church of England, £4,500; Archdeacon of York and Kingston, £600; Secretary to Clergy Corporation, £270: Office of ditto, £92; Archdeacon of York, £300 per annum; Ditto of Kingston, £300; Roman Catholic Bishop, £500; Ministers of Church of England, £7,065; Ditto of Scotland, £1,541; Ditto of Protestant Synod of Upper Canada, £699; Roman Catholic clergy, £1,000; contingent religious expenses, £639; total, £17,873.

For the Province of Quebec, with its Roman Catholic population, and a Church of England establishment of one Bishop and forty clergymen, the ecclesiastical charges, voted in the British Parliamentary estimates for the year ending 31st March, 1835, were as follows: Bishop of Quebec, salary, £3,000; Archdeacon ditto, £500; Rector ditto, £490; Minister of Trinity Chapel, Quebec, £200; Montreal Rector, £300; Three Rivers ditto, £200; William Henry, ditto, £150; Durham ditto, £100; Chatham ditto, £100; Caldwell Manor ditto, £100; St. Armand ditto, £100: Evening lectures at Quebec, £100; Verger of ditto, £150; Quebec Presbyterian Minister, £50: Montreal ditto, £50; Argenteuil ditto, £100; Roman Catholic Bishops of Quebec, £1,000. In addition to the foregoing, there was a sum of £4,000 granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in all the North American Provinces, making a total of £10,690.

During the same year, the expenses incurred by the Home Government on behalf of Nova Scotia were £2,000 in salary paid to its Bishop, £300 to the Archdeacon, £50 to the President of King's College, and £75 to a Presbyterian Minister. At this time the Established Church in New Brunswick was still within the Diocese of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Martin states his inability to exactly describe the condition of the Church. But he says that many congregations were held in the school-houses and other unconsecrated buildings at various, and sometimes great, distances from the clergyman's residence; that hardly any country parish was effectually served; and that the returns made to the Archdeacon specified forty-seven congregations, comprising from 3,300 to 3,800 persons. The income of the clergyman was in all cases derived from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and was formerly £200 sterling to each Rector, but this had been lately subjected to a reduction of twenty-five per cent. The Society's allowance to the Rector of Douglas was £75; to the Rector of Dumfries and Westmoreland, £100 each; to the Curate at St. John's, £75; the Curates at Fredericton, Kingston, St. Stephen's and Chatham, £50 each.

It will be observed from these figures that the expenditure of the Imperial Government upon religious Denominations—chiefly the Church of England—during this one year was over £30,000 or $150,000. These two historical references will afford some general indication of the money spent in the same way and from the same source during the first half century of Canadian life. It does not, of course, give any idea of the still larger and more continuous expenditure of the S.P.G. or S.P.C.K. and similar Church Societies during

a much longer period. In the early "forties," for instance, the "Church Bishoprics' Fund" was established in London to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in the erection and endowment of Colonial Dioceses. By 1850 the report of the Treasurers—of whom the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone was one—showed an expenditure of £133,600, or $668,000, and the provision of "competent endowments" for five Colonial Bishoprics, of which Fredericton, N.B., was one; and the partial endowment of six others including Rupert's Land. The endowments of Quebec and Nova Scotia were from the Imperial Treasury.

Declaration of the Bishops in 1851. At a time when Church of England institutions and government in British America were still in the position of evolution natural to their transfer from the soil of an old country and surroundings of State control, to a new and sometimes aggressively democratic community, the Bishops of the various Colonies met in Conference at Quebec, September 24th to October 1st, 1851, and issued an important Declaration of principles and administration. Those who were present and who signed the document were Dr. George Mountain, of Quebec; Dr. John Strachan, of Toronto; Dr. Edward Feild, of Newfoundland; Dr. John Medley, of Fredericton, N.B.; and Dr. Francis Fulford, of Montreal. The Declaration was as follows:

"1. We, the undersigned Bishops of the North American Colonies in the Province of Canterbury, having had opportunity granted to us of meeting together, have thereupon conferred with each other respecting the trust and charge committed to our hands and certain peculiar difficulties of a local nature which attach to the same. We desire, therefore, in the first place to record our thankfulness that we have been so permitted to assemble, and our sense of the responsibility lying upon us before God and the world to promote the glory of His great name, to advance the Kingdom of His Son, to see the salvation of immortal souls, and, what we feel to be inseparably united with these objects, to establish and extend, whenever there is a demand for her services, the system, the teaching, the worship and the ordinances of the United Church of England and Ireland. We feel that, in the prosecution of this great work, we are surrounded by many discouragements, embarrassments and hindrances, which, by the grace of God, we are prepared patiently to encounter, and, while they may be appointed to continue, patiently to endure, but for which, nevertheless, it is our duty to seek all lawful remedy, if such remedy is to be found. We have therefore prepared the statement which follows, of our views in relation to these subjects of our care and solicitude, and we desire to commend it to the favourable consideration of our Metropolitan, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in the hope that he may be moved to assist us in obtaining relief from those evils of which we have to complain, as well as to counsel us in the disposal of questions which come before us in the exercise of our Episcopal duties.

2. In consequence of the anomalous state of the Church of England in these Colonies, with reference to its general government, and the doubts entertained as to the validity of any code of Ecclesiastical Law, the Bishops of these Dioceses experience great difficulty in acting in accordance with their Episcopal commission and prerogatives, and their decisions are liable to misconstruction, as if emanating from their individual will, and not from the general body of the Church; we therefore consider it desirable, in the first place, that the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Church of England in each Diocese should meet together in Synod, at such times and in such manner as may be agreed. Secondly, that the Laity in such Synod should meet by representation, and that their representatives be communicants. Thirdly, it is our opinion that, as questions will arise from time to time which will affect the welfare of the Church in these Colonies, it is desirable that the Bishops, Laity and Clergy should meet in Council under a Provincial Metropolitan, with power to frame such rules and regulations for the better conduct of our ecclesiastical affairs as by the said Council may be deemed expedient. Fourthly, that the said Council should be divided into two Houses, the one consisting of the Bishops of these several Dioceses under their Metropolitan, and the other of the presbyters and lay members of the Church assembled (as before mentioned) by representation.

3. Doubts being entertained as to who are to be regarded as members of the Church of England in the Colonies, and as such, what are their special duties and rights, we are of opinion that Church membership requires (1) admission into the Christian covenant by Holy Baptism, as our Lord commanded: In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; (2) that all Church members are bound, according to their knowledge and opportunities, to consent and conform to the rules and ordinances of the Church; and (3) according to their ability, and as God hath blessed them, to contribute to the support of the Church, and especially of those who minister to them in holy things. Upon the fulfilment of these duties, they may, as Church members, claim at our hands, and at the hands of our clergy generally, all customary services and ministrations. We cheerfully recognize the duty and privilege of preaching the Gospel to the poor, and of allowing to those who can make us no worldly recompense the claim upon our services, in public and in private, which we grant to the more wealthy members of our flock. We are further of opinion that Church members in full communion are those only who receive, with their brethren, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at the hands of their lawful Ministers as directed and enjoined by the Canons and Rubrics of our Prayer Book. Persons chosen as representatives of any Parish or Mission to attend any Synod or Convocation, should in every case be members of the Church in full communion.

4. Although it is confessedly impossible under existing circumstances to observe all these Canons, yet we are of opinion that they should be complied with so far as it is lawful and practicable. But inasmuch as the retention of rules which cannot be obeyed is manifestly inexpedient, and tends to lessen the respect due to all laws, we hold that a revision of the Canons is highly desirable, provided it be done by competent authority.

5. Whereas the multiplication of sects, among those who profess and call themselves Christians, appealing to the same Scriptures in support of divers and conflicting doctrines, renders a fixed uniform standard and interpretation of Scriptures more than ever necessary, we desire to express our thankfulness to Almighty God for the preservation of the Book of Common Prayer, our entire and cordial agreement with the Articles and Formularies of our Church, taken in their literal sense, and our earnest wish (as far as in us lies) faithfully to teach the doctrines and to use the offices of our Church in the manner prescribed in the said Book. And we desire that all the members of our Church should accept the teaching of the Prayer Book as, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, their best help in the understanding of Holy Scripture, and as the ground-work of the religious education of their children.

6. We are of opinion that the Bishop, as Ordinary, may authorize the division of the morning service, by the use of the Morning Prayer, Litany, or Communion Service, separately, as may be required, but that no private clergyman has authority, at his own discretion, to abridge or alter the Services or Offices, or to change the Lessons of the Church.

7. Whereas the multiplication in churches of different Hymn Books, published without authority, is irregular in itself, and has a tendency to promote division among us, we are of opinion that a judicious selection of Psalms and Hymns by competent authority would tend much to the furtherance of devotion and to the edification of pious Churchmen.

8. We are of opinion that it is desirable and seemly and would tend to a uniformity of practice among us, that whenever a collection is made after Sermon, in time of Morning Prayer, the offertory sentences should be read, and the prayer for the Church Militant should be used.

9. We hold it to be of great importance that the clergy should attend to the directions of the Rubric which precede the administration of the Holy Communion, respecting open and notorious evil livers, and those who have done wrong to their neighbours by word or deed, and those also betwixt whom they perceive malice and hatred to reign, and that members of the Church should signify to the Minister their intention to present themselves at the Holy Table, especially when they arrive in any place as strangers, or when, being residents in such place, they are purposing to communicate for the first time. We conceive that it would greatly promote the welfare of the

Church if our members, who may be travelling from one place to another, were furnished with a certificate of their membership and of their standing in the Church.

10. We hold that a Clergyman knowingly celebrating marriage between persons who are related to each other within the prohibited degrees set forth in a Table of Degrees published by our Church in the year of our Lord God, 1563, is acting in violation of the laws of God and of the Church, and is liable to censure and punishment; and that persons who contract such marriages should not be admitted to the Holy Communion, except upon repentance and putting away their sin. And we recommend that the aforesaid 'Table of Prohibited Degrees' should be put up in every church in our Dioceses. We are further of opinion that injustice is done our Church in withholding from our Bishops the power of granting Marriage Licenses, which is exercised by the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and that in several Dioceses great irregularities and grievous evils prevail, in consequence of the defective state of the Marriage Law. We also hold that the clergy of our Church should abstain from celebrating a marriage between persons, both of whom professedly belong to another communion, except in cases where the services of no other Minister can be procured.

11. We would earnestly recommend to the clergy of our Dioceses (even though it should not be required by the civil law) to keep accurate Registers of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, in their several Parishes or Missions.

12. We are of opinion that it is much to be desired that there should be no let or hindrance to a full and free communion between ourselves and other Reformed Episcopal Churches, and therefore that where we derive our Orders from the same source, hold the same doctrines, and are virtually united as members of the same body of Christ, these impediments which (as we are advised) are now in force through the operations of the civil law, ought to be removed.

13. *General Education.* Whereas systems of education are very generally introduced and supported in these Colonies, either (1) excluding religious instruction altogether from the schools, or (2) recognizing no distinction between Roman Catholics and Protestants, whereby no opportunity is afforded us of bringing up the children of our communion in the special doctrines and duties of our faith, to the manifest deprivation of their religious principles, and with crying injustice to the Church of England, we desire to express our decided conviction:

1. That all education for the members of our Church should be distinctly based on the revealed religion of the Old and New Testaments, with special reference to their duties and privileges as by baptism regenerate, and made God's children by adoption and grace. 2. That all lawful and honourable methods should be adopted to move the Colonial Legislatures to make grants to the Church of England as well as the Roman Catholics and other religious bodies, as they may require it, and according to their numbers respectively, for the education of the members of their own communion.

Sunday Schools. 1. We desire to express our sense of the importance, in the existing state of the Church, of Sunday Schools, especially in large towns, and we thankfully acknowledge the benefits which have resulted from the labours of pious teachers both to themselves and their scholars, under proper direction and superintendence. In every possible case, the Sunday School should be under the personal direction and superintendence of the Minister of the parish or district, or otherwise the Minister should appoint the teachers, choose the books and regulate the course of instruction, that there be no contradiction between the teaching of the school and the Church; all Sunday scholars should be instructed in the Church Catechism, and regularly taken to church.

2. We would carefully guard against the assumption that instruction in the Sunday School, even by the Minister of the Parish, may be allowed to supersede the directions of the Rubrics and Canons, and the duty of catechizing in Church, for we distinctly recognize and affirm as well the great importance, as the sacred obligation, of those directions.

Other Educational Institutions. Schools for the higher classes of both sexes are much required, with particular reference to assising the clergy in the education of their own children. Although we consider it of great importance that each

Bishop should connect with his Diocese some college or like institution for the special training and preparation of young men for the Ministry of the Church, we believe that one University for the North American Provinces, with foundations for each Diocese, on the model of the two great Universities, will be required to complete an educational system, as well for lay students in every department of literature and science, as for the students in theology, and candidates for the sacred Ministry.

In addition to the general studies pursued in the College or University, we deem it highly desirable that candidates for the Ministry should apply themselves, under competent direction, to a systematic course of reading in theology for at least one whole year, or longer if possible, previous to their taking Holy Orders, and that they should likewise be instructed in the duties of the pastoral office, in correct reading and delivering of sermons, in Church music, architecture, etc. We deem it very desirable also that libraries should be formed in every Diocese under the direction of the clergy, both for the clergy themselves and for their parishioners.

14. We would wish to discontinue the practice which the necessities of the Church have sometimes forced upon us, of entrusting large independent spheres of duty to young and inexperienced men in Deacons' Orders, deeming it desirable that every deacon should, if possible, be placed under the direction of an experienced priest.

15. While we hold it to be the duty of Christian Governments to maintain inviolate whatever endowments have been lawfully and religiously made for the establishment, support, or extension of the Christian religion, and while we acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude the aid given to our missions by the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whose fostering care and bounty the Church in these Colonies owes, under God, its existence and means of usefulness, we desire to record our conviction that the ordinances of the Church will never be rightly valued, nor its strength fully developed, until the people, for whose benefit the clergy minister in holy things, furnish a more adequate support to the institutions and to the clergy of their Church. Further, as the Society, in consequence of numerous and increasing claims in all parts of the world, is compelled gradually to withdraw its aid, we desire to impress on all our flocks the duty of fulfilling their obligations, in respect to the payment of their ministers, and with a view to this object, we recommend that the churchwardens in each parish or mission should furnish every year to the Bishop a written return, duly certified by themselves and the clergyman, of the sums paid to his support for the current year.

16. Lastly, while we acknowledge it to be the bounden duty of ourselves and our clergy, by God's grace assisting us in our several stations, to do the work of good evangelists, yet we desire to remember that we have most solemnly pledged ourselves to fulfil this work of our Ministry according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and as faithful subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction. And we cannot forbear expressing our unfeigned thankfulness to Almighty God that he has preserved to us, in this branch of Christ's Holy Church, the assurance of an Apostolic commission for our ministerial calling, and together with it a confession of pure and Catholic truth, and the fulness of sacramental grace. May He graciously be pleased to direct and guide us all in the use of these precious gifts, enable us to serve Him in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life, and finally bring us to His Heavenly Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

(Signed) G. J. Quebec,
John Toronto,
Edward Newfoundland,
John Fredericton,
F. Montreal."

Bishop Fulford on the Status of the Church. On the 20th of January, 1852, Bishop Fulford of Montreal delivered a carefully prepared and important Charge to fifty clergymen and others of his Diocese. It was an address dealing in the

main with the status of the Colonial Church and its relationship towards the Established Church of the Mother Land, and is therefore of considerable historical value. The following are the most interesting portions in this connection:

"It is my wish, in the first place, to direct your attention to the real position which, as members of the United Church of England and Ireland, we occupy in this Diocese. While, spiritually, we are identified with the Church in the Mother Country—emanating from her, using the same liturgy, subscribing the same Articles, blessed with the same Apostolic Ministry, visibly forming part of the same ecclesiastical body, and claiming as our own all her mighty champions, confessors and martyrs—yet, in a political sense, and as regards temporalities, and everything that is understood by a legal establishment, or as conferring special privileges above other religious communities, we are in a totally dissimilar situation. Whether it ever was contemplated, in these respects, to carry out the Church of England in Canada, certainly it has never been practically effected. Politically considered, we exist but as one of many religious bodies, consisting of such persons as may voluntarily declare themselves to be members of our Church and who thus associate together because they are agreed upon certain principles and doctrines according to which they believe it to have been from the beginning the rule of the Church to serve and worship God. The abstract truth of any religious principles or doctrines in no way depends on the degree of countenance which they may receive from the authorities of the State, nor can there be the slightest advantage or wisdom, but quite the reverse, in putting forward claims of the nature above mentioned, which we cannot fully substantiate, and which, circumstanced as we are here, if they were to be granted to us to-day, it must be absolutely absurd for us to expect to maintain.

But while we have been held to be identical with the Church in England, this practical and essential difference in our political and legal position has never been provided for, and the consequence has been that we have lost the administrative power provided for the Church by its legal establishment at home, and none has been supplied adapted to our condition here. We seem to have been deprived of the ecclesiastical law of England, and have not been provided with any recognized and effectual means of self-government for those who associate themselves together as members of our communion in Canada. The only alternative has been to seek a remedy in the discretionary exercise of Episcopal rule and superintendence; an alternative which is always available in all cases, and which by casting too much responsibility upon the individual judgment and decision of the Bishop, has a tendency to deprive his decisions of much of that influence and authority which ought to attach to all the acts of the ecclesiastical body.

It cannot be thought unreasonable that we should all anxiously seek a remedy for this evil. It was a full consciousness of our unsatisfactory state, in this respect, that influenced the Bishops assembled at Quebec at our recent Episcopal Conference, when we unanimously agreed amongst others, to a Resolution expressing opinions almost identical with those which we lately embodied in the proceedings of our 'Church Society' at one of the meetings of the Central Board, namely: 'That in consequence of the anomalous state of the Church of England in these Colonies, with reference to its general government, and the doubts entertained as to the validity of any code of ecclesiastical law, the Bishops of these Dioceses experience great difficulty in acting in accordance with their Episcopal commission and prerogatives, and their decisions are liable to misconstruction, as if emanating from their individual will and not from the general body of the Church, and that, therefore, it was considered desirable that the Bishops, clergy and laity of the Church of England, in each Diocese, should meet together in Synod at such times, and in such manner as may be agreed; the laity meeting by representation, and that their representatives must be communicants.' I most firmly believe that a provision, such as is thus recommended, for the purpose of supplying sufficient means of self-government for the Church (having reference, of course, only to those who, by voluntarily joining our communion, must necessarily be subject to its rules), would not only have the happiest influence on the Church at large, but would also strengthen the true and legitimate influence of the Bishop, and

cause increased reverence and respect for his office and authority."

Declaration of the Toronto Synod in 1854. Following the important Declaration of the Bishops in 1851, and the Charge by Bishop Fulford in 1852, came the series of Resolutions adopted by the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto on the 26th of October, 1854, defining still further the position and principles of the Church of England in Canada. The document was as follows:

"*Preliminary Declaration.* We, the Bishops, the Clergy, and Representatives of the Laity of the United Church of England and Ireland within the Diocese of Toronto, assembled in Synod, and intending, under God's blessing and guidance, to consider and determine upon such matters as shall appear necessary for the welfare of the Church in this Diocese, desire, in the first place, to make a declaration of the principles upon which we propose to proceed.

Unity of the Church. Her Doctrinal Standards. We desire that the Church in this Colony shall continue, as it has been, an integral portion of the United Church of England and Ireland. As members of that Church, we recognize the true Canon of Holy Scriptures, as received by that Church, to be the rule and standard of faith; we acknowledge the Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments, together with the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, to be the true and faithful declaration of the doctrines contained in Holy Scripture; we maintain the form of Church government by Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as Scriptural and Apostolical; and we declare our firm and unanimous resolution, in dependence on Divine aid, to preserve those doctrines and that form of Church government and to transmit them to our posterity. In particular, we uphold the ancient doctrine of our Church, that the Queen is rightly possessed of the chief government or supremacy over all persons within her dominions, in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and we desire that such supremacy should continue unimpaired.

Subjects for Synodical Action. It is our earnest wish and determination to confine our deliberations and actions to matters of discipline, to the temporalities of the Church, and to such regulations of order as may tend to her efficiency and extension, and we desire no control or authority over any but those who are, or shall be, members of our own Church. We conceive that the following, and such like objects, may fitly come under our consideration, and lead to action on our part:

1. To frame a constitution for the Synod, and to regulate the time and place of its meetings, and the order and manner of its proceedings.

2. To provide for the proper exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to both clergy and laity.

3. To provide for the extension and temporal well-being of the Church, and the support of the clergy and school-masters, for the maintenance of public worship, and the diffusion of a sound religious education.

4. To promote and regulate the building and consecration of churches, and the erection of parsonages and school-houses.

5. To provide for the division of the Diocese into parishes, with regulations for future subdivisions.

6. To provide, with consent of the Crown, where needed, fit regulations for the appointment of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

7. To regulate the fees for marriage and other offices of the Church.

8. To provide, with the consent of the Crown, for the division of the Diocese into new Dioceses, either forthwith or at a future period.

9. To procure from the Colonial Legislature any laws or modification of laws which the circumstances of the Church may require."

The Diocesan Organization of the Church. In order to better promote and consolidate the offerings of the Church for the promotion of its various objects, a Church Society was established in Upper Canada in 1842. Its special objects were: (1) The support of the clergy and their widows and orphans; (2) Promoting Day and Sunday Schools; (3) Helping candidates for Holy Orders; (4) To be a Bible and Book Society; and (5) To aid in building churches, parsonages, etc. The system soon spread throughout the various Dioceses and did excellent service for the time being.

But the very effort at organization made the need of a fuller and more complete scheme evident to all concerned, and the advantages of Synodical action were soon pressed upon the Church on all sides. In this process the success of the Conciliar organization of the American Church undoubtedly had some weight in the eyes of the Canadian Churchmen. There were many differences of opinion, however, as to the advisability of the Church in Canada thus nominally separating itself from the control of the Church in England, and even as to its power to do so. Eventually the following Act of the Canadian Legislature—19 and 20 Vic., Cap. 121—was passed in June, 1856, reserved by the Governor-General for Imperial approval and duly proclaimed on May 28, 1857 :

"Whereas doubts exist whether the members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in this Province, have the power of regulating the affairs of their Church, in matters relating to discipline, and necessary to order and good government, and it is just that such doubts should be removed in order that they may be permitted to exercise the same rights of self-government that are enjoyed by other religious communities; therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada, enacts as follows :

1. The Bishops, Clergy and Laity, members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in this Province, may meet in their several Dioceses, which are now, or may be hereafter constituted in this Province, and in such manner and by such proceedings as they shall adopt, frame constitutions and make regulations for enforcing discipline in the Church, for the appointment, deposition, deprivation, or removal of any person bearing office therein, of whatever order or degree, any rights of the Crown to the contrary notwithstanding, and for the convenient and orderly management of the property, affairs, and interests of the Church in matters relating to, and affecting only, the said Church and the officers and members thereof, and not in any manner interfering with the rights, privileges, or interests of other religious communities, or of any person or persons not being a member or members of the said United Church of England and Ireland; provided always, that such constitutions and regulations shall apply only to the Diocese or Dioceses adopting the same.

2. The Bishops, Clergy and Laity, members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in this Province, may meet in General Assembly within this Province by such representatives as shall be determined and declared by them in their several Dioceses; and in such General Assembly frame a constitution and regulations for the general management and good government of the said Church in this Province; provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall authorize the imposition of any rate or tax upon any person or persons whomsoever, whether belonging to the said Church or not, or the infliction of any punishment, fine, or penalty upon any person, other than his suspension or removal from any office in the said Church, or exclusion from the meetings or proceedings of the Diocesan or General Synods; and provided also, nothing in the said constitutions or regulations, or any of them, shall be contrary to any law or statute now or hereafter in force in this Province."

Doubts being entertained in some quarters as to the operations and application of this Church enactment, the following amended and explanatory Act was passed by the Legislature—22 Vic., Cap. 139—and assented to on August 16th, 1858 :

"Whereas doubts exist whether in the Act passed in the nineteenth and twentieth years of Her Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act to enable the members of the United Church of England and Ireland, in Canada, to meet in Synod,' sufficient provision is made for the representation of the laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Synods by the said Act authorized to be held, and it is expedient that such doubts should be removed; therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada, enacts as follows: 1. For all the purposes of the aforesaid Act, the laity shall meet by representation; and until it shall be otherwise determined by the Synod in each Diocese, one or more delegates (not exceeding three in any case) may be elected at the annual Easter meetings in each parish, mission or curé within the Diocese, or in cases where there may be more than one congregation in any parish, mission or curé, then in each such congregation, or at meetings to be specially called

for the purpose by each clergyman having a separate curé of souls; and all laymen within such parish, mission or curé, or belonging to such congregation, of the full age of twenty-one years, who shall declare themselves in writing, at such meetings, to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to belong to no other religious Denomination, shall have the right of voting at such election. Each delegate shall receive from the Chairman of the meeting a certificate of his election, which he shall produce when called upon so to do at the Synod, and the first meeting of such Synod shall be called by the Bishop of the Diocese, at such time and place as he shall think fit; provided always, that no business shall be transacted by the Synod of any Diocese unless at least one-fourth of the clergy of such Diocese shall be present, and at least one-fourth of the congregations within the same be represented by at least one delegate. 2. All proceedings heretofore had in any Diocese under the aforesaid Act, which have been conformable to the provisions of this Act, shall be held to be valid, as if the same had taken place after the passing of this Act."

Constitutional History of the Church. Mr. Alpheus Todd, C.M.G., in his "Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies" gives the following description of the position of the Church of England in relation to the State, so far as Canada and other Colonies are concerned:

"But in conformity with the principle of religious equality which is now recognized as governing all public acts of the Crown and Parliament which affect the Colonies of Great Britain, the Church of England cannot be regarded as an 'established' church in any British Colony. It can claim no superiority, in the eye of the law, over other religious Denominations; but, equally with them, must be considered as a voluntary association, possessing such coercive authority only over its members as may be expressly conferred by Legislative enactment, or obtained by common agreement with them or with any of them who are placed in ministerial office.

Formerly, a different relation existed between Church and State in the British Colonies. In Canada by the Imperial Act 31, Geo. III., passed in 1791, the Church of England was partially established, and the 'Protestant Clergy' thereof partially endowed, by grants of land reserved for their support. But this gave rise to much strife and controversy. Presbyterians and other non-Episcopal communions claimed equal rights, both civil and religious, in the British Colonies; and this claim could not be withstood or gainsaid. In 1840 the Judges of England gave a unanimous opinion to the House of Lords 'that the words "a Protestant Clergy," in the Statute 31, Geo. III., c. 31, are large enough to include, and that they do include, other clergy than those of the Church of England.' This opinion of the Judges was followed by the Imperial Statutes 3 and 4, Vic., c. 78, to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves in Canada, and the distribution of the proceeds thereof; and, in 1853, by another Act (the 16 Vic. 6, 21) which empowered the Canadian Legislature to alter the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves under the Act aforesaid, and to make such other provisions as might seem meet: provided only that the life interests of existing incumbents should be respected.

Accordingly in the following year, the Legislature of Canada passed an Act (the 18 Vic., c. 2) which, after making provision for the payment of the annual stipends and allowances hitherto charged on the Clergy Reserves, during the lives or incumbency of the existing recipients, enacted that the unappropriated balance should be divided among the several municipalities throughout the Province, according to population. This was avowedly done in order 'to remove all semblance of connection between Church and State' in Canada. For the recognition of legal equality among all religious Denominations is an admitted principle of Colonial legislation. The same principle of disestablishment and disendowment was afterwards enforced in other British Colonies.

Consequent upon the decision of the Privy Council, in March 1865, in the case of Dr. Colenzo, first Bishop of Natal, in South Africa, which declared that the Sovereign had no power to issue letters patent, professing to create Episcopal Sees, or to confer Diocesan jurisdiction or coercive legal authority in Colonies that were in possession of Legislative institutions, the Imperial Government determined to issue no more letters patent of this description.

Upon the death of Bishop Colenso, in 1883, it was claimed on behalf of the Diocese of Natal that this was the only Diocese in South Africa

which continued in vital organic connection with the Church of England in the Mother Country; inasmuch as the other Episcopal churches in South Africa have repudiated the authority of the Privy Council as the judicial interpreter of the standards and formularies of the Mother Church of England. Wherever, throughout the British dominions, it has been found practicable to carry out the principle of religious equality—by the disestablishment of any Church previously placed by law upon a footing of preference or superiority over other religious bodies, and by refraining from any exercise of prerogative for the creation of ecclesiastical offices or the appointment of vacant Bishopries—this has since been done.

In 1869 and subsequent years the Imperial Government notified the Governors of the Colonies in the West Indies, in Gibraltar, in Australia, in the Mauritius and elsewhere, of its intention to enforce the same principle of religious equality, notwithstanding that it might not have been specially sought after in particular Colonies. Thus, in Jamaica, where the majority of the population objected on principal to State endowments in aid of religion, they have been entirely withdrawn; whilst elsewhere, as in Trinidad, Barbadoes, British Guiana, the Cape, Lagos, Gibraltar and the Mauritius, where there has been a general disposition to retain them, the Government have acquiesced therein, provided that the endowment should be distributed equally amongst all Denominations who were willing to receive them. This policy is now strictly adhered to; and all State connection in any Colony, either with Episcopal, Presbyterian or other Churches, conferring upon them a preference over other Denominations, has ceased."

Legislation and the Status of the Church. On the 12th of December, 1872, the Provincial Synod of Canada received a most exhaustive Report from Chief Justice the Hon. W. H. Draper, C.B., who was Chairman of a Committee appointed in September, 1871, to report upon the legal status of the Church of England in Canada, and of its clergy. The chief portions of this historical document were as follows:

"In the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada a representative form of government was erected by a Statute, which, while recognizing the present existence of a Protestant clergy, made in unequivocal terms provision for the support and maintenance of the clergy of the Protestant Church known as the Church of England; and this moreover in pursuance of an intention distinctly announced by a previous Statute; and further, an ecclesiastical establishment, by the creation and endowment of Rectories subject to the jurisdiction of Bishops to be appointed according to the laws and canons of the same Church. . . . Under the Capitulation of Montreal in 1760, the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and the two Statutes above cited, the Roman Catholic Church was recognized and guaranteed within the ceded Province of Canada in the free exercise of its religion, and the enjoyment by the clergy thereof of their accustomed dues and rights, but this was limited to those persons who professed to be members thereof.

The only exception to this guarantee in the 14th Geo. 3rd, related to the religious Orders and Communities. This Act also authorized provision for a Protestant clergy out of such of the accustomed dues previously mentioned as might be payable by other persons than Roman Catholics. The 31st Geo. 3rd went further, confirming the Royal instructions of 1775 which had directed that the tithes for lands and possessions occupied by Protestants should be collected under the authority of Government and be reserved in the hands of the Receiver-General for the support of a Protestant clergy, and not otherwise. In Upper Canada there were some Roman Catholic parishes created before 1763, in which tithes were collected, and your Committee have been informed that tithes, or a commuted payment in lieu thereof, are still received or claimed in some of these parishes by the Roman Catholic clergy. As to the clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada, by an Act of the Legislature of that Province, which received the Royal Assent in February, 1823, after reciting that, notwithstanding the reservation for the support of a Protestant clergy of one-seventh of all lands therein, doubts had been suggested that tithes of the produce of the land might still be demanded by the Incumbent or Rector of any parish, it was enacted that no tithe should be claimed or received by any

'ecclesiastical parson, rector or vicar' of the Protestant Church in this Province, 'any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.'

Whether this Statute would by implication repeal the reservation respecting tithes for the support of a Protestant clergy made by the 31st Geo. 3rd, may be questionable; your Committee have not ascertained that any such fund was ever collected, but they refer to the provision in support of their opinion that as regards the clergy and other members of the Church of England that Church was established at least in the same sense that the Roman Catholic Church was established in regard to its clergy and such persons as professed its faith. Our basis as regards the Church of Canada is of a public character, partly resting on those two British Statutes, though it neither has, nor claims, authority over those who are not of their own free will within its pale, nor does it pretend to any greater advantage in respect to the State than the State either has, or may see fit to confer, on any other body of Christians. In brief phrase its legal status is not that of a State Church as that term is commonly understood.

The Bishop of Natal's case and the case of Long *vs.* the Bishop of Capetown (1 Moo. P.C.N. S., 411), were carefully considered by Lord Romilly in the case of the Bishop of Natal *vs.* Gladstone (L. R., 3, Eq. 1). He remarks: 'If a class of persons in one of the Dependencies of the English Crown having an established Legislature should found a Church, calling themselves members of the Church of England, they would be bound by its doctrines, its ordinances, its rules and its discipline, and obedience to them would be enforced by the civil tribunals of the Colony over such persons.' Now the case of our Church is stronger; it was not founded by a class of persons in the Colony, but it was expressly provided for by two Acts of Parliament, the latter Act being the constitution of Upper and Lower Canada; and being thus introduced, its maintenance was in part secured under the powers conferred on the Crown thereby.

Your Committee . . . consider that the Church in Canada is an Established Church, that it in fact is that which the First Provincial Synod in Canada expressed a desire it might continue, as it has been, an integral portion of the Church at home. Nor does this conclusion rest exclusively on British Statutes. In the case *ex parte* Jenkins (L. R. 2 P. C. 258), Lord Chelmsford furnishes an additional and cogent reason which is applicable to and supports it. His Lordship points out some particulars in that case which resemble the former state of things among ourselves, viz: the power of the Crown to collate to vacant benefices exercised by delegation to the Governors, usually described in their Commissions as Ordinaries, and who to a limited extent exercised the powers of that judicial officer, 'but where a Bishop or Ecclesiastical Ordinary was appointed with spiritual oversight of the Church . . . the Crown as Patron thought proper to leave to the Governor the power of nominating the Clerk, but recognized by letters patent, granted to the Bishop, the power of institution belonging to his office,' just as the 31st Geo. 3rd, s. 40, conferred on the Bishop all rights of institution, etc., to the Rectories to be erected under that Act. After referring to two of the judgments above cited, Lord Chelmsford added that the Judicial Committee were clearly of opinion that the question, 'whether the Bishop of Newfoundland has any lawful status has been set at rest conclusively by the repeated recognition of his status and functions by the Colonial Legislature.' Your Committee submit that this test of recognition exists undeniably in our Colonial, as well as in Imperial, Statutes.

The first Statute of Upper Canada introduced the law of England as the rule of decision in controversies respecting property and civil rights, provided that nothing in that Act should vary or interfere with any subsisting provision respecting ecclesiastical rights or dues. It will hardly be asserted that this proviso does not relate to a Protestant as well as to a Roman Catholic clergy. By 33rd Geo. III., ch. 2 (U.C.), it was enacted that as soon as in any township or parish there should be a church built for the performance of divine service according to the usage of the Church of England, with a parson or minister duly appointed thereto, the inhabitant householders should choose one person and the parson or minister another, which persons should jointly serve in the office of churchwarden, and such churchwardens and their successors were to be

as a corporation to represent the whole inhabitants of the township or parish. The 37th Geo. III., ch. 14 (U.C.) was passed to rectify a clerical error in using the word clergymen instead of clergy in certain grants of Crown Lands, which purported to make a reservation of a portion of lands as required by the 36th Sec. of 31st Geo. III., enacting that every such grant should be valid as to the grantee and to secure to the said clergy 'the rights of the Protestant clergy of this Province.'

The Tithe Repeal Act of 1823 has been already referred to. The doubts which it was passed to remove apparently arose from an opinion that the Church of England was a legally established institution of that Province, and that its clergy were meant by the words 'Protestant Clergy,' as used in the British statutes of 1774 and 1791. The Act is in terms limited to the clergy of the Protestant Church, and is grounded upon the fact that 'His Majesty has been graciously pleased to reserve for the support of a Protestant clergy (in Upper Canada) one-seventh of all the lands granted therein.' This statement, though contained in the preamble, is not perfectly accurate, as the reservation authorized by the 31st Geo. III., was of a quantity of ungranted lands, equal to one-seventh of all lands that were granted. The repeal of the 28th, 39th and 40th sections of 31st Geo. III. had no retrospective operation. The Rectories with their respective endowments continue, though the Crown has no longer the same powers to found and endow others. Large reservations of land were made according to the provisions of Sec. 38; the disposition of such lands, and the uses to which they were applied, are matters of Colonial history.

The Imperial Statute, 6, Geo. IV., ch. 50, empowered and required the Bishop of Quebec for the time being, in behalf of the said Protestant clergy, to execute deeds and conveyances under certain circumstances of lands 'appropriated and set apart for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy.' The Imperial Statute, 7 and 8, Geo. IV., chap. 62, authorized the sale of a part of the Clergy Reserves, providing for the investment of the proceeds and the application of such proceeds to the purposes for which the lands were reserved. These earlier Statutes are referred to in connection with the old maxim *contemporanea expositio est optima et fortissima in lege*, for it appears to your Committee that with the exception of the Act of 1823, it cannot be denied that their framers recognized as beyond question that the Church of England was (*sub modo*) established in Upper Canada. Further evidence of this conclusion is found in the Act 3, William IV., chap. 13, sec. 4 (U.C.), which enacts that for the purpose of qualifying any person to hold office in that Province, or for any other temporal purpose, it shall not be necessary for the future for anyone to take or receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites or usage of the Church of England, and no person shall thereafter within that Province be subject to any penalty, or forfeiture, incapacity or disability, for neglect or omission to take the said Sacrament.

The Imperial Statute 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 35, sec. 42, enacts among other things that any Bill of the Canadian Parliament which should in any manner relate to or affect the establishment or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland among the members thereof within the said Province, shall be laid before the Imperial Parliament before receiving the Royal Assent. The Imperial Statute 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78, authorizes the sale of the whole of the Clergy Reserves, and directs an appropriation out of the proceeds for the Church of England in Canada. The 4 and 5 Vict., chap. 74 (U.C.), and the 6 Vict., chap. 32 (C.), the respective Church Temporalities Acts for Upper and Lower Canada empower the several Bishops and their successors, and any parson, rector or other incumbent, and his successors, to take any deed or conveyance of land by way of endowment, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain; and any person or body politic or corporate may, subject to the license of the respective Bishops, erect and found churches and endow them, acquiring thereby the right of presentation of such church as an advowson in fee presentative according to the rules and canons of the said United Church of England and Ireland.

The 7th Vict., ch. 68 (C.) incorporates the Church Societies in the Dioceses of Quebec and Toronto, for obtaining aid towards the erection,

endowment and maintenance of churches, according to the establishment of the Church in the Dioceses; the creation and maintenance of parsonage houses; the setting apart of burial grounds and churchyards according to the said establishment; and the management of all matters relating to such endowments. The 14 and 15 Vict., ch. 171 (Canada), after reciting that by Royal letters patent, dated 18th July, 1851, the Diocese of Quebec had been divided into the two Dioceses of Quebec and Montreal, enacted that the corporation created by the 6th Vict., ch. 32, by the name of the Church Society of Quebec, should determine, and a corporation by the same name and another corporation by the name of the Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal, as then constituted, should be several corporations and with the like rights, powers and privileges as had been granted to the corporation so determined. And the two new corporations were respectively declared to consist of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Quebec for the time being, and of those members of the original corporation who, at the passing of the Act, were residents of that Diocese, and of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Montreal for the time being, and of those members of the said original corporation, who at the time of the passing of the Act were resident within that Diocese, and of such other persons as should be elected members of either of the new corporations. And (s. 9) each of the said Lord Bishops and his successors was created a corporation sole and was to be deemed such when the letters aforesaid took effect, with powers to take and hold real property in the Province and any personal property.

The 14 and 15 Vict., ch. 175 (C), repealed the 38th, 39th and 40th sections of 31st Geo. III., provided that such repeal should not in any wise affect proceedings theretofore had whereby certain parsonages or rectories were erected or endowed, or supposed to be, under the 31st Geo. III., or whereby certain incumbents or ministers were presented, or supposed to be, to such parsonages, or rectories, or any of them, but the legality of such proceedings was left open for adjudication as if this Act had not been passed. The 14th and 15th Vict., ch. 176 (C) conferred upon the Bishop of Montreal in his Diocese the same powers as were given to the Bishop of Quebec by the Act of Lower Canada, 6th Geo. IV., ch. 59, with all other powers given to the Bishop of Quebec by any other Act or Authority whatsoever. The 19th and 20th Vict., ch. 141 (C) authorized the Bishops, clergy and laity, members of the United Church of England and Ireland in this Province, to meet in their several Dioceses (present or future) and to frame constitutions and to make regulations for enforcing discipline in the Church, for the appointment, deprivation, or removal of any person bearing office therein, of whatever order or degree, and rights of the Crown to the contrary notwithstanding; and for the convenient and orderly management of the property, affairs and interests of the Church in matters relating thereto, and affecting only the said Church and the officers and members thereof, with a proviso that such constitutions and regulations shall apply only to the Dioceses severally adopting the same. Sec. 2 authorizes the Bishops, clergy and laity, members of the United Church of England and Ireland, to meet in general assembly within this Province, by such representatives as shall be determined and declared by them in their several Dioceses, and in such general assembly frame a constitution and regulations for the general management and good government of the said Church in 'this' Province, provided that nothing in the Act contained shall authorize the imposition of any rate or tax upon any person or persons whomsoever, whether belonging to the said Church or not, or the infliction of any punishment, fine or penalty upon any person other than his suspension or removal from an office in the said Church, or exclusion from the meetings or proceedings of the meetings of the Diocesan or General Synods—and provided nothing in the said constitutions shall be contrary to any law or statute now or hereafter in force in the Province. This Act was amended by the 22nd Vict., ch. 139 (C) as to the laity meeting by representation and as to the quorum required for the transaction of business by a Diocesan Synod.

The 22nd Vict., ch. 65 (1858 C) recites that by letters patent dated 2nd October, 1857, Her Majesty was pleased to divide the Diocese of Toronto into two Dioceses, one to be called the Diocese of Toronto and the other the Diocese of Huron,

and it incorporates a Society within the latter Diocese by the name of 'the Church Society of the Diocese of Huron' with the like corporate powers, rights and privileges as by any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Canada are conferred on any Church Society incorporated in the said Province, and declares that the corporation shall consist of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese and the members of the Church Society of Toronto who shall be resident in the Diocese of Huron, etc., etc. The 25th Vict., ch. 86 (C) recites another division by Royal letters patent dated 18th February, 1861, of the Diocese of Toronto and the erection of the Diocese of Ontario, and incorporates the Synod of the latter Diocese, to be composed of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the priests and deacons of the same, licensed by the Lord Bishop, and of lay representatives to be elected, etc., etc. By the 31st Vic., ch. 28 (Quebec) the Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal was merged in the Synod of that Diocese and all the property, powers and privileges of the former merged into the latter. And the Synod was incorporated with absolute powers as to acquiring and holding lands and other property under every description of title, and of alienating the same. The Legislature of Nova Scotia passed a permissive Act relative to the Church (33rd Vict., ch. 57) and an Act of a similar character (34 Vict., ch. 58) was passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick.

The 32nd Vic., ch. 51 (Ont.) incorporated the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto by the name of 'The Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto,' and united and incorporated the Church Society with the Synod of the said Diocese by the same name, giving to the said Synod all the powers, rights, privileges and franchises conferred upon the said Synod by the Act last above referred to. The Legislature of Quebec recently passed an Act authorizing the Synod of the Diocese of Montreal to divide parishes erected by letters patent, and afterwards to sub-divide the same and to vest in such division or sub-division all the powers conveyed in the letters patent, and such additional powers as may be necessary for the welfare and good government of the Church, and not inconsistent with the laws of that Province.

The Statutes which have been passed from time to time in Upper Canada in regard to marriage as well as those of Canada on the same subject have an important bearing on the enquiry entrusted to your Committee. In consequence of the small number of our clergy in Upper Canada at its first settlement it was deemed expedient to authorize, under certain conditions, the celebration of matrimony by Justices of the Peace. Afterwards other Acts were passed in that Province enabling the clergy and ministers of certain Denominations of Christians to perform that ceremony. It does not fall within the duty of your Committee to enter into a detailed examination of those Statutes beyond remarking that directly and indirectly they support the conclusion at which they have arrived as to the status of our Church and our clergy in Canada. In the first place the validity of marriage licenses issued under the Royal Authority is recognized, and the effect of such licenses as a dispensation of or substitute for the publication of banns, or notice, is extended to all those ministers or clergymen who derive their authority to marry from some one of these Acts. The prerogative right of granting these licenses does not rest on any Provincial law; it is exercised by the Sovereign as a Supreme Head in causes ecclesiastical; and the power to act as Ordinary has been for a very long series of years conferred either by commission or by instructions on the Governors of Colonies.

In 1725 the Attorney and Solicitor-General gave an opinion that the Authority of the Bishop of London was insufficient (by which Bishops of London had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Plantations), and that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in America did belong neither to the Bishop of London, nor to any Bishop in England, but was solely in the Crown in virtue of the Supremacy, and that the most proper way of granting to any person the exercise of any such jurisdiction was by patent under the broad seal. In April 1727 a Commission was issued to the Bishop of London (but not to his successors) granting to him certain expressed ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be exercised by him and his Commissaries, but not including the grant of either marriage licenses, probate of wills, or letters of administration of the estates of intestates; a

power to administer oaths was included in this Commission. An opinion was given in 1825 by the then Law Officers of the Crown that the appointment of a Bishop of Quebec in no way altered the power given to the Governor to grant marriage licenses, and up to the present time such licenses continue to be issued by the Governor. It is understood, however, that the grant of this power is in a more qualified form than was formerly in use. The older commissions included the authority to grant probate of wills and letters of administration as well as marriage licenses. Commissions of a later date are said to express the grant, as of such powers as Her Majesty may be entitled to exercise in respect of granting licenses for marriage.

No licenses to marry have been issued in Upper Canada, except under authority derived from the Crown. The Statutes of Upper Canada enable clergymen and ministers not belonging to the Church of England to celebrate, or as some of them express it, to solemnize marriage between parties named in the marriage license which they may obtain, and the same license is issued whether our clergy, or any of those named in these Statutes, are called upon to officiate. The authority to grant marriage licenses is not conferred by any of those Statutes; it is assumed to exist and is exercised by the Sovereign *jure coronæ* as the temporal Head of the Established Church of England. And it might be well asked if our Church is a merely voluntary association and not an integral part of the Church of England, whence comes the power to appoint an Ordinary to execute functions in this Ecclesiastical Province or in the Dominion, which belong to the Ecclesiastical Courts in England? None of these enabling Statutes referred to, name or profess to include the clergy of our Church, though in the words of the Statute of Canada, 20 Vict., ch. 66, 'the ministers and clergymen of every religious Denomination in Upper Canada duly ordained or appointed and resident in Upper Canada' are large enough to cover our own and the Roman Catholic clergy; indeed, is not in terms confined to Christian Denominations, though the preceding enabling Statutes (excepting 33rd Geo. III., ch. 5, s. 3), either in express terms or by unavoidable implication, apply only to Denominations or bodies professing Christianity. Indeed, this Act (20th Vict.) carefully considered will be found to contain an admission that the clergy of our Church have the inherent right given by their Orders to celebrate the marriage ceremony, and to place the 'clergymen and ministers of every religious Denomination' on the same footing the Act gives them the power 'by virtue of their ordination and appointment.'

Previous Acts had imposed conditions precedent on certain clergymen and ministers; this Act was intended to remove those conditions. The rights of the Roman Catholic clergy are protected by Imperial Statute, and there was no other Church in Upper Canada except ours which possessed and had exercised the right of celebrating marriage as incident to their status and Orders. The 32nd Geo. III. included the Church of Scotland, though, as they have been held by the highest authority to be a Protestant clergy within the 14th and 31st Geo. III, it does not readily appear why they were included in the Act, unless to compel them to give notice where no license was produced to them before performing the ceremony. The law of our Church required the publication of banns, or a proper license. The rite of marriage has a civil as well as a religious aspect, and the State deals with the former. The legal consequences which affect a married woman in regard to her own rights and liabilities as well as the rights of children depend on the fact that the marriage contract has been entered into in a form which the law recognizes as valid and binding. Our law recognizes the sanction of a religious ceremony to validate the civil contract, and the celebrant must possess a lawful authority. If the authority has always existed in our Church in Canada as well before as since 1791, it arises from a more ancient source than Provincial legislation. That it has so existed has, it is submitted, been proved. Its source is in the Orders of the Church of England as established by the Law of England. It is coeval with the Provincial Legislature in the foundation of the Colonial existence (indeed that may be dated from the conquest of Canada); it precedes it in so far as our Church is an integral part of the Church of England. It is submitted by your Committee as the result of the foregoing investi-

gation that the manifest intention of the British Parliament was to place the Protestant Churches of England and Scotland on a footing not inferior to that conceded to the Church of Rome. They are fortified in this conclusion by a recollection of the disabilities existing in 1791, as regarded Roman Catholics in the Mother Country on the one hand and of the Test and Corporation Acts on the other. This intention, in the opinion of your Committee, extended to the transplanting into Canada of a branch of the Church of England, possessing in that character defined rights and powers over the members of its communion, and some powers, such as the right to celebrate matrimony, which, subject to the restrictions imposed by the laws and canons of the Church, were recognized by the Legislature of Upper Canada. In that sense the Church was established in Canada, but not as the Church of the State, having no other public or legal connection with the State than any other Church or Denomination in the Dominion, although one Statute of Upper Canada seems to have assumed the necessity of being professed members of that Church as a qualification for civil office, an assumption which was apparently at variance with the Statute of 1774.

Clearly, however, that interpretation of the word 'established' has no legal foundation. There is no civil or political advantage attached to or arising from the assumption of the character of a member of our Church. But it is, in the opinion of your Committee, established in the sense of being part of the Church of England; of being entitled as a Church to the exercise and enjoyment under British and Colonial Statutes not merely of powers thus expressly conferred, but also powers inherent in her own Ecclesiastical constitution and recognized by the Statutes; of rights to the protection of the Civil Government in the free exercise of religious worship; of rights of self-government as regards its own members in enforcing its canons and regulations which have been duly made and established by its own competent authorities; owing an allegiance to the mother Church in some sort analogous to that which the Colony owes to the Crown. It may be found necessary on occasion to resort to the Civil tribunals upon questions affecting Church property or the right to its enjoyment, but not to determine questions of faith or doctrine.

By this status of the Church resting on law and on its identity with the Church of England, and on the power of the Crown (as well in right of temporal supremacy as under the Act of 1791) in the nomination of Bishops, it must follow that those of our Bishops, whose Sees were erected by Royal authority and who were appointed by the Crown, acquired a right to exercise all the functions and perform all the duties and acts which belong to a Bishop that they could if they were Bishops of an English Diocese, with this exception, that they cannot enforce the execution of their orders or decisions without recourse to the Civil tribunals, but as Lord Romilly says in the Bishop of Natal and Gladstone: 'With the assistance of the Secular tribunals he can perform all the acts and duties belonging to the office of a Bishop according to the doctrine of the Church of England.' That assistance would seem to be necessary only where some temporal right is involved which Ecclesiastical authority cannot touch.

There are also some cases which have been brought before the Courts of Upper Canada, in which the status of the Church or its Bishops or clergy have been more or less in question. Such is the case of Sanson vs. Mitchell (6 Grant 572), in which the Court held that the 16th Sec. of the Church Temporalities Act (U.C.) was not confined to parish churches, but embraced all churches in that Province, in communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, and it appears plainly to involve the assertion that where lands are conveyed to a parson, rector or other incumbent, and his successors, for the endowment of his parsonage, rectory or living or for other uses or purposes appurtenant thereto, such parson, rector or other incumbent becomes at least as to those lands a Corporation sole. So the Lord Bishop of Toronto some years ago brought an action as a Corporation sole (12 U.C.C.P. 607)—a character with which the letters patent from the Crown appointing him Bishop of that Diocese invested him. Again in the well-known case of the Attorney-General vs. Grassett, which was affirmed on Appeal (5 Grant 402) the erection of rectories and presentation

and induction thereto under 31st Geo. III., was upheld. The rector or parson under that Statute held in the same manner as the incumbent of a parsonage in England, and held therefore as a Corporation sole, and in Upper Canada his property and civil rights were to be judged by the law of England.

The Statutes of Canada, 19-20 Vict., 141, and 29-30 Vict., ch. 15, are of the utmost importance in endeavouring to ascertain the status of the Church in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. The former of these two Acts has already been set forth in substance. It was amended by the 22nd Vict., ch. 139 (1858) which provided that the laity should meet by representation, and regulated the election of the delegates until it should be otherwise provided for by the Synod of each Diocese. The 29-30 Vict., ch. 15, went further, and, after citing the Church Temporalities Act of Upper Canada, and a similar Act for the Diocese of Montreal, enacted that the Bishops, clergy and laity of our Church in Canada assembled in Provincial Synod or General Assembly under 19, 20 Vict., ch. 141, may by by-law or canon make such repeal, change, alteration and amendment in all or any of the clauses of the cited Acts as they shall deem advisable and necessary for the better and more uniform regulation and management of the temporalities of the United Church of England and Ireland in this Province. Provided that the proviso to Sec. 16, 3rd Vict., ch. 74, the proviso to Sec. 18, 14, and 15 Vict., ch. 76, and Sec. 18 of 3rd Vict., ch. 74, and the 6th Vict., ch. 32, and Sec. 22 of 14 and 15 Vict., ch. 176, shall not be in any manner altered, varied, or repealed by any such canon or by-law, and provided that such canon or by-law shall be approved by the Governor-in-Council, and before such approval, shall be published for three months in the *Official Gazette*.

It may be remarked that in this Act, and also in those to which it refers, our Church is mentioned as the United Church of England and Ireland in this Province, or in Canada, in which respect they are all in affirmance of the declaration of our Bishops and clerical and lay delegates assembled in the first Provincial Synod, as one of the principles on which they propose to proceed: 'We desire the Church in this Province to continue as it has been, an integral portion of the United Church of England and Ireland.' The recognition of the supremacy of the Crown is equally clear, and the oath of supremacy has been usually administered at consecrations and ordinations. The law of England has, however, been altered. The British Statute, 21, 22 Vict., ch. 40, s. 1, instead of the oath of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, has substituted the following:

'I, ———, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which may be made against her person, crown and dignity, and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against her or them, and I do faithfully promise to support and defend to the utmost of my power the succession of the Crown, which succession by an Act intituled an Act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the rights and liberties of the subjects, is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover and the heirs of her body being Protestants, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of this realm, and I do declare that no foreign prince, person, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm, and I make this declaration upon the true faith of a Christian.'

By Sec. 3rd it is enacted that this substituted oath is to be taken and subscribed by and before the same persons, at the same times and places as the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration were required to be taken and subscribed, and shall have the like effect as the taking the former oaths would have had, and the neglect or omission shall be attended with the like disabilities, etc., and all provisions now in force shall be construed and take effect accordingly. Then by a laterStatute 28-29 Vict., ch. 122 (5th July, 1865), the British Parliament enacted that every person about to be ordained priest or deacon shall before ordination, in the presence of the Archbishop, or Bishop, by whom he is about to be ordained, at such time as he may appoint, make and subscribe the Declaration of Assent, and take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and supremacy, according

to the form set forth in the Act just above referred to. The Declaration of Assent is contained in Sec. 1 of 28-29 Vict., ch. 122 (Imperial) as follows: 'I, ———, do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles of religion and to the Book of Common Prayer and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. I believe the Doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God, and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, I will use the forms in the said Book prescribed, and none other except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.'

Since the passing of that Statute, the Imperial Act, 32-33 Vict., disestablishing the Church of Ireland, was passed. Your Committee refer to it: 1st, because the United Church of England and Ireland is mentioned in several of the Statutes and other documents and papers cited in this Report, and that United Church being no longer in legal existence it might be enquired whether the position of the Church in Canada is in any way affected by the change. Your Committee beg to observe that the two Statutes of 1774 and 1791, to which they have so frequently referred, were passed and brought into operation before the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland was made, and those Statutes are the foundation of the legal existence (as distinguished from being a merely voluntary association) of the Church in Canada, and the Church of England is expressly named in the Act of 1791. 2nd. The disestablishing Act, sec. 69, provides that in all enactments, deeds and other documents in which mention is made of the United Church of England and Ireland, the enactments and provisions relating thereto shall be read distributively in respect of the Church of England and the Church of Ireland, but as to the last mentioned Church, subject to the provisions of that Act. This enactment leads plainly to the inference that it was not contemplated or intended to change any relations or affect any interests which were not made the subject of expressed provisions in the Statute. It may be safely affirmed that the status of the Church in Canada was neither directly nor indirectly within the purview of the British Parliament when this Act was passed."

The Church and Imperial Ecclesiastical Law. On May 15th, 1896, a Committee which had been previously appointed, and of which the Rev. Dr. Langtry was Chairman, submitted to the Diocesan Synod of Toronto a Report prepared by Dr. J. George Hodgins, in the course of which he dealt as follows with the influence of the Ecclesiastical laws of England upon the Canadian Church:

"But still the impression lingered among members of the Church of England in Canada that we were bound to follow English Church rules, and even to be governed by her Ecclesiastical laws. In order to set this matter at rest, steps were taken by the Toronto Synod to determine the question as to whether, and to what extent, was our Church in this Province subject to English Church law, either under the administration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or other Imperial Ecclesiastical authority. The Synod, therefore, in 1856, appointed a Committee 'To examine what part of the Ecclesiastical law of England and of the Churches in Scotland and in the United States, in connection with the Church of England, is applicable in this portion of the Church; to advise such additions as may be required by the circumstances of this country, and to report to the next meeting of the Synod a body of canons corresponding with the results at which they may arrive.' (Synod of 1856, page 31.)

The Committee did not report in 1857, but, on motion of the Chairman (the Rev. Dr. Beaven), the following more comprehensive resolution was passed: 'That a Committee be appointed for examining into the existing canons of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the laws of the United Kingdom applicable thereto; and to report upon such canons as with, or without, change, it may be desirable that the Synod should declare to be in full force in this Diocese, and on such laws as appear to be in force at present, or may be desirable to be enacted as Rules of Order or Discipline in this Diocese.' (Synod of 1857, pages 17 and 23.)

In 1858 this Committee reported that they had examined the Canterbury Canons of 1603—'Which is the body of canons generally accepted by the Bishops and Clergy of the United Church,

and quoted as of authority in the English Ecclesiastical Courts.' These canons, the Committee reported, were divided into fourteen heads. The 10th to the 14th (relating to Judges, Probates, Registrars, Apparitors, and Synods) the Committee report as 'either inapplicable in this Colony, or with which a Diocesan Synod had nothing to do. . . . The Committee have examined the rest of the canons. . . . . with great care. . . . and present them for the adoption of the Synod in the following modified form, viz.: 1. On the Queen's Supremacy. 2. Of Divine Service and Administration of the Sacraments. 3. Ministers, their Ordination, Function and Charge. 4. School-masters. 5. Things appertaining to Churches. 6. Churchwardens and Inferior Officers. 7. Marriages. 8. Ecclesiastical Courts.' The Committtee then add that:

'They have examined into the state of the English Statute Law affecting ecclesiastical affairs; and they find that almost the whole of the English Acts on this subject are so restricted in their own text, or in their very nature, as not to apply to the Colonies; and that when, in an early period of the history of this Colony, the English Statutes were adopted the ecclesiastical portion was excepted.'

The Committee state that the Acts of Uniformity of Charles II. and of Elizabeth do not apply to the Colonies, as the Charles' Act was local in its application, while that of Elizabeth was repealed by the more recent local Act of Charles II. The Committee add: 'The only Acts, therefore, affecting the Colonies are those which regulate the appointment of Colonial Bishops (13 Elizabeth, chapter 12) for the most part set aside by subsequent Acts, and the Constitutional Act of Canada (31 George III., chapter 31)—relating chiefly to the Clergy Reserves.' (Synod of 1857, pages 17, 40, 66.) At this Session of the Synod, the 'Canon on the Queen's Supremacy' was alone adopted. The rest were laid over for further consideration. In 1858, the Report was referred back to the Committee for 'such legal advice as they can obtain.' (Synod of 1858, page 163.) In 1859 the Committee brought in a Report, which was adopted, relating to a Bishop's Court, and recommended its establishment. In 1860 the Chairman of the Committee stated that the Report on the Canons of 1632 would not be brought 'forward for discussion' in view of the probability of a meeting of the Provincial Synod. In 1862 the subject came before the Provincial Synod, and a Committee on Canons was appointed on the subject. That Committee reported on the Canterbury Canons of 1603 in 1865 (*Provincial Synod Journal* for 1865, pages 41-47.)

Before the Provincial Synod met again the Toronto Synod appointed a Committee to prepare a memorial to it on ecclesiastical law. In 1868 that Committee reported a memorial which was adopted, praying the Provincial Synod to lay down, 'with all possible distinctness, the canons which are necessary to regulate the action of the Church throughout this great Ecclesiastical Province.' In urging this to be done, the memorial stated: 'That in consequence of the position in which the Church in this Province is providentially placed, she is not subject to the code of ecclesiastical law which prevails in the Mother Church, while she has not yet reached the condition of the Church in the United States of America, with its fully developed system of canonical enactment.' (Synod of 1868, pages 28, 30, 66). This memorial was not presented to the Provincial Synod until 1871, when a Committee was appointed to report upon the matter, but nothing further was done by the Synod in regard to it. Finally, the Committee asked to be discharged in 1874, as 'they have had no opportunity. . . . from press of other business, to present their report.'"

The Church Temporalities Act. This measure of the Canadian Legislature, by which the interests of the Church is still practically governed and controlled—3 Vic., cap. 74—received the Royal Assent on December 3rd, 1841, and was intended to make provision for the management of the Temporalities of the United Church of England and Ireland in Upper and Lower Canada, as follows:

"1. From and after the passing of this Act, the soil and freehold of all churches of the Communion of the said United Church of England and Ireland, now erected or hereafter to be erected in the said Province, and of the churchyards and burying-grounds attached or belonging thereto respectively, shall be in the Parson or other Incumbent thereof, for the time being, and the

possession thereof shall be in the Incumbent for the time being, and the churchwardens to be appointed as hereinafter mentioned, by whatever title the same may now be held, whether vested in the trustees for the use of the church, or whether the legal estate remains in the Crown, by reason of no patent having been issued, though set apart for the purpose of such church, churchyard or burying-ground: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to affect the rights of any other church, or body of Christians, to any landed property, or church now erected, but that the same shall remain as if this Act had not been passed.

2. All pew-holders in such churches, whether holding the same by purchase or lease, and all persons holding sittings therein, by the same being let to them by churchwardens, and holding a certificate from the churchwardens of such sittings, shall form a vestry for the purposes in this Act mentioned and declared.

3. A meeting of such vestry shall be holden on Monday, in Easter week, in each and every year, after due notice thereof given during the divine service on the morning of Easter Sunday, for the purpose of appointing churchwardens for the coming year, and at such meeting one churchwarden shall be nominated by the Incumbent of the parsonage or rectory to which the said church belongs, and the other shall be elected by a majority of those present and entitled to vote at such vestry meeting as aforesaid. Provided, nevertheless, that in case of such incumbent declining or neglecting to nominate a churchwarden, then both of the said churchwardens shall, for the current year, be elected in the manner aforesaid; and in case members of such vestry shall neglect to elect a churchwarden, then, both such churchwardens shall for the current year be nominated by the Incumbent: Provided always, that if from any cause a vestry meeting shall not take place at the time specified, such appointment of churchwardens may take place at any subsequent vestry meeting to be called in manner hereinafter provided; and in the case of the death or change of residence to twenty miles or more from any such church, of either of the said churchwardens, a vestry meeting shall be thereupon called for the election, by the said vestry, of a new churchwarden, in case the one deceased or removed had been elected by the vestry, or for the nomination of a new churchwarden by the Incumbent in case the one deceased or removed had been nominated by the Incumbent.

4. No person shall be eligible to the office of churchwarden except members of the said church, of the full age of twenty-one years, and who shall also be members of such a vestry.

5. Such churchwardens shall hold their office for one year from the time of their appointment, or until the election of their successors, except in case of an appointment or nomination to fill up any vacancy occasioned by death or removal as aforesaid, and in such case the person so appointed or nominated shall hold the said office until the next annual election.

6. Such churchwardens, so to be elected and appointed, as aforesaid, shall, during their term of office, be as a corporation to represent the interest of such church, and of the members thereof, and shall sue and may sue and be sued, answer and be answered unto, in all manners of suits and actions whatsoever, and may prosecute indictments, presentments, and other criminal proceedings, for and in respect of such churches and churchyards and all matters and things appertaining thereto, and shall and may, in conjunction with the Rector or Incumbent, make and execute faculties or conveyances, or other proper assurances in the law, to all pew-holders holding their pews by purchase, or leases to those holding the same by lease, and shall and may grant certificates to those who shall have rented sittings; such conveyances, leases and certificates, to be given within a reasonable time after demand made, and at the charge of the person applying for the same; and further, it shall be the duty of such churchwardens, from time to time, to sell, lease, and rent pews and sittings, upon such terms as may be settled and appointed at vestry meetings to be holden for that purpose as hereinafter provided; provided always, that any such sale, lease or renting shall be subject to such rent charge or other rent, as may from time to time be rated and assessed in respect thereof, at such vestry meetings.

7. In case of the absolute purchase of any pew

in any such church as aforesaid, the same shall be construed as a freehold of inheritance not subject to forfeiture by change of residence or by discontinuing to frequent the same, and the same may be bargained, sold and assigned to any purchaser thereof, being a member of the Church of England; and such purchaser, provided the same be duly assigned and conveyed to him, shall hold the same with the same rights, and subject to the same duties and charges, as the original purchaser thereof.

8. Any pew-holder, whether by purchase or lease, and any person renting a pew or sitting, shall and may during his rightful possession of such pew or sitting have a right of action against any person injuring the same, or disturbing him or his family in the possession thereof.

9. Such churchwardens, so to be appointed as aforesaid, shall yearly, and every year, within fourteen days after other churchwardens shall be nominated and appointed to succeed them, deliver in to such succeeding churchwardens a just, true and perfect account in writing (fairly entered in a book or books to be kept for that purpose, and signed by the churchwardens), of all sums of money by them received, and of all sums rated or assessed, or otherwise due and not received, and also of all goods, chattels and other property of such church or parish in their hands as such churchwardens, and of all moneys paid by such churchwardens so accounting, and of all other things concerning their said office, and shall also pay and deliver over all sums of money, goods, chattels and other things which shall be in their hands, unto such succeeding churchwardens; which said account shall be verified by oath before one or more of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who are authorized to administer the same; and the said book or books shall be carefully preserved by such churchwardens, and they shall and are hereby required to permit any member of such vestry as aforesaid, to inspect the same at all reasonable times, paying one shilling for such inspection, and in case such churchwardens make default in yielding such account as aforesaid or in delivering over such moneys, goods or other things as aforesaid, it shall be in the power of the succeeding churchwardens to proceed against them at law for such default or to file a bill in equity for discovery and relief; and in case of the re-appointment of the same churchwardens, then such accounts as aforesaid shall, in like manner as is aforesaid, be made and rendered before an adjourned meeting of such vestry fourteen days after such re-appointment.

10. It shall be in the power of the Incumbent of any such parsonage, rectory or parish as aforesaid, or of the churchwardens thereof, to call a vestry meeting whenever he or they shall think proper to do so, and it shall be his and their duty so to do, upon application being made for that purpose in writing by six at least of the members of such vestry as aforesaid; and in case, upon written application being made as aforesaid, such Incumbent and churchwardens shall refuse to call such meeting, then, one week after such demand made it shall be in the power of any six of such members of the vestry to call the same by notice to be affixed on the outer door (or church doors where more than one), at least one week previous to such intended meeting.

11. In all vestry meetings the Rector or Incumbent of the church shall preside as chairman, when present, and in his absence, such person as the majority present at such meeting shall name; and the vestry clerk, when there is one, and present, or in case there be no vestry clerk, or he be absent, then such person as the chairman shall name, shall be secretary of such vestry meeting, and the proceedings of such vestry meeting shall be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, and preserved in the custody of the churchwardens.

12. The rent-charge to be paid upon pews holden in freehold, and the rent to be paid for pews and sittings in pews, leased or rented, shall be regulated from time to time at such vestry meetings as aforesaid, provided, nevertheless, that no alterations shall be made therein, except at vestry meetings called for such special purpose, and so expressed in the notice calling for the same; and further, that the charges to be made in respect of such conveyance, leases and certificates, shall in like manner be regulated at such vestry meetings as aforesaid.

13. The clerk of the church, the organist, the vestry clerk, the sexton, and other subordinate

servants of the church, shall be nominated and appointed by the churchwardens for the time being, and their salary and wages shall be brought into the general account, to be rendered as aforesaid by such churchwardens.

14. The fees on marriages, baptisms, and other services of the Church of the like nature, and the charges payable on breaking the ground in the cemeteries or churchyards, and in the said churches, for burying the dead, shall be regulated by the Ordinary, or, in case there be no Ordinary, by the Bishop of the Diocese.

15. It shall be in the power of the members of such vestries, at such vestry meetings as aforesaid, to make such by-laws for the regulation of their proceedings, and the management of the temporalities of the church or parish in which they belong, so as the same may not be repugnant to this Act, nor contrary to the canons of the said United Church of England and Ireland.

16. Any deed or conveyance of land, or of personality, that may be made to any Bishop of the said Church, in the said Province, and to his successors, for the endowment of his See, or for the general uses of the said Church, as such Bishop may appoint, or otherwise, or for the use of any particular church then erected, or thereafter to be erected, or the endowment of a parsonage, rectory or living, or for other uses or purposes appurtenant to such Church in general, or to any particular church or parish to be named in such deed, and any such deed or conveyance, to any Parson or Rector, or other Incumbent, and his successors, for the endowment of such parsonage, rectory or living, or for other uses or purposes appurtenant thereto, shall be valid and effectual to the uses and purposes in such deed or conveyance to be mentioned and set forth, the Acts of Parliament commonly called the Statutes of Mortmain, or other acts, laws or usages to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; providing always, that in order to the validity of such deeds and conveyances, the same shall be made and executed six months at least before the death of the person conveying the same, and shall be registered not later than six months after his decease.

17. In the event of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, desiring to erect or found a church or churches, and to endow the same with a sufficiency for the maintenance of such church and of divine service therein, according to the rites of the said Church of England and Ireland, it shall and may be lawful for him or them to do so, upon procuring the license of the Bishop, under his hand and seal, for that purpose; and thereupon after the erection of a suitable church, and the appropriation by the founder thereof of such church so erected, and of lands and hereditaments, or other property, adequate to the maintenance thereof, and of an Incumbent, and adequate to the usual and ordinary charges attendant upon such church, such provision being made to the satisfaction of the Bishop, such founder, his heirs and assigns, being members of the said Church of England, or such body politic or corporate, as the case may be, shall have the right of presentation to such church, as an advowson in fee presentive, according to the rules and canons of the said United Church of England and Ireland.

18. Nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend in any manner, to confer any spiritual jurisdiction or ecclesiastical rights whatsoever upon any Bishop or Bishops, or other ecclesiastical person, of the said Church, in the said Province of Upper Canada."

By special legislation—29, 30 Vic., cap. 15—this Act was amended by the Church Temporalities Amendment Act, which received the Royal Assent on August 10th, 1866. Under its terms the Diocesan Synods of Ontario, Quebec and Montreal were given power to change or modify the clauses and provisions of the original Act whenever deemed desirable for the more uniform regulation or management of the Temporalities of the Church of England and Ireland in the Province of Canada—subject to the approval of such new canon or by-law by the Governor-in-Council and its publication for three months in the Official Gazette.

Sketch of the Movement Towards Union.—The history of the movement which terminated in the organization of a General Synod and the establishment of an united Canadian Church has been dealt with at some length in a paper prepared by Mr. W. J. Imlach, of London, Ontario,

who was one of the early promoters of the idea. This document was published in the Official Proceedings of the Winnipeg Conference of 1890, and from it the greater part of the following facts are obtained. The First Synod of the old Province of Canada, as far back as 1861, put forth a brief declaration of principles and announced that one of its objects was "to promote the further consolidation and united action of the whole of the Dioceses of British North America." Based upon this, the following two resolutions were passed at the Provincial Synod of Canada meeting in September, 1886. In the Lower House it was moved by Mr. E. Baynes Reed, seconded by the Rev. E. P. Crawford:

The Right Rev. Dr. Maurice S. Baldwin.

"That the Upper House be respectfully requested to concur with the Lower House in the appointment of a Special Committee to consider the advisability of procuring the incorporation of the Provincial Synod; and also to consider the whole subject of the relative positions of the various Dioceses of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada with the Provincial Synod; and, if requisite, recommend such legislation as shall so extend the powers of the Provincial Synod that it may be enabled to legislate for the Canadian Church as a whole; to bring about a uniform method of procedure in all matters pertaining to Church government; a uniformity of canons and of discipline of the clergy and laity. And, further, to consider and advise what legislation may be necessary in the several Dioceses to bring about the beneficial result of an entire and united Church in the Dominion of Canada—the Committee to report at the next meeting of the Synod."

This was carried, and concurred in by the Upper House. The second resolution referred to was passed by the Upper House as follows and concurred in by the Lower House: "That the Metropolitan be respectfully requested to communicate to the Metropolitan of Rupert's Land the desire of the Church in this Province to establish closer relations with the Church in the Province of Rupert's Land, and their readiness to consider and adopt any measure which may promote the same." The following Committee was also appointed at this Synod meeting, including Bishop Sweatman, of Toronto, Bishop Baldwin, of Huron, and Bishop Binney, of Nova Scotia, to consider these resolutions and report to the next Provincial Synod:

Nova Scotia. The Rev. Dr. Partridge; the Hon. D. L. Hannington.

Quebec. The Rev. M. M. Fothergill; the Hon. Judge Irvine.

Toronto. The Rev. J. Pearson; Mr. A. H. Campbell.

Fredericton. The Rev. Canon Medley; Chief Justice Sir John Allen.

Montreal. The Rev. Canon Empson; Mr. Strachan Bethune, Q.C.

Huron. The Rev. W. A. Young; Mr. E. Baynes Reed.

Ontario. The Rev. A. Spencer; Mr. R. T. Walkem, Q.C.

Niagara. The Rev. Dr. Mockridge; Mr. J. J. Mason.

The promoters of the movement, however, felt that to effectually carry out the purport of these proposals and to aid this Committee in their work, it would require some organization to help in the details of the great project. With this end in view the "Canadian Church Union" was formed, and by it circulars were sent to all of

the Diocesan Synods urging the consideration of the Provincial Synod resolutions. The first succeeding action taken was at the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land held in August, 1887, when a favourable resolution was passed. It was moved by the Rev. E. S. W. Pentreath, seconded by Mr. Charles J. Brydges:

"That the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land heartily reciprocates the desire of the Provincial Synod of Canada to establish closer relations, and while not committing itself to any scheme of union, resolves that a Committee be appointed who shall meet immediately and arrange to communicate with the Committee appointed by the Provincial Synod of Canada, and with the Bishops of British Columbia, so as to provide for a Conference this autumn, if possible, for the purpose of discussing a basis of union. The Metropolitan is requested to convoke a special meeting of Synod, if by so doing the cause of union can be promoted."

The following Committee was named by the Prolocutor: The Reverends E. S. Pentreath, T. N. Wilson, J. P. Sargent, and A. E. Cowley, and Messrs. Brydges, Mathewson, Fisher and Bedson. The Metropolitan of Rupert's Land introduced the Bishop of Huron (Dr. Baldwin), who strongly urged the necessity for a consolidation of the Church. Canon F. A. O'Meara, who was deputed by the Diocese of Toronto to be present at this meeting, also supported the movement. The mover and seconder of the above resolution, as well as many other members of the Synod, spoke strongly in its favour. The Committee thus appointed met and reported the result of the action of the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land to the Metropolitan of Canada and asked him to appoint a Conference on the subject. It afterwards appeared that the resolution of the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land had been passed before any official notice had been sent by the Metropolitan of Canada to the Metropolitan of Rupert's Land. Hence it was that no immediate action was taken. Nevertheless the Association of the Canadian Church Union memorialized the Metropolitan to call a Conference of the whole Church of British North America. His reply was to the effect that, as the Metropolitan of the Province of Canada, no power was vested in him to call any Conference of the whole Church of British North America. At a meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada Committee in Kingston in November, 1888, the Canadian Church Union submitted to the Committee information of the work that the Association had been enabled to do by bringing this question before all the Diocesan Synods. It was urged upon the Committee to devise, if possible, some means by which a Conference of the whole Church could be convened at Montreal during the time of the Synod meeting of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada in 1889. At this meeting on June 13th the following Report and recommendations of the Committee of Synod on the union of the Church in British North America under one Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was presented (dated 10th May, 1889) and adopted upon motion of the Rev. Provost Body and Mr. J. A. Worrell, Q.C.:

"1. That the Dioceses existing within any Civil Province should have power to organize themselves into an Ecclesiastical Province. That in such Ecclesiastical Province a Provincial Council or Synod should be formed by representation, as may be agreed upon, from the several Diocesan Synods in the Province, and that the Bishops of the Province should constitute the Upper House of such Provincial Council or Synod, and that the head of such Provincial Council or Synod should be an Archbishop, to be elected by the Bishops of the Province. That, where necessary, two or more Civil Provinces may be grouped together so as to form a Joint Provincial Synod under the Presidency of an Archbishop as before provided, and that such joint Provincial Synod should have the power of framing internal enactments for the needs of the several Provinces.

2. That such Provincial Council or Synod should meet regularly once in three years, and that special sessions may be held as often as the interest of the Church may require.

3. That the Provincial Synod should have power to act for the Church in reference to all matters of Provincial legislation affecting the Church, and should be charged generally with the oversight of all matters, educational or otherwise, affecting the welfare of the Church in such Province, and that the Synod should have power to enact canons for the Church in that Province in reference to all questions arising out of the Church, or Temporalities, or Religious Institu-

tions Acts, duties of Church officers, etc., etc. That the House of Bishops in each Ecclesiastical Province should exercise the same powers, with regard to the Diocese within that Province, as are now exercised by the House of Bishops of the present Ecclesiastical Province of Canada.

4. That there should be a General Synod for the Church of British North America, which should meet regularly every five years, and should correspond in its powers and duties to the Provincial Synod, as now constituted. That such General Synod should alone have the power of dealing with matters affecting the standards of worship or discipline of the Church, and that such Synod should be peculiarly charged with the oversight of spiritual matters. Such General Synod should also have charge of the general mission work of the Church, domestic and foreign. That the President of the General Synod should be Primate of the Church in British North America, and should be elected by and from among the Provincial Archbishops; but that during the continuance in office of any of the existing Metropolitans, the senior Metropolitan in order of consecration should be President of the General Synod.

The creation of such a General Synod would require a fresh Act, and the Committee do not, therefore, feel it necessary to further discuss any questions arising out of the legislation now existing as to the relations of the Diocesan and Provincial Synods. Your Committee would further recommend that a petition be presented on behalf of this Synod to the Provincial Synod at its next meeting, requesting the Provincial Synod to further consider and take action upon this important question, and respectfully submitting the recommendation of this Report as a basis for such consideration and action."

Following this Report, a resolution, moved by Mr. Charles Jenkins, of Petrolia, and seconded by the Rev. Canon Brigstocke, of St. John, N.B., was amended by Mr. R. T. Walkem, of Kingston, and finally agreed to as follows: "Be it therefore resolved that a Committee be appointed which shall be authorized to meet a Conference of representatives from all the Dioceses in British North America to confer with them, and if possible agree with them, upon some general basis upon which such union may be formed, the same to be submitted to the Synod of every Diocese for their consideration and to report at the next Provincial Synod." Matters now moved rapidly towards the consummation of union, and two or three months before the Winnipeg Conference, in the course of his address to the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, on the 3rd of June, 1890, Bishop Anson said:

"Most deeply do I feel the supreme importance of the Church in British North America (I use that term rather than the Dominion of Canada, because Newfoundland certainly must not be excluded from any such scheme) being welded together in one tangible organization, so that it could speak in any public matter of legislation, such as national education, or laws concerning marriage, with the power and weight that it cannot have under our present system, and also that important undertakings such as universities and colleges for the training of candidates for Holy Orders, and our mission work amongst our Indian population—works that surely concern our Church as a whole, and should therefore be esteemed the care of the Church as one body—might be carried on with due regard to the needs of the whole country, and with a power and efficiency that united action alone can give, and not be left to the power and zeal (or want of power and zeal) in each individual Diocese. We want more thorough co-operation and united work, the strong places helping the weak, not as a matter of favour, or simply because this Diocese or that may have an eloquent advocate, but because the Church is one; and if one member of the body suffer, all the members must suffer with it."

The Union of the Canadian Church. One of the most important events in the history of the Church of England in Canada was the Conference which met at Winnipeg on August 15th and 16th, 1890, to consider the question of an union between all the Provincial Synods of British North America, and the establishment of a General Synod for the government of the Church in Canada. The President of the Conference was the Most Rev. Dr. Machray, Archbishop of Rupert's Land; the Hon. Clerical Secretary was the Rev. Samuel P. Matheson, B.D., Canon of St. John's Cathedral, and the Hon. Lay Secretary was Mr. Leo. H. Davidson, Q.C., D.C.L., of Montreal. The members of the Conference were as follows:

From the Synod of the Province of Canada:

Bishop Sweatman, of Toronto; Bishop Baldwin, of Huron; Bishop Courtney, of Nova Scotia; Rev. Dr. Partridge, of Nova Scotia; Rev. W. A. Young, M.A, of the Diocese of Huron; Rev. Canon White, M.A., of the Diocese of Ontario; Hon. D. L. Hannington, Q.C., of the Diocese of Fredericton; R. W. Heneker, D.C.L., of the Diocese of Quebec; Mr. Charles Jenkins, of the Diocese of Huron; Mr. R. T. Walkem, Q.C., of the Diocese of Ontario.

From the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land:

The Most Rev. Robert Machray, D.D., LL.D., Metropolitan; Bishop Pinkham, of Saskatchewan and Calgary; Bishop Anson, of Qu'Appelle; Bishop Young, of Athabaska; the Very Rev. Dean Grisdale, D.D.; the Reverends Canon Matheson, B.D., Canon O'Meara, M.A., Canon E. S. Pentreath, B.D., W. A. Burman, B.D., Canon Coombes, M.A., and A. L. Fortin; Mr. Sheriff Inkster, F. H. Matthewson, W. R. Mulock, Q.C., Colonel Bedson, H. S. Crotty and W. G. Fonseca; the Ven. Archdeacon George McKay, B.D., the Rev. Canon Flett, B D., the Rev. E. K. Matheson and the Rev. A. H. Wright, the Ven. Archdeacon Phair, Mr. J. Wrigley, Mr. J. Taylor, the Rev. G. Holmes, the Rev. A. W. Goulding, B.D., Mr. T. Gilroy, Mr. W. J. Melrose, the Reverends J. P. Sargent, B.A., W. E. Brown, F. Baker, A. Krauss, L. Dawson and H. B. Cartwright, Messrs. H. Fisher, W. White, and J. Sumner, the Reverends A. E. Cowley, J. W. Tims and A. W. F. Cooper, Mr. W. Pearce, Mr. J. P. J. Jepson and the Rev. J. F. Pritchard.

Delegates from various Synods:

Fredericton. Mr. C. N. Vroom, of St. Stephen, N.B.

Quebec. The Rev. Canon Thorneloe, M.A., Sherbrooke.

Montreal. The Venerable Archdeacon Lindsay, M.A., Waterloo, and Leo H. Davidson, Q.C., D.C.L., Montreal.

Toronto. The Rev. Dr. Langtry, and J. George Hodgins, LL.D.

Niagara. The Venerable Archdeacon Dixon, B.A., Guelph, and Mr. J. J. Mason, Hamilton.

Huron. The Very Reverend Dean Innes, M.A., and W. J. Imlach, London.

New Westminster. The Venerable Archdeacon Woods, M.A., and Lacey D. Johnson, Vancouver, B.C.

By this representative body of Anglican clergy and laity the following resolutions were adopted:

"That this Conference is of opinion that it is expedient to unite and consolidate the various branches of the Church of England in British North America. That in any scheme of union, the Conference affirms the necessity of the retention of Provinces under a General Synod.

Proposed Basis of Union. 1. There shall be a General Synod, consisting of the Bishops of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada and the Diocese of Newfoundland, and of delegates chosen from the clergy and laity. The delegates shall be chosen by the several Diocesan Synods according to such rules as they may adopt, or, in a Diocese which has no Synodical organization, may be appointed by the Bishop. The representation shall be as follows: Dioceses having fewer than 25 licensed clergymen, one delegate from each Order; Dioceses having 25 and fewer than 50 licensed clergymen, two of each Order; Dioceses having 50 and fewer than 100, three of each Order; Dioceses having 100 licensed clergymen and upward, four of each Order.

2. The Synod shall meet for the first time in the City of Toronto on the second Wednesday of September, 1893, and shall be convened by the Metropolitan, senior by consecration.

3. The Synod shall consist of two Houses, the Bishops constituting the Upper and the clergy and laity together the Lower House. The Houses shall sit separately, excepting at any time by the unanimous consent of both Houses.

4. The President of the General Synod, who shall be styled the Primate, shall be elected by the House of Bishops from among the Metropolitans. The Primate shall hold office for life or so long as he is Bishop of any Diocese of the General Synod, nevertheless he may resign any time.

5. The General Synod shall have power to deal with all matters affecting in any way the general interests and well-being of the Church within its jurisdiction, provided that no canons or resolutions of the General Synod of a coercive character or involving penalties or ecclesiastical disabilities shall be operative in any Province, or Diocese not included in any Ecclesiastical Province, until

accepted by the Synod of such Province or Diocese. The following or such like objects may be suggested as properly coming within the jurisdiction of the General Synod :

A. Matters of doctrine, worship and discipline.

B. All agencies employed in the carrying on of the Church's work.

C. The missionary and educational work of the Church.

D. The adjustment of relations between Dioceses in respect to Widows and Orphans of Clergy and Superannuation Funds.

E. Regulations of transference of clergy from one Diocese to another.

F. Education and training of candidates for Holy Orders.

G. Constitution and powers of an appellate tribunal.

H. The erection, division or re-arrangement of Provinces, but the erection, division or re-arrangement of Dioceses and the appointment and consecration of Bishops within a Province shall be dealt with by the Synod of that Province.

6. For the expenses of the Synod, including the necessary travelling expenses of the members, there shall be an annual assessment of the Dioceses proportioned to their representation, excepting those which are entitled to send only one representative of each Order.

7. The words 'Ecclesiastical Province,' heretofore used, shall mean a group of Dioceses under the jurisdiction of a Provincial Synod."

At the first meeting of the General Synod thus created—held in Toronto on September 13th and 20th, 1893—the following solemn Declaration was made "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ":

" We declare this Church to be, and desire that it shall continue, in full communion with the Church of England throughout the world, as an integral portion of the One Body of Christ composed of Churches which, united under the one Divine Head and in the fellowship of the one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, hold the one Faith revealed in Holy Writ, and defined in the Creeds as maintained by the undivided Primitive Church in the undisputed Œcumenical Councils; receive the same canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation ; teach the same Word of God ; partake of the same divinely ordained Sacraments, through the ministry of the same Apostolic Orders, and worship One God and Father through the same Lord Jesus Christ, by the same Holy and Divine Spirit Who is given to them that believe, to guide them into all truth. And as we are determined by the help of God to hold and maintain the Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded in His Holy Word, and as the Church of England hath received and set forth the same in 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England ; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, appointed as they are to be sung or said in Church ; and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons' ; and in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion ; and to transmit the same unimpaired to our posterity."

It will be observed as a somewhat remarkable fact that in this " Declaration " and in subsequent official documents of the new Canadian Church there was no mention of the old time Anglican doctrine of the Queen's Supremacy, no recognition of any direct allegiance to the Mother Church, no reference to the immense debt owed by the Canadian organization to the generosity and splendid missionary efforts of the Church in England, and only a vague admission of union with the Church of England throughout the world—which might be taken and was apparently meant to include the Episcopal Church of the United States.

At the second meeting of the General Synod —Winnipeg, September 2nd to 11th, 1896—the following were finally adopted as its fundamental principles and constitution : " We declare that the General Synod when formed does not intend to, and shall not take away from or interfere with any rights, powers or jurisdictions of any Diocesan Synod within its own territorial limits as now held or exercised by such Diocesan Synod. We declare that the constitution of a General Synod involves no change in the existing system of Provincial Synods, but the retention or abolition of the Provincial Synods is left to be dealt with according to the requirements of the various Provinces as such Provinces and the Dioceses therein may deem proper.

Basis of Constitution. 1. The General Synod shall consist of the Bishops of the Church of

England in the Dominion of Canada and of delegates chosen from the clergy and the laity. The delegates shall be chosen by the several Diocesan Synods according to such rules as they may adopt, or, in a Diocese which has no Synodical organization, may be appointed by the Bishop, such delegates to be in all cases resident in the Diocese from which they are elected or appointed; provided that, until circumstances permit of its being otherwise ordered by the General Synod, the Bishops of the Dioceses of Moosonee, Selkirk, Mackenzie River, Athabasca and Caledonia, and such other Dioceses as may be formed out of them, be permitted to elect or appoint non-resident delegates to the General Synod, provided only that the said delegates be resident within the bounds of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land or the Civil Province of British Columbia respectively. Provided, further, that until 1896 these Dioceses may elect their delegates from any Diocese whatever. The representation shall be as follows: Dioceses having fewer than twenty-five licensed clergymen, one delegate from each Order; Dioceses having twenty-five and fewer than fifty licensed clergymen, two of each Order; Dioceses having fifty and fewer than one hundred, three of each Order; Dioceses having one hundred licensed clergymen and upwards, four of each Order.

2. The Synod shall consist of two Houses; the Bishops constituting the Upper, and the clergy and laity together the Lower House. The two Houses shall sit separately except by the consent of both Houses. The clergy and laity shall vote by Orders if required; and if the proposition be carried in the negative it shall be conclusive; but if in the affirmative any six delegates (two from each of three different Dioceses) may then demand a vote by Dioceses, when, if the proposition be carried in the negative it shall be conclusive, the vote of each Diocese being determined by the majority of the delegates of that Diocese. And in case of equality in the votes of the delegates from any Diocese, such Diocese shall not be counted. When both Houses sit together, each House shall vote separately.

3. There shall be a Primate who shall be elected by the House of Bishops from among the Metropolitans or Bishops of Dioceses not in any Ecclesiastical Province. He shall be styled the Primate of all Canada and Archbishop of the See over which he presides. He shall be President of the General Synod. The Primate shall hold office for life, or so long as he is Bishop of any Diocese of the General Synod; nevertheless he may resign at any time.

4. The General Synod shall have the power to deal with all matters affecting in any way the general interests and well-being of the Church within its jurisdiction. Provided that no canons or resolutions of a coercive character, or involving penalties or disabilities, shall be operative in any Ecclesiastical Province, or in any Diocese not included in an Ecclesiastical Province, until accepted by the Synod of such Province or Diocese, and that the jurisdiction of the General Synod shall not withdraw from a Provincial Synod the right of passing upon any subject falling within its jurisdiction at the time of the formation of the General Synod.

5. The following, or such like objects, are declared to be within the jurisdiction of the General Synod:

Matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline.

All agencies employed in the carrying on of the general work of the Church.

The general missionary and educational work of the Church.

The adjustment, with consent of the Dioceses, or of the Province (in the case of the Province of Rupert's Land), of the relations between Dioceses in respect of Clergy, Widows' and Orphans' and Superannuation Funds.

Regulations affecting the transfer of clergy from one Diocese to another.

Education and training of candidates for Holy Orders.

Constitution and powers of an Appellate Tribunal.

The erection, division, or re-arrangement of Provinces, with the consent of any existing Provinces affected; but the erection, division, or re-arrangement of Dioceses, and the appointment and consecration of Bishops within a Province, shall be dealt with by the Synod of that Province.

6. Nothing in this constitution shall affect any canons or enactments of any Provincial or Diocesan Synods now in force.

7. For the expenses of the Synod, including the necessary travelling expenses of the members, there shall be an annual assessment of the Dioceses proportionate to the number of licensed clergymen in them (Dioceses having less than ten clergymen being exempt); provided, however, that the expenses of any member of the Synod not attending during the whole Session of the Synod shall be paid *pro rata*, and such proportionate part thereof as his attendance bears to the whole time the Synod is in Session; and that a Standing Committee be appointed who shall fix and determine the amount at any time to be paid hereunder; such Committee, however, to have a discretionary power to allow a greater proportion in case of absence from illness or any other good cause arising during the sitting of the Synod.

8. All canons dealing with matters of doctrine, worship and discipline shall require to be passed at two successive meetings of the General Synod before coming into force.

9. The words 'Ecclesiastical Province' shall mean any group of Dioceses under the jurisdiction of a Provincial Synod.

N.B.—No change in the Basis of Constitution shall be considered unless a majority of each Order is present, and no change shall take place unless unanimously adopted by both Houses or until affirmed by a two-thirds majority of the Upper House and a two-thirds majority of each Order of the House of Delegates, and in the latter case it shall stand over for confirmation till the next meeting of Synod, when it must be affirmed by similar majorities."

Newfoundland did not come into the Union, so that the General Synod became applicable only to the Dominion instead of to British North America as had been at first hoped. Archbishop Machray was appointed the first Metropolitan of the whole Dominion, and Archbishop Lewis of Ontario became Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada—the Eastern Provinces.

Statistical Progress of the Church. The following figures illustrate the advance of the Church of England in the older Provinces from 1861 to 1891:

Province.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Nova Scotia....	47,744	55 124	60,255	64,410
NewBrunswick.	42,776	45,481	46,768	43,095
P.E.I.....	6,785	7,220	7,192	6,646
Ontario.....	311,559	330,995	366,539	385,999
Quebec.....	63,487	62,449	68,797	75,472

In 1848 the number of Anglicans given for Prince Edward Island was 6,530, so that half a century has seen little change in the Island total. By the Census of 1851, Nova Scotia had 36,115 adherents of the Church; Upper Canada, or Ontario, 223,190; and Lower Canada, or Quebec, 44,682. With the Census of 1881 the great West came into the circle of consideration, and the following are the figures for two Census periods:

Province.	1881.	1891.
Manitoba.....	14,297	30,852
The Territories.....	3,166	14,166
British Columbia.....	7,804	23,619

These tables indicate a total advance in members from 472,051 in 1861 to 575,622 in 1891. The progress in another respect is shown by the following statistics relating to the Dioceses of Huron, Ontario, Niagara and Toronto given in a Report submitted to the Toronto Synod by Dr. J. George Hodgins during its meeting in June, 1896:

The Diocese of Huron. Set Apart in 1857.

Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1858.....	43
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1896.....	155
Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1858	59
Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1895-6	269

The Diocese of Ontario. Set Apart in 1862.

Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1862.....	55
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1895-6...	135
Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1862..	70
Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1895-6	234
Number of Congregations in the Diocese in 1862.....	89
Number of Congregations in the Diocese in 1895-6.....	283
Number of Parishes in the Diocese in 1862...	48
Number of Parishes in the Diocese in 1895-6	114

The Diocese of Niagara. Set Apart in 1874.

Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1874-5...	51
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1895-6...	62

Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1874-5	64
Number of Churches in the Diocese in 1895-6	108
Number of Congregations in the Diocese in 1874-5	62
Number of Congregations in the Diocese in 1895-6	105
Number of Parishes in the Diocese in 1874-5	47
Number of Parishes in the Diocese in 1895-6	60

The Diocese of Toronto.

Number of Clergy in the Diocese of Toronto in 1858	180
Number of Clergy transferred to the Diocese of Huron	43
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1859	137
Increase in the number of the Clergy, 1859-1862	25
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1862	162
Number of Clergy transferred to the Diocese of Ontario	55
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1863	107
Increase in the number of the Clergy, 1863-1875	46
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1875	156
Number of Clergy transferred to the Diocese of Niagara	55
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1876	101
Increase in the number of the Clergy, 1876-1896	87
Number of Clergy in the Diocese in 1895-6	188

Statistical Summary relating to the four Dioceses.

Number of Clergy in the Diocese of Toronto, 1896	188
Number of Clergy in the Diocese of Huron, 1896	155
Number of Clergy in the Diocese of Ontario, 1896	135
Number of Clergy in the Diocese of Niagara, 1896	62
Number of Clergy in the four Dioceses in 1896	540

The Church of England and Organic Union. The following extract from a Pastoral Letter signed by all the Anglican Bishops in the Dominion, and read to the General Synod held in Toronto, September, 1893, defines the attitude of the Church in Canada towards the question of Christian Union or re-union :

"Many Christian bodies, separated from us, are working by our side, some in advance of us, both in the foreign field and in the Dominion. We yearn for union with them. The General Synod has set forth the position which the Church of England occupies in her desire to recover and restore, among all Christian bodies, that organic unity which Christ prayed might ever distinguish His Church. The language adopted by the General Synod is as follows: 'We desire hereby to make it known that we adopt and set forth, as forming a basis for negotiation with any bodies of our separated Christian brethren, with a view to union, the following articles agreed upon by the Lambeth Conference, held in London in the year of our Lord, 1888, viz. :

(*a*) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(*b*) The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(*c*) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

(*d*) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

The Church and Religious Education in the Schools. The following Report was submitted by the Ven. Archdeacon Brigstocke, D.D., on behalf of a Committee appointed to consider the question, at the Session in 1895 of the Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada. It dealt at length with the position of the Church towards Education, and is therefore of considerable importance.

"The subject of religious instruction in public education now occupies, we are glad to say, a position of great prominence in the Church of

England in Canada. There is, we believe, no question of greater importance now before the Church, nor one calling for more wisdom and courage to deal with effectively. The starting point of the whole subject is the assumption which will, we conceive, be readily granted by all Christians, that if the youth of this country, irrespective of rank or sex, be not taught the Christian religion as the Church understands it; if they are not instructed that the reason of its acceptance is that it constitutes the only religion revealed to mankind; if they are allowed to grow up with the idea that Christianity is only one of the many shapes which propriety of life calls for that man may get on; they are left destitute of the only valid means for securing them from moral degradation. As the educator of the people, the Church is therefore called by the most sacred responsibilities to see to it that provision is made whereby the principles of the Christian religion form a constituent part of the public education of the country.

We would call attention to the present position of the subject, as furnishing an argument for its urgent necessity. Generally speaking, a system of public education has been established in this part of Canada for upwards of twenty-five years, and thus opportunity has been afforded for forming some judgment on its results. Possibly opinions may differ on the matter, but we think it would be patent to all that, while there is a high intellectual tone everywhere, the moral tone is most unsatisfactory. The prevalence of untruth is notorious, as well as disobedience to parents and irreverence in matters of religion. There is great profanity of language, great indulgence in libertinism and an impaired perception of private and political honesty. The leaven of evil is powerfully at work, and is sure to bear more dangerous and injurious fruits as time advances. We are given very loud warning from other countries where secular instruction prevails. In France it is a notorious fact that, while schools are built and large sums of money are spent on education, the number of crimes increases steadily, and the Courts of Justice and the police are powerless to repress them. In India, Australia, New Zealand, and especially the United States of America, the experience is very similar, and wholly conclusive as showing that education from which all religious instruction is excluded, or inadequately provided, is wanting in power to raise and elevate the young. Is not, then, a deep injury inflicted on our youth in not teaching them the Christian religion as an essential part of their education? Is it not, we fain would ask, a National crime? Looking, then, at the subject as it now presents itself, there is great cause for the Church to make the most strenuous efforts to solve the knotty problem of how religious instruction may form a part of public education. It may be well to inform this House that the General Synod of our Church was no sooner formed than it addressed itself to the momentous subject, and reported concerning it as follows: 'That, in their judgment, religious teaching in the public schools is absolutely necessary in order better to fulfil the true purpose of education, and to conserve the highest interests of the nation at large.' In several Dioceses, steps have already been taken in the matter. The Diocese of Toronto, at the last Session of its Synod held in June, adopted the following Resolution:

'Whereas, the ultimate object of education is not the mere imparting of knowledge, but the formation of character; and, whereas it is admitted that high character and an enduring civilization can only be secured by the due exercise and development of the moral and religious element of our human nature; and, whereas such exercise and development can be secured only by the constant and careful instruction of our children in the Faith of the Gospel, and by keeping before them, as the only true ideal of life, the character of the perfect and pattern Man, our Lord Jesus Christ; and, whereas there is no sufficient provision made in the Public School System of this Province for such systematic instruction being given during school hours; therefore be it resolved: That it be referred to a Committee of this Synod to act with Committees of the other Diocesan Synods, and of the other religious bodies of this Province; and that this Synod do petition the Legislature of Ontario so to amend the School Law as to make provision for such instruction being given for one-half hour daily during school hours by the ministers of the various Christian communities, or their representatives,

to the children of their Communion; provided, always, that no child shall be required to attend such religious instruction in any case where parents or guardians object; such children as are now exempted during the time allotted for religious teaching shall be instructed in morals.'

The Diocese of Huron to which the Resolution adopted by the Synod of Toronto was transmitted, approved the same, and appointed a Committee on Religious Instruction accordingly. The Synod of the Diocese of Niagara at its last Session adopted the following Resolution: 'That the general establishment of parochial schools for the Church of England in this Diocese is impracticable; that the Synod is of opinion that there should be further religious instruction given in our public schools during school hours; and that the following Committee be appointed to confer and act with other Synods and other religious bodies in the Province for the purpose of improving and increasing the religious education in our public schools, with full power to petition the Legislature to give effect to the result of such conferences.' The Diocese of Ontario adopted the following Resolution:

'That this Synod do petition the Legislature of Ontario so to amend the School Law as to make provision for such instruction being given for one half-hour daily during school hours by the ministers of the various Christian communities, or their representatives, to the children of their Communion, and that a Committee be appointed by His Grace to act with other Synods of the Church, and other religious bodies in the Province, and co-operate with them in petitioning the Legislature with a view to having the existing law so amended.'

In the Province of Quebec, the School law which affects the Dioceses of Montreal and Quebec requires: (1) That each Protestant School shall be opened with the reading of Holy Scripture and Prayer; and (2) That the first half hour of each day shall be devoted to instruction in Scripture and Morals. The Bible is the text-book for all classes. The Government Inspector examines the pupils orally in the elementary classes, and the model schools and academies by written examination. In the Diocese of Fredericton the following Resolution was adopted by the Synod at the last Session: 'That this Synod record its deliberate judgment that religious teaching in our public schools is absolutely necessary in order to fulfil the true purpose of education, and conserve the highest interests of the nation at large, and trusts the day is not far distant when Biblical instruction will form a regular part of public education.'

It will thus be seen that the Dioceses of Toronto, Huron, Ontario, Niagara and Fredericton adopted, at the last session of their respective Synods, resolutions affirming the necessity of religious instruction in the public schools, and with the exception of the Diocese of Fredericton, appointed Committees to take any steps that would be found practicable to carry them out, and that the School law affecting the Dioceses of Montreal and Quebec requires religious instruction to be given in the public schools. We note all this with much satisfaction, and trust that the Church throughout this Ecclesiastical Province will not cease her efforts till the desired end is gained. As there is great diversity in the School law in the different (civil) Provinces, we forbear recommending any particular course of action, believing that each Diocese understands what can best be done in its own Province for the promotion of religious instruction; at the same time, we most strongly urge each Diocese to take steps to secure that object. Though, however, we are of opinion that this House is not in a position, for the reason we have stated, to take any direct steps in the matter of religious instruction, we yet think that a Committee should be appointed to watch the work and report progress, and we recommend accordingly.

Respectfully submitted,

F. H. J. Brigstocke, Chairman.

Montreal, 12th September, 1895."

At the meeting of the General Synod of the Church in Canada at Winnipeg—September 2nd to 11th, 1896—the following Report of a Committee on the Educational work of the Church was adopted:

"That it is essential both for the community and the children that there should be religious instruction in the primary schools; that a half-hour each school day, and if possible the first half-hour, should be given to such religious in-

struction; that reasonable arrangements should be made for such religious instruction being given by the clergy or their deputies to the children of their own Communion, or by the teacher in the case of Communions agreeable to this; that where the above cannot be carried out we shall rejoice at the intoduction into the school 'course of studies' of such religious instruction as shall include the teaching of (*a*) Selections from the Old and New Testament, and (*b*) the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments."

The Appointment of Rectors in the Church.—On October 7th, 1897, a Special Committee of the Diocesan Synod of New Brunswick submitted a Report upon the question of presentation to rectories in the various Dioceses of Canada and in other countries, which described in somewhat valuable historic detail the Church practice regarding the terms of such appointments. It was signed by the Bishop, Dean and Archdeacon of Fredericton and by other representative men of the Anglican Communion in that Diocese, and was as follows:

"Your Committee is not aware of an instance within the Anglican Communion of any appointment with a limitation of time.

Nova Scotia. A Rector is elected by a majority of the parishioners present at the meeting duly called (the Act of Assembly defining what a parishioner is); and, when he shall have obtained the Bishop's letters of institution, he shall be inducted by the Bishop into the parish. If no election is made within twelve months, the Bishop shall be at liberty to appoint a Rector.

Quebec. The Rector is appointed by the Bishop, with the concurrence of the congregation or congregations, such concurrence to be given by the Board of Concurrence elected at special meetings of the congregations, within two months after the nomination by the Bishop.

Toronto. The Bishop appoints after consultation with the churchwardens and lay delegates to Synod of the vacant parish.

Montreal. On the Bishop giving notice of vacancy, the vestry meet and choose two or more, from whose names the Bishop shall select one. If no nominations are made within three months the Bishop has the absolute right of appointment.

Huron. The Bishop appoints to certain rectories absolutely, to others after conferring with a committee of the parishioners—one member to every 25 registered votes in the congregations.

Ontario. The presentation to all rectories is vested in the present Archbishop absolutely during his incumbency of the See.

Niagara. The Bishop appoints after consultation with the churchwardens and lay delegates to Synod of the vacant parish.

Algoma. The Bishop thus far has made all appointments to curés, there being as yet no rectories.

Ottawa. The appointment is made by the Bishop.

British Columbia, New Westminister and the Province of Rupert's Land. The Bishop appoints.

United States. In the Church in the United States the practice of calling an election by the whole congregation through their vestry is well nigh universal. The Bishop has no place in the matter exclusive of his own personal influence. The system, in the opinion of some, works badly. The General Secretary of the House of Deputies of the General Convention writes: 'There is no uniform rule in our Diocese as regards the election of Rectors. There are still a few parishes scattered over the Eastern States in which, under the laws of their incorporation, the parishioners, or pew-holders choose the incumbent. But in the great majority the election is by the vestry. In some Dioceses the Bishop nominates three persons, of whom the vestry select one. On the whole, the general custom of election by vestries works satisfactorily, and I see no tendency to substitute another method.'

England. Patronage is in the hands of various persons who may or may not be connected with the parish. The Archbishops and Bishops, either absolutely or in turn with others; the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, Deans and Chapters, Colleges, Trustees, and private individuals. Advowsons and next presentations are publicly sold. And it is only in very few instances that the parishioners, as such, possess the right to nominate their own clergymen.

Removal of Incumbents. With reference to the removal of Rectors otherwise than by their own act, or by process of law: There may be two causes of incapacity, the one arising from age or sickness, the other from some trouble in the par-

ish with which a Rector may have shown himself unable to deal. (1) Your Committee know of no provision in any Colonial Church or in the United States for the removal of a Rector who may be incapacitated by age or infirmity, except as noted below. But in the Mother Country there is, we believe, an Act of Parliament which authorizes the Bishop on the application of a Rector to issue a Commission to investigate the case, and if there is ground for the application, to state what proportion of the endowment, which must not exceed one-third thereof, should in their judgment be assigned to the retiring Rector for the rest of his life. The Bishop may issue a Commission, without the prior application of an incumbent, if in his judgment there is good reason why the Rector or Vicar should be retired. (2) In the case of difficulty arising in the parish, the Committee have been informed in all cases in which enquiry has been made, with the following exceptions, that there is no provision for the removal of clergymen who, for any reason, have failed in their work. The exceptions are:

1. *United States.*—Clause 2, of Canon 4, of Title 11, of the Digest of the Canons reads as follows: 'In case any urgent reason or reasons should occasion a wish in a Rector or Minister as aforesaid, or in the parish committed to his charge, to bring about a separation and a dissolution of all pastoral relations between such Minister and his parish, and the parties be not agreed in respect of such separation and dissolution, notice of such desire and disagreement may be given by either party to the ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese or missionary jurisdiction, in writing. And in case of any difference between the Minister and parish or vestry as aforesaid, which may not be satisfactorily settled by the godly judgment of the Bishop alone, or which he may decline to consider without counsel, the Bishop (or if the Diocese be vacant, any Bishop selected by the ecclesiastical authority) acting with the advice and consent of the Standing Committee of the Diocese or missionary jurisdiction, or of the Presbyters only of such Standing Committee (if both parties shall assent to such limitation in writing) shall be the ultimate arbiter and judge. And refusal to accept and comply with the arbitration and judgment on part of the Minister aforesaid, shall not work a continuance of lawful and canonical rectorship or settlement beyond the date fixed, conditionally or otherwise, for its termination by such arbitration and judgment, should such termination be recommended and required. But such pastoral connexion shall, unless otherwise agreed by the parties, cease and terminate as therein required. But such refusal shall subject the Minister so refusing to inhibition by the Bishop aforesaid from all ministerial offices and functions within the Diocese or missionary jurisdiction; and such refusal on part of a parish shall disqualify it from the Convention of the Diocese until it shall have been declared by the ecclesiastical authority to have given satisfactory guarantee for the acceptance of, and compliance with, the arbitration and judgment.'

2. *Brisbane.* Five Commissioners, three licensed clergymen and two laymen, are elected at each Synod to advise with the Bishop as to the expediency of removing Rectors for offences other than those specified in the Canon. Commissioners make trial and report, giving opportunity for defence. On the recommendation of the Commissioners, the Bishop may dispossess from the benefice.

3. *Tasmania.* A similar procedure exists, and the Bishop appoints three Commissioners—two clergymen and one layman. And special provision is made that removal of an incumbent for reasons covered by the Act of Synod (and which do not include offences under the regular Tribunal Act) does not unfit him for further duty, or disqualify him or his family from superannuation or any other fund.

4. *Quebec.* It is provided by Canon that an incumbent may be retired for inability through age, infirmity or other cause, or from neglect to discharge his duties.

5. *Huron.* An incumbent may be retired, after trial, if it appear that 'his usefulness is gone.'

(Signed)

H. T. Fredericton, Francis Partridge,
F. H. J. Brigstocke, W. O. Raymond,
Henry Wilmot, H. Lawrence Sturdee,
W. B. Wallace, A. H. Hanington,
C. E. A. Simonds,
(Committee.)"

The Hon. and Rt. Rev. John Strachan, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Toronto, was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1778. His father, an overseer of some granite quarries near Aberdeen, died when he was fourteen, and the boy was consequently called upon to support himself. Two years' later he entered the University of Aberdeen, teaching in the vacations to pay his expenses. After graduation he taught for some time in Scotland, and then was offered a position in Upper Canada in connection with a projected Academy. He arrived at the close of 1799 only to be met with the announcement that the scheme had fallen through. Not being able to return, he became tutor to the children of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, and to these other pupils were soon added. Under the surrounding influence of a Church of England atmosphere the young man decided to study for that Church, although he had been brought up as a Presbyterian. He was ordained in 1803 and appointed to Cornwall, where he opened a Grammar School which became quite a celebrated institution. In 1811 the University of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and early in the following year he was appointed Rector of York (Toronto).

Dr. Strachan was appointed a Member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1813 in recognition of his courageous and loyal conduct during the war. In York he also opened a school and exerted himself in establishing schools in other places. The historic struggle regarding the Clergy Reserves began about 1824, and in that year Dr. Strachan paid a visit to England in connection with the matter. He was also very anxious to obtain a University in Toronto, and in 1826 this was promised and later on was established as King's College, Toronto. In 1827 he was appointed Archdeacon of York, and in 1839 Toronto was set apart as a separate Diocese and Dr. Strachan consecrated as its first Bishop. This office he filled until his death with boundless energy and zeal. The "Church Society" was formed in 1842 in order to systematize the business of the Church. Soon after, the secularization of his cherished University caused the Bishop much grief and led to renewed and greater efforts on his part. The result was the foundation of Trinity University in 1852, for which he had crossed the ocean at the age of seventy-two to solicit subscriptions. The struggle concerning the Clergy Reserves now came to a head, and in 1854 the Government refused to pay any stipends to clergymen not already on the list. To meet this the clergy agreed to surrender their stipends in order to form an endowment for the Church of the gross amount. This was done, and £188,342 secured to the Diocese. The first Provincial Synod was held in 1861, at which Bishop Strachan was present. By this time the old Diocese of Toronto had been subdivided into three—that of Huron being formed in 1857 and Ontario in 1861-2. Dr. Strachan's health began to fail, however, and Archdeacon A. W. Bethune was appointed Coadjutor Bishop by the Synod in 1866. During the following year a Church School for Girls was started in Toronto to which Bishop Strachan's name was given. In the autumn of 1867, having with much grief been compelled to decline the invitation to attend the first Lambeth Conference on account of his failing strength, the veteran Bishop grew gradually weaker and died on All Saint's Day—November 1st. Dr. Strachan was emphatically the master-builder of the Canadian Church. Strong, aggressive, earnest, his Church was the very breath of life to him, and no work was too hard, no undertaking too onerous, no ambition too high, where its interests and progress were concerned. Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia, Bishop Mountain of Quebec, and Bishop Strachan of Toronto, were indeed the "Fathers of the Church" in this country.

Bishop Lewis and the Lambeth Conference. An interesting and important incident in the history of the Canadian Church was the inception by the present Archbishop of Ontario of the first Lambeth Conference—1867. On Saturday, 16th of September, 1865, at the third Triennial Meeting of the Provincial Synod, Bishop Lewis (as he then was) moved the following Address, which was carried by both Houses, and sent to Dr. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England:

"*May it Please Your Grace,*

We, the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the

Province of Canada, in Triennial Synod assembled, desire to represent to Your Grace that in consequence of the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the well-known case respecting the Essays and Reviews, and also in the case of the Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Capetown, the minds of many members of the Church have been unsettled or painfully alarmed, and that doctrines hitherto believed to be Scriptural and undoubtedly held by the members of the Church of England and Ireland, have been adjudicated upon by the Privy Council in such a way as to lead thousands of our brethren to conclude that according to this decision, it is quite compatible with membership in the Church of England to discredit the historical facts of Holy Scripture and to disbelieve the eternity of future punishment. Moreover, we would express to Your Grace the intense alarm felt by many in Canada lest the tendency of the revival of the active powers of Convocation should leave us governed by canons different from those in force in England and Ireland, and thus cause us to drift into the status of an independent branch of the Catholic Church, a result which we would at this time most solemnly deplore. In order, therefore, to comfort the souls of the faithful and re-assure the minds of the wavering members of the Church and to obviate as far as may be the suspicion whereby so many are scandalized, that the Church is a creation of Parliament, we humbly entreat Your Grace, since the assembly of a general Council of the whole Catholic Church is at present impracticable, to convene a National Synod of the Bishops of the Anglican Church at home and abroad, who, attended by one or more of their Presbyters or Laymen learned in Ecclesiastical law as their advisers, may meet together and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost take such counsel, and adopt such measures, as may be best fitted to provide for the present distress, in such Synod presided over by Your Grace."

The Bishop of Ontario at this time was perhaps the most youthful member of his order in the British Dominions. Besides the grand qualifications of youth and learning he is described as having been fertile in resource, full of enthusiasm, courageous by nature and aggressive from duty. It was well that such was the case. Less ardent men would probably have hesitated before committing themselves to a Resolution whose success included a gathering in one great national Synod of Bishops, Presbyters and Laymen, the representatives of the Anglican Church in almost every part of the habitable globe. Happily the Primate of England was by no means disinclined to sympathize with the Bishop of Ontario or to take the necessary steps for meeting the suggestion thus made. The following reply was duly received:

"*My Right Reverend, Reverend, and Dear Brethren,*

I have duly received the Address forwarded to me by your Metropolitan, from the late Triennial Provincial Synod of the Province of Canada, requesting me to convene a Synod of the Bishops of the Anglican Church, both at home and abroad, in order that they may meet together, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, take such counsel, and adopt such measures as may be best fitted to provide for the present distress. I can well understand your surprise and alarm at the recent decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in grave matters bearing upon the doctrine and discipline of our Church, and I can comprehend your anxiety lest the recent revival of action in the two Provincial Convocations of Canterbury and York should lead to the disturbance of those relations which have hitherto subsisted between the different branches of the Anglican Church. The meeting of such a Synod as you propose is not by any means foreign to my own feelings, and I think it might tend to prevent those inconveniences the possibility of which you anticipate. I cannot, however, take any step in so grave a matter without consulting my Episcopal brethren in both branches of the United Church of England and Ireland, as well as those in the different Colonies, dependencies of the British Empire."

After due consideration the Archbishop issued the requisite mandate, and subsequently gave his earnest attention to these considerations while presiding over the first of the famous Lambeth Conferences. Amongst the Canadian delegates present were Bishops Lewis, Cronyn and Bethune. There were altogether 76 Prelates in attendance of whom 28 were from the Colonies and 19 from the United States.

The Most Rev. Francis Fulford, D.D., First Metropolitan of (Eastern) Canada, and First Bishop of Montreal, was born at Sidmouth, in 1803. He graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, in 1824, and was made a deacon in 1826 and a priest in

1828. He occupied successively the Rectories of Trowbridge, Croydon and Curzon Chapel, Mayfair. In 1850 the Diocese of Montreal was formed, and Mr. Fulford was consecrated first Bishop of the new Colonial Diocese. His work was hard but it soon began to tell for good upon the Church. In 1856 the old Christ Church, which had been made the Cathedral, was burned down and the present Cathedral was built, but, when completed was found to be deeply in debt. To help this, the Bishop moved into a small house and submitted to the most rigid personal economy. He lived to receive the reward of his self-denial, as the debt was greatly reduced before his death. In 1859 the Diocesan Synods of Quebec, Toronto and Montreal petitioned the Queen to appoint one of the Canadian Bishops to preside over the General Assemblies of the Church in the Province—the result being that Bishop Fulford was appointed Metropolitan of Canada with Montreal as the Metropolitical See. In 1861 the first Provincial Synod was organized and held in that city. The first suggestion to hold a Pan-Anglican Synod came from the newly-formed Ecclesiastical Province of Canada and in this Assembly the Metropolitan of Canada took a prominent part, but on his return to Montreal in 1868 he gave unmistakable signs of failing health, and died towards the close of the year.

The Most Rev. Ashton Oxenden, D.D., Second Metropolitan of (Eastern) Canada and Second Bishop of Montreal, was born at Broome Park, Kent, in 1808. In 1831 he graduated at University College, Oxford, and two years later was admitted to the diaconate, and in 1834 to the priesthood. After doing some parish work in Bareham, near Canterbury, he was appointed Rector of Pluckley, in Kent, where he remained till his elevation to the Bishopric. Meanwhile, he also received appointment to an Honourary Canonry in Canterbury Cathedral. He had gained reputation from tracts and books which were couched in the simplest language and read by all classes, and it was owing to this, in part, that his name, when finally placed before the stormy and memorable Session of the Montreal Synod in 1869, was successful. During his tenure of office, Dr. Oxenden was always extremely anxious to strengthen the mission stations in his Diocese, and was moderate in his Church views. He presided over the Provincial Synod in 1871, 1872 and 1873.

His Episcopate was marked by the formation of a Sustentation Fund for the Diocese and also by the organization of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, which was opened in 1873, with eleven students. Dr. Oxenden again presided over the Provincial Synod in 1874 and 1877. In 1878 he went to England to attend the Lambeth Conference, and while there he resigned his Bishopric in a somewhat sudden and unexpected manner. After his resignation, Bishop Oxenden was appointed Vicar of St. Stephen's, Canterbury, but he soon withdrew from all active work, and resided in the south of France, where, at Biarritz, he died in 1892.

The Most Rev. John Medley, D.D., Third Metropolitan of (Eastern) Canada and First Bishop of Fredericton, N.B., was born in London, England, in 1804. He entered Wadham College in 1823 and graduated in 1826, becoming an M.A. in 1830. In 1828 he was made a deacon, and in the following year was ordained a priest. For three years he filled a Curacy in Southleigh, Devonshire, and from 1831 to 1838 was Incumbent of St. John's Parish, Truro, Cornwall. In the last named year he became Vicar of St. Thomas, Exeter—a position which he held until 1845. Three years before this time he had been also appointed Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral and in 1845 received the degree of D.D., and was consecrated to the Bishopric of Fredericton, New Brunswick. The Diocese having been newly formed, he found considerable local dissension and strife, but the difficulties were eventually overcome with skill and vigour. In 1848 Dr. Medley returned to England to raise funds to complete his Cathedral, but latterly he seldom left his Diocese except to attend meetings of Bishops in neighbouring Dioceses. As the oldest Bishop in the Dominion, he became Metropolitan of Canada in 1879 in succession to Bishop Oxenden, of Montreal, and in the summer of 1888 attended the Lambeth Pan-Anglican Conference. While in England, upon this occasion, he was made an Honorary LL.D. of Cambridge and D.D.

of Durham. He died in 1892. Bishop Medley was an author of repute, having published a work upon the "Episcopal Form of Church Government," two volumes of sermons, and a "Commentary on the Book of Job." He also shared in the translation of "Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Corinthians," besides composing several anthems. After his death a monument was erected to his memory in the Cathedral at Fredericton which cost $2,861, while a stained glass window and mural tablet were unveiled on October 10th, 1894, in St. Thomas' Church, Exeter, England. The tablet bears an inscription describing the late Bishop, as "an unfailing friend to the poor, to whom Exwick owed the erection of its free and open church; Oldridge, the enlargement and restoration of its chapel; and this church, many of its fairest adornments." To the Canadian Church he was a tower of strength throughout his long career in Nova Scotia.

The Most Rev. John Travers Lewis, D.D., LL.D., Fourth Metropolitan of (Eastern) Canada and Archbishop of Ontario, was born in 1825, at Garry Cloyne Castle, County Cork, Ireland. He was educated in Cork and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1847 with Honours in Classics and as a gold medallist in Mathematics. In the following year he was made a deacon and later on ordained to the priesthood. After two years as Curate at Newton Butler he emigrated to Canada in 1850 and was appointed to West Hawkesbury, where he became practically travelling missionary for the greater part of the Ottawa district. Four years later he became Rector of Brockville and in 1855 he received the Degree of LL.D., and soon afterwards that of D.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. In 1861 the clergy and laity met at Kingston to elect a Bishop for the new Diocese of Ontario—Toronto having just been sub-divided. The Rev. Dr. Lewis was elected and later in the year the first Provincial Synod was held at Montreal. Dr. Lewis had not yet been consecrated but was appointed Secretary of the Upper House and hence sat with the Bishops.

The Consecration took place in the following year and Bishop Lewis began an ever-increasing work. Among other things he urged largely increased contributions for Church work, especially missions, and these soon increased from an average of $1,229 per annum to one of $17,000. In 1867 he attended the first Lambeth Conference of which he was one of the original promoters. As there were two important cities in his Diocese, one of them being the capital of the Dominion, many felt that the Diocese should be divided. A motion to this effect was lost in 1868, and two years later it was proposed in the Synod that the Bishop should live in Ottawa, he having hitherto had his Cathedral in Kingston. This also was lost, but Bishop Lewis accepted the suggestion and moved to the capital. In 1874 the Diocese was divided into two Archdeaconries—those of Kingston and Ottawa. The Bishop's health now began to fail and he repeatedly urged the division of the Diocese, as being now too large for one man to handle. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada was formed by the Provincial Synod in 1883, and Bishop Lewis presided at the first regular meeting of its Board of Management. He returned to Kingston in 1889, where a See House had been purchased. Three years later Bishop Medley died, and in 1893 Dr. Lewis succeeded him as Metropolitan of (Eastern) Canada. At the General Synod of that year it was decided, under the new system, to bestow the title of Archbishop upon the Metropolitans. Dr. Lewis consequently became Archbishop of Ontario, and Dr. Machray Archbishop of Rupert's Land. In 1896 the long-talked-of division of the Diocese was brought about and the Right Rev. Charles Hamilton, Bishop of Niagara, was elected the first Bishop of Ottawa. Dr. Lewis is the senior by Consecration of the Anglican Bishops of Canada, and his work for the Church has been not only prolonged but successful.

The Archbishop has published many of his more important Charges and Sermons, as well as lectures and articles in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, London, and the *American Quarterly Church Review*. He has attended all the Lambeth Conferences, and was largely instrumental in bringing the British Association for the Advancement of Science to Montreal in 1884. In November, 1885, the Governor-General-in-Council presented His Grace with a copy of the bronze

medal struck in commemoration of the Confederation of the Provinces, as an acknowledgment of his "important services in the cause of literature and science." He is a man of wide and profound learning, and in addition to the honourary degrees from Trinity College, Dublin, is an Hon. D.D. of Oxford and a D.C.L. of Trinity University, Toronto, and the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville.

British Missionary Societies and the Church. It is almost impossible to adequately describe the support and aid given the struggling Church of England in British America, as well as in many other Colonies, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Church Missionary Society. The early life of the Anglican Denomination in the Dominion seems to have been largely dependent upon British aid, and it has not even yet been able to do entirely without financial support of a similar nature in the North-West and other mission fields.

The first of these great Societies was the S.P.C.K. It was established in London in 1698 mainly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, a well-known clergyman of the time. Its efforts were from the first devoted to founding schools, circulating Christian literature and aiding missions. The earliest attempt at circulating literature was to issue 600 copies of Dr. Bray's "Discourse upon the Baptismal Covenant," bound in sheep's leather. It now circulates annually 8,588.902 books, in addition to Bibles and Prayer Books. These volumes, to the amount of $70,000, are given away annually. The rest are sold. The work of this Society in founding schools was also very important. Fifteen years after its formation, 5,000 children in 117 schools in London and Westminster were being educated at its expense. In England and Wales there were 500 such schools. This department of work continued to develop, but after 1811 was largely handed over to another Society, and the chief attention of the S.P.C.K. was thenceforward devoted to missions. During the sixty years ending in 1897 it spent large sums in extending the Episcopate, endowing missionary clergy and giving financial aid of various kinds to struggling Colonial parishes. In British North America, according to items extracted from its annual Reports, at least $150,000 was thus expended between 1833 and 1891. But this is only the most partial estimate, as specific sums or particulars are only occasionally given in those volumes.

But the S.P.G. was perhaps the most considerable force in this connection. It was formed by Charter, in 1701, largely by members of the S.P.C.K. and devoted much attention to missionary effort in British America—especially after the Revolutionary War period. Its history upon the northern part of the continent is the history of the Canadian Church. Each Diocese has been built up in turn. In 1816 the infant Church was receiving $48,050 from its funds, and even in 1892 212 Canadian clergy were still maintained by the Society. Its expenditure in British America—Canada and Newfoundland—was £1,786,185, or $8,930,925, between 1703 and 1892. The total Parliamentary grants to the S.P.G. (1701-1892) were £304,234; its total income was £7,084,257, and its total expenditure £7,230,436. The Secretaries—who have necessarily had much to do with its success—were John Chamberlain, elected in 1701; W. Taylor, 1712; the Rev. Dr. D. Humphreys, 1716; the Rev. Dr. P. Bearcroft, 1739; the Rev. Dr. D. Burton, 1761; the Rev. Dr. Hind, 1773; the Rev. Dr. W. Morrice, 1778; the Rev. A. Hamilton, M.A., 1819; the Rev. A. M. Campbell, M.A., 1833; the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, M.A., 1843; the Rev. W. T. Bullock, M.A., 1865; the Rev. H. W. Tucker, M.A., 1879. The Official Reports of this Society should be specially interesting reading to Anglicans in Canada. They show an annual expenditure upon the Church in British North America of from $100,000 to $125,000 a year between 1820 and 1865. These total annual sums were, with a few exceptions, as follows:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1814.....	5299	6	7	1822.....	21737	2	1
1815.....	9041	10	4	1823.....	22542	6	9
1816.....	12265	1	9	1824.....	23308	10	9
1817.....	9961	13	8	1825.....	23477	0	9
1818.....	12762	8	0	1826.....	24762	8	9
1819.....	15137	2	5	1827.....	24742	6	6
1820.....	16587	14	7	1829.....	22704	2	7
1821.....	20962	6	7	1831.....	25821	5	3

1832.....	27826	6	11	1851.....	23789	13	6
1838.....	11256	4	2	1852.....	21242	17	1
1839.....	12212	1	2	1853.....	23584	12	9
1842.....	24599	8	2	1854.....	26792	16	0
1843.....	25330	7	7	1856.....	20123	0	7
1844.....	22308	10	3	1857.....	21354	15	11
1846.....	22337	4	9	1859.....	18279	1	11
1847.....	21933	6	3	1861.....	20552	13	3
1848.....	21629	11	2	1862.....	19280	10	7
1849.....	21762	1	7	1864.....	20876	16	5
1850.....	23858	19	10	1865.....	27561	4	8

Total.....£769,534 11s. 10d.

In view of such a record, it is little wonder that the Church in Canada should cherish the warmest feelings towards this great Christian Society—a sentiment voiced in the following historical Address passed on 9th September, 1841, by a meeting composed of Bishop Strachan and sixty-five clergymen of his Diocese:

"We, the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Toronto, avail ourselves of the opportunity furnished by the first Visitation held in this Diocese, to address your venerable Society with sentiments of respect and gratitude. We should be wanting in filial duty if, upon such an occasion, we were not to record our unanimous sense of the great and inestimable good of which your Society has, under Divine Providence, been the instrument. To you we have been indebted for our first foundation and support as a visible Chuch in this Colony, and ever since for an uninterrupted series of the most munificent benefactions. When the temporal power which God in His Holy Word has appointed to be the nursing father of His Church withdrew that inadequate assistance which it had hitherto afforded, your unfailing charity has, in a great degree, sustained us in our abandonment, and alleviated many a painful case of individual privation; and while the Colonial Empire of Great Britain was widening its bounds, and threatening with its innumerable demands for spiritual aid to exhaust your resources, you nevertheless continued to maintain the Church which you had been the instrument of planting in these regions, not only with an undiminished but with an increasing liberality.

The grain of mustard-seed has now — may God be praised for this great mercy—grown into a goodly and overshadowing tree; and so long as the root of it is refreshed by God's blessing upon your bounty, we may hope that its branches will extend, and increasing thousands find rest and peace beneath its shelter. In 1801, nine clergymen, missionaries of your Society, were the only labourers in the immense vineyard comprised in the Province of Canada; in 1841, two Bishops and one hundred and fifty clergymen are found within the same limits exercising this oversight of the Church of God, which He hath purchased with his own blood. This is a progress sufficiently encouraging to justify the hope that we shall be sustained by the aid of your venerable Society in extending the good work in which we are now engaged. And, when we call to mind that on every occasion when the Bishop of this Diocese has pointed out a channel into which your bounty might be advantageously directed, it has not failed to visit our waste places with its refreshing streams—when we contemplate the blessing which your Society for more than fifty years has conferred on this Province, and the spiritual destitution which must ensue upon the diminution of its bounty—we rest assured in the consoling hope that this branch of the Anglican Church will still be fostered by your generous hand, and that our fellow-Christians in the British Isles will still more abundantly contribute those resources, which it is their privilege to entrust to your faithful stewardship. Influenced by every grateful emotion that a long train of the highest benefits received can infuse into our hearts, we conclude with the prayer, that those who supply and those who apportion the funds of your venerable Society, may be partakers of that salvation which they are the instruments of extending to millions of immortal beings in the remotest dependencies of the British Empire."

The New England Missionary Society which also did good service to Canadian Missions, was primarily organized in 1649, as its name indicates, for work in the New England Colonies—especially amongst the Indians. It afterwards devoted considerable attention to British America in its later form and development. The Church Missionary Society or C.M.S., as it is universally known, was founded in London in 1799, and has done a splendid work in the Canadian Provinces. Its name and gifts are a part of the history of the Church. In 1892 its income amounted to £282,805, or $1,414,025. To return for a moment to the S. P. G., it may be added that, considered by Provinces, it had assisted up to 1892, 381 missionaries in Ontario, and helped in planting 278 central stations; in Quebec, 294 missionaries and 162 central stations; in New Brunswick, 216 missionaries and 101 central stations; in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and

Prince Edward Island, 260 missionaries and 98 central stations; in Manitoba and the North-West, 125 missionaries and 88 central stations; in British Columbia, 46 missionaries and 27 central stations.

The Right Rev. Wm. Carpenter Bompas, D.D., was born in London, England, in 1835. He was ordained deacon in 1859, and in 1865, having offered himself for missionary work in British North America, he was ordained to the priesthood and assigned to the Mackenzie River and the Yukon district, where during the seven years previous, splendid missionary work had been done by the Rev. Mr. Hunter, the Rev. W. W. Kirkby and the Rev. R. Macdonald. The two latter were still stationed in the District 800 miles apart. At Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie River, Mr. Kirkby had erected a church, house and school, chiefly by his own work. After a long and troublesome journey, Mr. Bompas reached Fort Simpson on Christmas Day, where he remained until Easter, studying the Indian language. At the end of this time he left for Great Bear Lake, where he lived in the tents of the Indians, and during the next two years travelled over 1,300 miles on foot amongst them. In 1870 Mr. Bompas made acquaintance with the Eskimos, whilst visiting Mr. Macdonald in the Northern Yukon district.

Here Mr. Bompas remained, helping in the missionary work until, in 1874, he was recalled to England by the C.M.S. and duly consecrated Bishop of Athabasca. He was accompanied on his return by Mr. A. C. Shaw, who was ordained at Winnipeg and stationed at Fort Vermilion on Peace River, where he worked with great success. The first Synod of the new Diocese was held in 1876, when there were present only seven or eight laymen and clergymen combined. Dr. Bompas, however, continued his energetic exertions, and soon had traversed the entire length and breadth of his Diocese. In 1880, £1,000 was sent as a donation from England to establish a mission amongst the Eskimo on the Mackenzie River, and the Rev. J. H. Canham was appointed in charge. Another northern post was that at Rampart House, on the borders of Alaska; where there were 2,000 Christian Indians at the time of the Bishop's visit in 1883, the missionary in charge being the Rev. V. C. Sim, who, however, died in 1885 from exposure and insufficient food. In 1884 the vast Diocese was divided, and the Rev. Richard Young was made Bishop of Athabasca, while Bishop Bompas voluntarily assumed the more northern and inaccessible district of the Yukon and Mackenzie Rivers. Some measure of assistance arrived in 1886, however, when the Rev. C. G. Wallis and Messrs. J. W. Ellington and D. Kirkby were added to his staff. All these missionaries were still supported by the C.M.S. Once again, in 1890, the Diocese was divided, when Bishop Bompas chose that of Selkirk, in the far Yukon district, leaving that of Mackenzie River to Bishop Reeve. In his new Diocese the population were nearly all Indians, with the exception of a few traders and miners. Supplies and mail were equally rare, so that the position was one of the most isolated exile. But Bishop Bompas was content, and has laboured incessantly amongst the Indians, seldom seeing even his own missionaries. During 1897-8 the great discoveries of gold in the Klondyke and Canadian Yukon were made, and henceforward the work of Bishop Bompas and the nature of his surroundings have come indirectly within the glare of a world-wide publicity.

Church Missionary Work in the North-West. In the Records of the S. P. G. are to be found many striking pictures of missionary labour and struggle in the North-West of Canada. The following facts and incidents from this source will supplement the narrative given elsewhere by Archbishop Machray.

In 1850 the Society had responded to a request of Bishop Anderson to enter this field. Its first missionary, the Rev. W. H. Taylor (of Newfoundland), was placed in charge of the district of Assiniboia in 1851. This region was about 30 miles in extent, containing a scattered population of European, French-Canadian, mixed (Half-breeds) and Indian races. Service was held at first in a school-room in the centre of the settlement, 3½ miles above Fort Garry. Near the rendezvous of the Indians who visited the settlement in the summer, and within sight "of the scalps suspended over the graves of the poor dark

departed ones," and on the spot where for years the heathen revels had been performed, was built in due time (with the Society's aid) a Christian church. In May, 1852, before either church or parsonage was finished, a great flood swept over the surrounding district, and the parsonage and glebe became a place of safety for a homeless population, including the Bishop and his family. During these battles with the elements the early settlers were often worsted. Thus in one winter Mr. Taylor wrote of the "freezing of the ink in the pen while filling up the marriage register. Immediately the pen came in contact with the air of the church the ink became solid . . . though a great fire was burning in the stove." In 1855 the Mission became the organized Parish of St. James, Assiniboine, with a consecrated church, which was calculated to raise the tone of public worship in the Diocese. The district for many miles round continued to benefit from Mr. Taylor's labours until 1867, when illness obliged him to return to England.

In 1852 the Society made provision for stationing a clergyman at York Fort, in response to an appeal which the Bishop forwarded from the Indians there. They had had occasional visits from Protestant ministers, and were endeavouring, so far as their knowledge went, to worship God "in spirit and in truth," reading the books printed in their own tongue, praying night and morning, and observing the Sabbath. But they felt like a flock of sheep without a shepherd. "Long have we cried for help." (they concluded) "Will you not take pity on us, our ignorant wives, our helpless children, many of whom are still unbaptized, and some of us too?" The Bishop's selection of the Rev. R. Macdonald for this post was approved by the Society, but it was deemed advisable to send a clergyman of greater experience, and such an one could not be obtained until 1854, when the mission was undertaken by the C. M. S. From 1854 to 1859 the Society supported the Rev. T. Cochrane at St. John's, Red River, who was entrusted with the charge of the Collegiate School for the training (among others) of candidates for the ministry. The next mission of the Society was formed at Fort Ellice, or Beaver Creek, 240 miles to the westward of the Assiniboine River, where the Rev. T. Cook was appointed in 1862 to minister to the Indians, Half-breeds, and the few English of the district. Being "native born" Mr. Cook was equally familiar with both languages, and at Bishop Machray's first Ordination he "preached in the Cree language for the benefit of the Indians present." The new Bishop (who succeeded Dr. Anderson in 1865) was much impressed by the great good going on in the Diocese, and "the great difference between Indians in a heathen state and those, even but nominally, under the softening and yet elevating influences of the Gospel."

The wandering habits of the Indians added to the task of their conversion. The Half-breeds could be regularly assembled for service and instruction at Fort Ellice, but to win over the natives it was necessary to follow them in their wanderings over hill and plain, and instruct them in wilderness and wigwam. Fort Pelly, Touchwood Hill, Qu'Appelle Lake and other places were visited, and among the Indian tribes ministered to were the Salteaux, Crees, Assiniboines and Sioux. Since buffalo-hunting could no longer be depended upon for obtaining a subsistence, Mr. Cook sought to teach the Indians ploughing and to induce them to settle and farm for themselves. In this he met with little success, but as a missionary he was generally acceptable, and his useful labours were continued for twelve years. Previously to 1870 the Church missions in Rupert's Land had been carried on in "hopeless isolation," as the *S. P. G. Digest* puts it, when no increase of the white population could even be expected except from the servants sent out from Great Britain by the Hudson's Bay Company. Direct intercourse with England was maintained by way of Hudson's Bay, which was navigable only about four months in a year. Annually in the autumn a ship came to York Factory, but goods had to be carried inland nearly 800 miles. Even in 1865, the year of Bishop Machray's arrival, "there was a complete wilderness of 400 miles in width still separating Manitoba from the nearest weak white settlements."

The union of the country with the Dominion of Canada (in 1870) was followed by a magnificent development. In 1871 the Bishop wrote: "I am

anxious that the Society . . . should seriously consider the extraordinary circumstances of the south of my Diocese. I do not suppose that a doubt is anywhere entertained of the fertility of the Province of Manitoba, and of a large section of country to the west of that Province for a thousand miles to the Rocky Mountains. . . . The rapidity with which this rich country is being made accessible is marvellous and unexampled. . . . Language could not too strongly represent the extraordinary result to be anticipated within the next ten years." The opportunity of "taking the initiative in the great work of evangelization for the people that are coming here" was urged with force by Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. A. G. Archibald, at a meeting held at Winnipeg in 1872, when the Society was appealed to for increased aid. At the time these appeals were made, Winnipeg had just "started as a village of a few hundred people" (300 in 1871). By 1880 its population had reached 10,000, which number was trebled in the next ten years.

The Most Rev. Robert Machray, D.D., LL.D., First Archbishop of Rupert's Land and First Primate of all Canada, was born in 1831 in Aberdeen, Scotland. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, taking a most brilliant course at both Colleges and graduating from Cambridge as a Wrangler in 1855. Three months later he was elected a Foundation Fellow, a position he still holds. In the same year he was ordained deacon, and became a priest in 1856. In 1858 he was elected Dean of his College, was University Examiner in 1860 and 1861, and in 1865 was appointed University Ramsden preacher. For three years he was assistant to the Vicar of Newton and Hawton, and in 1862 was collated to the Vicarage of Madingley, near Cambridge, by the Bishop of Ely. At the same time he filled the post of Honourary Secretary to the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Army Scripture Readers' Society and the Servants' Training Institution. He was consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1865, having previously received the degree of D.D. from the University of Cambridge and LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen. Immediately after his consecration he ordained the Rev. W. C. Bompas, afterwards Bishop of Selkirk, to the priesthood, and before he sailed for his Diocese raised £500 towards a new Diocesan fund. Soon after his arrival he held a Bishop's Court of all the clergy in the Diocese in order to promote systematic giving, which was thereafter greatly extended.

At this first conference of the clergy and lay delegates in his vast Diocese, stretching as it did thousands of miles north and west, the Bishop spoke strongly on the need of education amongst the scattered population. He resolved to revive the old St. John's College, for which purpose he was quite willing to give up his own house, and in which he took the post of Mathematical Master. For this scheme he obtained generous aid from England, and by 1873 the endowment for the College had reached $30,000. It is now affiliated with Manitoba University with a separate Faculty of Theology. At the Synod of 1873 Bishop Machray announced that after negotiations with the English Missionary Societies and Church authorities the Diocese was to be sub-divided into four, and so curtailed as to include little more than the Province of Manitoba. In 1875 the first (Western) Provincial Synod was held and Bishop Machray became Metropolitan of the new Ecclesiastical Province. The College School for Boys was now formed at Winnipeg, and of this the Bishop himself took charge. In 1878, the Bishop on attending the second Lambeth Conference was assigned a seat with the other Metropolitans by the side of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on attending the Conference of 1888 received the degree of D.D. from the University of Durham. He was still further honoured in 1893 when the Queen appointed him "Prelate of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George." At the General Synod of that year it was decided that the Metropolitans of Canada should have the title of Archbishop, and at the same Synod Archbishop Machray was elected Chairman of the Upper House and the first Primate of all Canada. He has also been Chairman of the Provincial Board of Education almost from the beginning and Chancellor of the University of Manitoba from its foundation. In 1893 he was made a D.C.L. of Trinity University, Toronto, and

in 1897 a D.C.L. of Oxford University. His career may very briefly be described as marked by ardent devotion to Church work and extension, by intense personal energy and by the most earnest piety. The following Address presented to the Canadian Primate by the General Synod of the Church during its Winnipeg Session in September, 1896, speaks of that career historically and appropriately:

"We, the members of the Upper and Lower Houses of the General Synod of Canada, take the opportunity of our meeting in the metropolis of Your Grace's Diocese and Ecclesiastical Province, to offer to Your Grace our most heartfelt congratulations on the marvellous progress of the Church under your guidance in the Canadian North-West. Truly it is no ordinary experience in the history of a people, that within the limits of but three decades the mere trading post, the home of a few hundred souls, to which you came, should have become at once a great and growing centre of enterprise and commerce, and a noble city—the Winnipeg of to-day; while no less wonderful is the history of God's Church during the same period which has seen your Episcopal jurisdiction multiplied even seven-fold. We note with gratitude to God the exalted faith and statesmanlike ability displayed by Your Grace in the upbuilding of the system of Dioceses composing the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, which has been a cause at once of admiration and thankfulness to the whole Canadian Church. We also note with supreme satisfaction the eminent position which Your Grace has taken in moulding the educational development of this part of our Dominion. To you, alike as Chancellor of the Provincial University of Manitoba, and as Chairman of the Board of Education, bringing to bear, as you have done, upon the work of these positions great wisdom, ripe scholarship, and untiring zeal, not the North-West only, but the whole Dominion of Canada, is under a lasting debt of gratitude.

From a Church point of view, however, we feel that it is hard for us to speak too highly of what you have accomplished for religion in your fostering care of the Church College of St. John. Few will ever know and none can ever fully measure what the Church in the North-west owes to your devoted efforts in this direction. To your unfailing and unflinching advocacy of religious teaching in our public schools is largely due, under God, that improved tone of public thought on this great subject, which promises in the near future the achievement of the Church's wishes in this regard, as expressed by the unanimous action of this Synod at its present Session. We have heard with the greatest satisfaction of the encouraging results which in recent years have crowned the unceasing efforts of Your Grace to develop the spirit of self-support among our Church people. The combined dignity and kindliness which have characterized your Episcopate have, we feel, contributed in no small degree to recommend the Church and her work to all classes of the community. We desire to add our congratulations upon the high recognition of your eminent services to the cause of the Colonial Church by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, in your investiture as Prelate of the distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, the most distinguished honour conferred by the Crown upon the Colonial Episcopate. With the devout prayer that Your Grace may be long spared to fill the high position of influence and usefulness to which it has pleased the great Head of the Church to call you, we beg to subscribe ourselves on behalf of the General Synod," etc.

Church Missionary Labours in Algoma. In 1830 a Society was formed in York (Toronto) for "converting and civilizing the Indians and propagating the Gospel among destitute settlers in Upper Canada," which sent a layman, Mr. J. D. Cameron, to be a teacher amongst the Indians at Sault Ste. Marie. He was succeeded in 1832 by the Rev. William McMurray, who, after having built a log church and done good service, was succeeded by the Rev. F. A. O'Meara in 1838. Mr. O'Meara was a most enthusiastic worker, and spent many successful years amongst the Indians, although he soon left Sault Ste. Marie, and was stationed at Manitoulin Island. Other missionaries also sought these regions—the Rev. G. A. Anderson, the Rev. James Chance and the Rev. Peter Jacobs. As early as 1842, Bishop Strachan, when on a visit to Sault Ste. Marie, advocated the formation of a Bishopric, but his wish was not carried out until thirty years later. By 1865, two other missionaries had been added—the Rev. J. F. Sims at Manitoulin, and the Rev. J. Carry at Sault Ste. Marie. Two years later, Muskoka was opened as a station, with the Rev. H. B. Wray as missionary in charge.

Sault Ste. Marie, after being without a special service for some years, in 1870 was joined to Garden River, under Mr. Chance, and in the same year the Rev. Rowland Hill took charge of Manitoulin Island. Mr. Sims having been

drowned while performing his self-sacrificing labours, the Rev. Thomas Ball succeeded Mr. Wray in Muskoka, and Parry Sound was added to the list of missions, being provided with the Rev. Robert Mosley. A second clergyman was added to the Muskoka district in 1871, when the Rev. W. Newton, PH.D., was sent to Rosseau. The Rev. E. F. Wilson succeeded to Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie, and in 1872 Prince Arthur's Landing (Port Arthur) received the Rev. C. B. Dundas. In this year it was decided to form the whole region into a separate Diocese, and after much discussion and delay the Rev. Frederick Dawson Fanquier was elected Bishop, and his Consecration took place towards the close of 1873. After a short visit to his Diocese, Bishop Fanquier sailed for England to procure funds for his work. The new Diocese prospered, and by 1877 the clergy had increased to nine, with eleven churches free of debt, and sixteen lay readers, while at Garden River there had been erected the Shingwauk House as an Industrial School for boys.

The work of the Bishop, however, was very heavy, as, in addition to long and toilsome journeys throughout his vast Diocese, he was compelled to visit older congregations to beg for money—the Bishop's stipend being the only sum provided by the Synod. This anxiety and the severe work of the Diocese began to tell upon his health and in 1881 he commenced to fail and died at the end of the year. Bishop Fanquier left the Diocese with thirteen clergymen, thirty-four churches and seven parsonages, besides a See House at Sault Ste. Marie and two Homes for Indian children at Garden River—one for boys and one for girls. The Rev. Dr. Sullivan succeeded to the Bishopric and about a year later was elected Bishop of Huron. This position he declined, however, feeling that his duty lay rather in the wilds of Algoma. He employed all his energies in the work, and at the time of his resignation in 1896 had nearly doubled the clergy; had raised a Superannuation and a Widows and Orphans' Fund; and an Episcopal Endowment Fund of nearly $60,000. A substantial Church and Parsonage Fund was also obtained by his unceasing efforts, as well as a Reserve Fund for the clergy of $10,000. He collected besides all this nearly $9,000 for a steam yacht for his work amongst the Islands and coast settlements—a most necessary matter. These Funds were all due to Bishop Sullivan's great exertions, excepting that from 1886 to 1889 the Widows and Orphans' Fund was raised from $5,934.79 to $12,599.72 by the labours of Mrs. Boomer, in the Diocese of Huron, as a "Jubilee Memorial Fund." The balance was obtained by personal appeals made in England and through the help of the great Missionary Societies. A Triennial Council was also formed, which meets every three years, when the otherwise isolated clergy come together for discussion. Five Rural Deans have been appointed and an Archdeacon, while the Diocese is now represented in the Provincial Synod. By 1893 twenty-six new churches had been built and ten re-built, all free of debt. In this year, however, Bishop Sullivan suffered a severe attack of nervous prostration, and his strength became so impaired that in spite of two winters spent at Mentone, France, he was compelled to resign his charge in 1896 and was succeeded by Dr. George Thorneloe. A little later he accepted the Rectorship of St. James' Church, Toronto.

Bishops of the Church of England in Canada. No body of men in the history of the British Empire has shown a greater spirit of self-sacrifice and Christian zeal than the Anglican Bishops of Canada. Pioneer missionaries, many of them were, and all with vast fields of labour and but little worldly reward; immense opportunities for doing good with but limited available means. Some of them in earlier days have played the part of ecclesiastical statesman and nearly all have been wise leaders of their Church and people. The following summarized particulars may therefore be given:

Algoma, Ont.

Rt. Rev. Frederick Dawson Fanquier, D.C.L., D.D. Born 1817. Consecrated 1873. Died 1881.

Rt. Rev. Edward Sullivan, S.T.D., D.C.L. Born 1832. Consecrated 1882. Resigned 1896.

Rt. Rev. George Thorneloe, M.A., D.D., D.C.L. Born 1848. Consecrated November, 1896.

Athabasca, N.W.T.

Rt. Rev. William Carpenter Bompas, D.D. Born 1835. Consecrated as First Bishop of Athabasca, 1874. First Bishop of Mackenzie River, 1884. First Bishop of Selkirk, 1890.

Rt. Rev. Richard Young, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1843. Consecrated 18th October, 1884.

Caledonia, B.C.

Rt. Rev. William Ridley, D.D. Born 1836. Consecrated 25th July, 1879.

Columbia, B.C.

Rt. Rev. George Hills, D.D. Born 1816. Consecrated 1859. Resigned 1892. Died 1895.

Rt. Rev. William Wilcox Perrin, M.A., D.C.L. Born 1848. Consecrated March 25th, 1893.

Fredericton, N.B.

Most Rev. John Medley, D.D. Born 1804. Consecrated 1845. Died 1892.

Rt. Rev. Hollingworth Tully Kingdon, D.D. Born 1837. Consecrated Coadjutor Bishop 10th July, 1881. Succeeded 1892.

Huron, Ont.

Rt. Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, D.D. Born 1802. Consecrated 1857. Died 1871.

Rt. Rev. Isaac Hellmuth, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1817. Consecrated 1871. Resigned 1883.

Rt. Rev. Maurice Scollard Baldwin, D.D. Born 1836. Consecrated November 30th, 1883.

Mackenzie River, N.W.T.

Rt. Rev. William Carpenter Bompas, D.D. 1874 to 1890.

Rt. Rev. William Day Reeve, D.D. Born 1844. Consecrated 29th November, 1891.

Montreal, P.Q.

Rt. Rev. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D. Born 1789. Consecrated 1836. Bishop of Quebec, 1850. Died 1863.

Most Rev. Francis Fulford, D.D. Born 1803. Consecrated 1850. Died 1868.

Most Rev. Ashton Oxenden, D.D. Born 1808. Consecrated 1869. Resigned 1878. Died 1892.

Rt. Rev. William Bennett Bond, D.D., LL.D. Born 1815. Consecrated January 25th, 1879.

Moosonee, N.W.T.

Rt. Rev. John Horden, D.D. Born 1828. Consecrated 1872. Died 1893.

Rt. Rev. Jervois Arthur Newnham, D.D. Born 1854. Consecrated Aug. 6th, 1893.

New Westminster, B.C.

Rt. Rev. Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D. Born 1841. Consecrated 1879. Died 1894.

Rt. Rev. John Dart, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1837. Consecrated June 29th, 1895.

Niagara, Ont.

Rt. Rev. Thomas Brock Fuller, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1810. Consecrated 1875. Died 1884.

Rt. Rev. Charles Hamilton, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1834. Consecrated 1885. First Bishop of Ottawa, 1885 to 1896.

Rt. Rev. John Phillip DuMoulin, M.A., D.C.L. Born 1836. Consecrated 24th June, 1896.

Nova Scotia.

Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D. Born 1734. Consecrated 1787. Died 1816.

Rt. Rev. Robert Stanser, D.D. Born 1761. Consecrated 1816. Resigned 1824. Died 1829.

Rt. Rev. John Inglis, D.D. Born 1777. Consecrated 1825. Died 1850.

Rt. Rev. Hibbert Binney, D.D. Born 1819. Consecrated 1851. Died 1887.

Rt. Rev. Frederick Courtney, D.D., S.T.D. Born 1837. Consecrated 25th April, 1888.

Ontario.

Most Rev. John Travers Lewis, D.D., LL.D. Born 1825. Consecrated March 25th, 1862. Chosen Archbishop 1893.

Ottawa, Ont.

Rt. Rev. Charles Hamilton, D.D., D.C.L. Translated from Niagara, March, 1896.

Qu'Appelle, N.W.T.

Hon. and Rt. Rev. Adelbert John Robert Anson, D.D. Born 1840. Consecrated 1884. Resigned 1892.

Rt. Rev. William John Burn, M.A., D.C.L. Born 1851. Consecrated 1893. Died 1896.

Rt. Rev. John Grisdale, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1845. Consecrated August, 1896.

Quebec.

Rt. Rev. Jacob Mountain, D.D. Born 1751. Consecrated 1793. Died 1825.

Hon. and Rt. Rev. Charles James Stewart, D.D. Born 1775. Consecrated 1826. Died 1837.

Rt. Rev. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D., D.C.L. 1837–1863. (See Montreal).

Rt. Rev. James William Williams, D.D. Born 1825. Consecrated 1863. Died 1892.

Rt. Rev. Andrew Hunter Dunn, D.D. Born 1839. Consecrated Sept. 18th, 1892.

Rupert's Land.

Rt. Rev. David Anderson, D.D. Born 1814. Consecrated 1849. Resigned 1864. Died 1885.

Most Rev. Robert Machray, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. Born 1831. Consecrated 1865. Metropolitan 1875. Primate 1893.

Selkirk or Yukon, N.W.T.

Rt. Rev. William Carpenter Bompas, D.D. Translated 1890.

Saskatchewan, N.W.T.

Rt. Rev. John McLean, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1828. Consecrated 1874. Died 1886.

Rt. Rev. William Cyprian Pinkham, D.D. Born 1844. Consecrated Aug. 7th, 1887.

Toronto.

Hon. and Rt. Rev. John Strachan, D.D., LL.D., M.L.C. Born 1778. Consecrated 1839. Died 1867.

Rt. Rev. Alexander Neil Bethune, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1800. Consecrated 1867. Died 1879.

Rt. Rev. Arthur Sweatman, D.D., D.C.L. Born 1834. Consecrated 1st May, 1879.

Church Missionary Work in British Columbia. The Pacific Province of the present Dominion was no sooner proclaimed a Colony and taken from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, than it became a Diocese of the English Church. An endowment having been provided by Miss (afterwards Baroness) Burdett-Coutts, Bishop Hills was consecrated to the See in 1859. In response to previous applications, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had meanwhile, in 1857, set apart funds for establishing a "Mission to the Heathen" in Vancouver's Island, and its first missionary, the Rev. R. Dowson, arrived on February 2nd, 1859. At that time Victoria, the capital of the Colony, according to the *S.P.G. Digest*, was "a strange assemblage of wooden houses, with a mixed population of every nation numbering about 1,500." Mr. Dowson found but one small village of Indians near Victoria, and the men are described as being idle and debased. He therefore started on a voyage of discovery to the north of Vancouver Island, and so on to Fort Simpson upon the Mainland. He sailed in a vessel of the Hudson's Bay Company, and for his long and tedious voyage was well repaid by the knowledge he gained of the Island and of Indian life in its wildest and most natural aspect. Nanaimo, the next white settlement north of Victoria, had a population of about 160 whites and half-castes, with a few hundred Indians camped around. The village was "a most miserable affair, simply the wood cleared away and small wooden houses sprinkled amongst the mud and stumps." The Hudson's Bay Company maintained a school there for the white and half-caste children, and Mr. Dowson held services in the same building.

Previously, the place had been only twice visited by a clergyman—chaplains from Victoria in a passing steamer. The Indians were chiefly wanderers, "coming for a short time," says the *Digest*, "to work at the coal mines and earn a few blankets, and then taking themselves off again." Some distance to the south was a large tribe of Cowichans, amongst whom a Roman Catholic missionary had tried to live, but as soon as he had no more blankets, calico, etc., to give, they are said to have driven him away. Nearly all the different tribes are described as hating each other. At Fort Rupert, 200 miles further north, there were about six whites—employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. Outside the Fort were encamped a thousand Quackolls—"the most bloodthirsty of all the Indian tribes on the North-West Coast." At Fort Simpson, on the Mainland, there were about twenty whites, surrounded by the Chimpsian tribe, numbering 4,000, of whom several had been taught to read a little English by a C.M.S. school-master. Mr. Dowson informed the S.P.G. that these Indians appeared to be "as totally without religion of any sort as it is possible for human beings to be." Their only idea of the future was annihilation. On his return from this expedition to the North, Mr. Dowson took up his quarters temporarily in a little dilapidated school-house belonging to the Colony, about four miles from Victoria, and made preparations for establishing himself in one of the Indian villages. He tried in vain to find any European who was able or willing to teach him

anything of the native language. As a rule, the only means of communication between the Indians and whites was Chinook, a jargon only used as a trading language. Chinook acquired, however, the missionary began the study of Cowichan by having a native to live with him.

Owing to the illness of his wife, Mr. Dowson was unfortunately compelled to return to England in 1860, but during his short stay he had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Indians around him, and proving that they were capable of receiving good as well as bad impressions. A knowledge of medicine had been of great assistance to him, and his reputation for doing good reached the Saanechs, whose three principal chiefs came to invite him to live amongst them, promising to give him "plenty of good land to build a house upon, and that not one of them would steal or do any wrong." Mr. Dowson was able to be of some use to the white settlers also. Though nearly all Scotch Presbyterians, they attended regularly, to the number of forty, some from a considerable distance and joined very heartily in the Church services held in the school-room. The second S. P. G. missionary in British Columbia was the Rev. J. Gammage, who was appointed to minister to the gold miners. When he arrived in April, 1859, the gold-mining district was confined to the Mainland, and extended 400 miles from Hope, on the Lower Frazer, to the Quesnel River, in the North. The population consisted for the most part of emigrants from California—"a strange mixture of all nations, most difficult to reach." Everywhere in the Colony a most primitive style of life is stated to have prevailed. The *S. P. G. Digest* says that gentlemen cleaned their own boots, and cut their own firewood; ladies were their own cooks, housemaids and dressmakers; there were no servants; and even the Governor had not a female servant in his establishment. The expense of living was great. In Victoria, for instance, water for drinking is said to have cost 6d. a bucket.

Mr. Gammage's ministrations were chiefly among the British and Americans, and the moving mining population. Generally they were men of the world—very keen for gain and "very ignorant of the principles or elements of Christianity." Few possessed a Bible, and most of them did not know whether they had been baptised or not. Some had not attended any place of worship for ten years, and had "no idea of reverence." A small room was opened for service, and on Sundays Mr. Gammage passed through the streets, bell in hand, calling the people from the worship of Mammon to the worship of God. Thirst for gold had in many instances, he declares, absorbed "every moral quality that ennobles or dignifies humanity, leaving nothing but a dry and barren stock, which the spirit of God alone can vivify." The Americans were "exceedingly bitter against the English"; and very seldom could be prevailed upon to join in divine worship. They, however, contributed towards the building of a church, which was consecrated in March, 1862. In it Mr. Gammage ministered for three years and proved, with his wife, a great blessing to the district. Between 1860 and 1865 twelve missionaries were added to the Diocese, and the following centres occupied: Victoria 1860, Hope 1860, New Westminster 1861, Nanaimo 1861, Alberni 1864, Saanich 1864, Lillooet 1864, Sapperton 1865, Esquimault 1865, Leech 1865. Writing of the situation in 1862 Archdeacon Wright said:

"The more I can grasp the state of things, the more do I feel the importance of a Bishop heading missionary labour in a new Colony. Our dear friend (Bishop Hills) has, under God, done already a great work. There is scarcely a single township which has not its missionary clergyman and parsonage, and attention is being turned to education. . . . In Victoria there are two crowded churches, with services conducted as well as those of the best managed parishes at home; and in New Westminster we are, thank God, equal to our brethren over the water, as regards church, rector, choir and all that is necessary for decency and order."

In summarizing the work on the Mainland the Archdeacon wrote again in 1865: "How has the Gospel been presented in the Colony of British Columbia, in which four of the Society's missionaries have been steadily engaged? I answer, it has been offered liberally, most liberally, to the household of faith. In every place where men are gathered there a house of God has been erected, and a resident clergyman stationed. At Langley, Hope, Yale, Douglas, Lillooet, Cariboo, Sapperton, and in New Westminster, houses of

God have been built. . . . Five of these churches have been served by resident ministers whose work it has been to deal with souls gathered together from various nations of the earth, of all creeds, and no creed."

Among the Indians in Vancouver's Island the Rev. A. C. Garrett organized a mission at Victoria in 1860. His greatest difficulty was the contaminating influence of the white men, who carried on a traffic "in poisonous compounds under the name of whiskey," whereby the Indians died in numbers and the survivors fought "like things inhuman." Now and then a vendor was caught and fined or imprisoned, but another filled his place and the trade proceeded. As six different languages were spoken the missionary was obliged to use Chinook, into which he translated portions of the Liturgy. Mr. Garrett's labours at this station were successful beyond expectation. In one year nearly 600 Indians, men and children, received some instruction in his school. He also founded a mission in the Cowichan district both among the whites and Indians.

While welcoming the missionary, however, the Indians were cautious regarding the white settlers. "If we go and take your blankets or your cows," they said, "you will lock us up in gaol; why, then, do you come and take our land and our deer? Don't steal our land; buy it, and then our hearts will be very happy." The Church certainly did deal honestly with these natives. Land was purchased and a mission organized with a resident missionary—the Rev. W. S. Reece—in 1866. Of Nanaimo (also on Vancouver's Island), where the Rev. J. B. Good was stationed in 1861, the Bishop reported in January, 1863: "There is now a church, parsonage and school for the whole population and a school-chapel for the Indians, through his zealous exertions. I have several times been present at interesting services at the latter, and have reason to think that a deep impression has been made upon the Indian mind."

Mr. Good visited the Indians from house to house, worked for days in the Reserve, cutting roads, and encouraging them to improve their dwellings and mode of living. He instructed their children, and every Sunday preached to the adults—at first in one of the chief's houses and afterwards in a beautiful mission chapel to crowded congregations. The sick and dying were also cared for, and in one year he vaccinated hundreds of the natives; his treatment having "surprisingly good effect in the majority of instances." In 1866 Mr. Good was transferred to the Mainland at Yale (on the Fraser River) where he had the care of a small English congregation and the neighbouring Indians. In 1867 he received an invitation from the Thompson River Indians, a tribe numbering 1,500. They had, after applying in vain for teachers of the Church of England, received occasional visits from Roman Catholic missionaries. One afternoon, in the winter of 1867, a large body of them, it is stated in the *Digest*, were seen approaching from the Lytton Road. "On they came, walking in single file, according to their custom, and headed by Sashiatan, a chief of great repute and influence—once a warrior noted for his prowess and cruelty." Gathering round the church steps with heads uncovered, they stated their desire to be taught a better way than they had yet known. The deputation was followed by two others of similar character. Mr. Good thus gained some acquaintance with their language, and with the aid of an interpreter he translated a portion of the Litany into Nitlakapamuk and chanted it to them, telling them also of the Gospel.

While Mr. Good was awaiting the arrival of an assistant, Mr. Holmes, to leave at Yale, the Indians sent him a message by telegraph urging him to make haste and come. A few days after he met 600 of them at Lytton, who besought him "to come amongst them and to be their father, teacher and guide." Pledges "to be true and obedient" were given on behalf of themselves, and of absent friends who outnumbered those present.

In May 1868 Bishop Hills visited the Indians. At Yale he preached to 380, under the care of Mr. Holmes, who already had obtained a surprising influence over them. On the way to Lytton, where Mr. Good had removed, the Bishop was met by the missionary and sixty mounted Indians—representatives of many tribes, and all catechumens in the mission. On entering Lytton the Bishop had to shake hands with 700 Indians, "who were all adherents of the mission and many had come 100 miles" to meet him. The church

was thronged by hundreds, old and young. After one of the services four catechumens were received, one of whom had been a notorious sorcerer steeped in barbarism.

During his Visitation the Bishop met twenty-two chiefs, nearly all of whom were catechumens. In all there were 580 accepted catechumens at Lytton, and 180 at Yale—representing about 1,500 declared adherents of the Church of England. Baptism was preceded by probations varying from two years and upwards. Magistrates, Hudson's Bay Company officials, settlers and traders, all alike bore testimony to the beneficial influence of these missions, under which whole tribes and families of Indians were seen to be giving up their evil practices and heathen customs.

In 1871 the Bishop laid the foundation of a new church at Lytton, dedicated to St. Paul (by which name the mission has since been known), and in the next year he baptized twenty-six Indians, after a searching examination and investigation of character. During two Episcopal visits to the same place in 1873 and 1874, 245 Indians (of whom 206 were adults) received baptism, most of them at the hands of the Bishop. On the second occasion 116 were confirmed. Meanwhile (in 1873), Mr. Holmes was transferred to Cowichan, and Yale was united to St. Paul's Mission. This addition to a district already extending over 100 square miles added greatly to the task of seeking out the remaining heathen, but the pastoral work itself proved a powerful evangelizing agency, and many who at first held aloof were by it drawn into the fold. In 1879 the Mainland of British Columbia was formed into two new Dioceses—New Westminster in the south and Caledonia in the north—and the original See of British Columbia was limited to Vancouver's Island and the adjacent isles. As far back as 1867 Bishop Hills testified that the aid of the S.P.G. had "been productive of vast benefits to the inhabitants" of the Colony, and that without it, "humanly speaking, we could have accomplished but little indeed."

On the division of the Diocese it was thought wise—considering the more pressing calls from other quarters—to withdraw assistance from Vancouver's Island, where for more than twenty years the Society had laboured to plant missions amongst the natives and settlers. Since December, 1881, the Diocese of British Columbia has therefore not received any financial help from the Society other than that afforded by two grants of £300 each in 1889 and 1891 towards a Clergy Endowment Fund. In the Diocese of New Westminster, which the Society assisted to establish by guaranteeing the maintenance of the Bishop until an endowment had been provided, Bishop Sillitoe found, as the fruits of the Society's work, that the Church had been planted, and had "taken root in four districts, each of them as extensive as an English Diocese." The re-organization of the Lytton and Yale Mission under two missionaries in 1884 led to much progress there, and by 1889 the number of Christians had more than doubled, partly through the unceasing labours of the Rev. R. Small.

To the Diocese of Caledonia, the Society, on the invitation of Bishop Ridley, extended its aid in 1880 by providing funds for the support of a missionary to work amongst the gold miners. But the grant was not made use of until 1884, when a beginning was made by the Rev. H. Sheldon, at Cassiar, the headquarters of the mission being soon removed to Port Essington. Mr. Sheldon's duties often took him into danger, and his self-denial was extreme. In his first year he secured the building of a church—"the first place of worship of any kind ever created for the white men on the coast." The district under his charge embraced "the whole of that part of the Diocese situated on the Mainland of British Columbia." He found the mining camps "more or less a scene of wickedness." On this subject the Bishop added in 1886 that "this summer, for the first time, a clergyman of our Church has ministered to the scattered groups of our countrymen from the coast to the Rocky Mountains." Mr. Sheldon appears to have been the only qualified medical man available for most of the population, and the knowledge of medicine was a great power for doing good. Besides his ministrations to the whites he had a considerable amount of Indian work conducted in their local language; and in the services held by him were to be seen the whites and Indians worshipping side by side. After two years of zealous and faithful labour the missionary was called upon to

lay down his life. On February 20th, 1888, he embarked at Port Essington in a canoe, intending to minister to the sick settlers some 40 miles distant. With him were four Indians. When nearly half way to Fort Simpson the canoe was struck, split, and capsized by a squall. All were drowned except an Indian lad. He says that though Mr. Sheldon's flesh was torn from his fingers (while clinging to the canoe), "He did not cry out. He only prayed for us boys."

His successor, the Rev. M. Browne, reported in 1889 that Mr. Sheldon "began a work which is to-day a star of grandeur always assuming larger dimensions as we travel for thousands of miles through Cassiar and Babiu regions. No pen can describe his matchless worth, and no tongue tell the tale of woe which his death effected. As a parish priest his walk of life was a silent sermon daily to his people, and his medical ability bestowed consolation and health where for years no one appeared to protect either body or soul." On Mr. Browne's resignation at the end of 1890 the mission was temporarily placed in charge of Mr. A. D. Price and Peter Haldane, an Indian. The former was soon admitted to Holy Orders. In 1892 the Rev. T. C. P. Pyemont was added to the staff. Writing in 1892, the Bishop said: "It is astonishing to witness the extension of the work begun at Port Essington. Now it has six branches or out-stations." This sketch of Church missionary work in British Columbia could not be concluded in better words than by quoting the following extract descriptive of Bishop Hills' early labours from Dr. C. H. Mockridge's "History of the Bishops of the Church of England in Canada.":

"The Bishop himself travelled continuously from post to post, by canoe, by Hudson's Bay steamboat, or on horseback. Long, solitary journeys he took as he went about 'confirming the churches.' Great were the hindrances that he met with from the elements above, the sparse accommodation and the uncouth jargon of the Indians (called the Chinook), which, through an interpreter, formed the only means by which he could make known the message which was ever ready to break from his lips; yet he persevered, though the progress was unsatisfactory and slow. The typical missionary—described by the Bishop himself—was 'a man with stout country shoes, corduroy trousers, a coloured woollen shirt, a leather strap round his waist, and an axe upon his shoulder, driving a mule or horse laden with packs of blankets, a tent, bacon, a sack of flour, a coffee pot, a kettle and a frying-pan.' In this manner, halting at intervals for rest and cooking, which involved the making of his own bread, the missionary would travel for hundreds and hundreds of miles to minister to Indians and miners only. And to visit the haunts of the miners—what sanctified courage it meant! Often it was pandemonium; often 'twas like the mouth of hell. Yet the missionary, finding sometimes no one willing to attend his service, stands outside a drinking saloon and boldly denounces the wickedness of the people. It may be—and such has happened—that one at least of the carousing gamblers will listen and stand firmly by the man who dares to tell the truth in such a dangerous place. Bishop Hills himself spent weeks at a time among men of this description. Such was British Columbia, and such it remained for several years."

The record of the Church in British Columbia, as described above, is essentially one of modern missionary work, growing in strength and scope as the field widened by the increase of population. Its general progress may be further outlined. Mr. Alexander Begg in his History of the Province states that at the occupation of New Caledonia and Vancouver Island by the Hudson's Bay Company the Church of England service was officially recognized by the Company, which employed as its chaplains the clergymen of that Church. The first divine thus recorded was the Rev. H. Beaver, at Fort Vancouver, in 1836; then the Rev. Robert J. Staines, at Fort Victoria, 1849; who was succeeded by the Rev. E. Cridge, in 1855. The Hudson's Bay Company had a church built for Mr. Cridge (Christ Church, Victoria District), which was the only Protestant church in the Colony from 1855 to 1859. At the opening of the first House of Assembly in 1856, Mr. Cridge acted as Chaplain.

Bishop Hills arrived at Esquimault on January 5th, 1860. An Address of welcome was presented to him during the month of January, signed by about eight hundred persons, and read by Rev. Mr. Cridge, who resigned his chaplaincy of the Hudson's Bay Company soon after the arrival of the Bishop. He was then duly licensed and commenced to officiate as Dean.

St. John's Church was consecrated on Septem-

ber 13th, 1860. Christ Church was constituted the Cathedral of the Diocese, in 1865. The first building was consecrated on December 7th, 1865, but was afterwards destroyed by fire. The present Cathedral was consecrated on December 5th, 1872. Soon after this, differences arose between Bishop Hills and Dean Cridge, which resulted in the latter's secession from the Church of England, and the organization of a Reformed Episcopal Church in Victoria. Meanwhile, between 1860-65, the new Bishop's staff was strengthened by the accession of the Rev. A. C. Garrett, the Rev. R. C. Lundin Brown, the Rev. J. B. Good and the Rev. John Sheepshanks—afterwards Bishop of Norwich in England.

A Diocesan Synod was formed in 1875, consisting of Bishop Hills, the licensed clergy and elected lay delegates. The Synod met annually thereafter. The Diocese was divided in 1879—Vancouver Island and the islands continuing under the name of the Diocese of Columbia; the southern part of the Mainland becoming the Diocese of New Westminster, and the northern, the Diocese of Caledonia. In the Diocese of New Westminster Christ Church, Hope, was consecrated Nov. 1st, 1860; Holy Trinity Cathedral, New Westminster, on December 2nd, 1860, was destroyed by fire, and a second building consecrated on December 18th, 1867; St. Mary's, Lillooet, was consecrated on September 21st, 1862; St. Mary's, Sapperton, on May 1st, 1865. Of the Diocese of Caledonia the Right Rev. W. Ridley, D.D., was appointed Bishop in 1879. Soon after his arrival at Metlahkatlah, on account of differences of opinion with the Rev. William Duncan, an exodus of Indians took place—a large number of them following Mr. Duncan to Annette Island. The United States Government, claiming the ownership of that Island, granted a "Reserve" on it to Mr. Duncan and his followers. Bishop Ridley made Metlahkatlah the seat of the Diocese, and now resides there. The church built by the Indians under Mr. Duncan is also used by the Bishop for worship. There are in the village a Public School, a Girl's Home, a Boy's Home, a Public Hospital, with an attendant physician and matron, and an Industrial School. The S.P.G. had meanwhile founded a mission amongst the Chinese, but for some time it was unsuccessful. In 1842, however, the Rev. H. H. Gowen was appointed and the results soon proved eminently satisfactory.

Miscellaneous Church of England Notes.—There are an immense number of works which may be consulted in connection with the history of the Church in Canada. Amongst the chief ones may be mentioned: "The Church of England in Canada," 1758–93, by the Rev. H. C. Stuart, M.A.; "Life of Bishop Strachan," by the Right Rev. Dr. A. N. Bethune; The "Life and Work of Bishop Medley," by the Rev. W. Q. Ketchum, D.D.; "Annals of the Diocese of Quebec," by the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, B.D.; "The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada," by the Rev. C. H. Mockridge, D.D.; The Digest of S. P. G. Records, published in 1893; "The Church in Nova Scotia," by the Rev. A. W. Eaton; Anderson's "History of the Church of England in the Colonies;" the Archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society; Tiffany's "American Church History;" "The University of King's College," by Professor H. Youle Hind; "Clerical Guide," by the Rev. C. Forster Bliss; "The Last Three Bishops appointed by the Crown in Canada," by Fennings Taylor; "Memoirs of Bishop G. J. Mountain," by the Rev. A. W. Mountain; "The English Cathedral of Quebec," by F. C. Wurtele; "The Canadian Church Magazine;" "Lives of Missionaries in North America," an S. P. C. K. publication; "Jubilee Memoirs of the Church Society of the Diocese of Quebec," by the Ven. Archdeacon Roe, D.D.; "The Church in the Colonies (Toronto)," by the Rev. E. Hawkins, B.D.; The Jubilee Volume of the Diocese of Toronto; "History of Church and State in Canada," by the Rev. E. R. Stimson; "Life of Bishop Feild, of Newfoundland," by the Rev. H. W. Tucker; "The Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland," by the Rev. John Langtry, D.D.; Journals and Proceedings of the Provincial Dioceses and General Synods; "Life of Bishop John Horden," by A. R. Buckland, M.A.; "Useful Lives," by the Ven. Archdeacon Dixon; J. C. Dent's "Canadian Portrait Gallery."

From the beginning of the eighteenth century when the earliest pioneer efforts of the Church of England commenced in what is now the Do-

minion of Canada, the Archbishops of Canterbury and Primates of England have been as follows:

Name.	Appointment.
William Wake, D.D.	1715
John Potter, D.D.	1737
Thomas Herring, D.D.	1747
Mathew Hutton, D.D.	1757
Thomas Secker, D.D.	1758
Frederick Cornwallis, D.D.	1768
John Moore, D.D.	1783
Charles Manners Sutton, D.D.	1805
William Howley, D.D.	1828
John Bird Sumner, D.D.	1848
Charles Thomas Longley, D.D.	1862
Archibald Campbell Tait, D.D.	1868
Edward White Benson, D.D.	1883
Frederick Temple, D.D.	1896

The following facts, not elsewhere stated, may be given here. The first Bible and Prayer-Book Society was established in 1817, and during the next year was divided into two, one becoming ultimately the Upper Canada Bible Society. In 1841 a Church of England Tract Society was formed in Toronto, and in the same year a Theological College in Cobourg, which afterwards merged in Trinity College. The Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto was incorporated in 1842, and merged in the Synod of the Diocese in 1870. In 1851 Bishop Strachan invited lay delegates from the various parishes to meet with the clergy and discuss matters relating to the common welfare of the Church, thus inaugurating a memorable change in the constitution, which, after several years of successful work became, in 1857, by Act of the Legislature, a legally constituted Church of England Synod. As late as 1857, Bishops had to go to England for consecration; since that date they have been consecrated in Canada. The Bishop of Ontario was the last (1862) to receive Imperial letters patent of appointment after election. According to Mr. George Johnson in his "First Things in Canada" the Church Woman's Mission Aid Society was formed in 1878, the Church of England Temperance Society and the Girl's Friendly Society in 1882. The first Church Congress was held in Hamilton on June 7th, 1883, and the second in 1884. The Society of the White Cross Army was founded in 1886. The Church of England Jubilee of Ontario was celebrated in Toronto in November, 1889, being the 50th anniversary of the first Anglican Bishop in Upper Canada.

The See-House of Bishop Bompas in the Yukon.

SECTION V.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CANADA

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN CANADA

BY

THE REV. W. H. WITHROW, D.D., F.R.S.C.

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the missionaries of the Jesuit order won many converts in India and the Moluccas, in China and Japan, in Brazil and Paraguay. They gained also some of their greatest successes and exhibited their most heroic spirit in the wilderness of Canada. Nowhere did they encounter greater sufferings with firmer fortitude, or meet with a more tragical fate.

They were the pioneers of civilization, the pathfinders of empire on this continent. With breviary and crucifix, at the command of the Superior of the Order at Quebec, they wandered all over the vast country stretching from the rocky shores of Nova Scotia to the distant prairies of the far West, from the regions around the Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Paddling all day in their bark canoes; sleeping at night on the naked rock; toiling over rugged *portages*, or through pathless forests; pinched by hunger, gnawed to the bone by cold, often dependent for subsistence on acorns, the bark of trees, or the bitter moss to which they have given their name; lodging in Indian wigwams, whose acrid smoke blinded their eyes, and whose obscene riot was unutterably loathsome to their every sense; braving peril and persecution, and death itself; they persevered in their path of self-sacrifice, for the glory of God,* the salvation of souls, the advancement of their Order, and the extension of New France. "Not a cape was turned, not a river was entered," writes Bancroft "but a Jesuit led the way."

As early as 1626, Jean de Brébeuf established a mission among the Hurons on the shores of the Georgian Bay. In 1641, Pères Jogues and Raymbault told the story of the Cross to a wonderful assembly of two thousand Redmen beside the rushing rapids of St. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior, and five years before Eliot had preached the Gospel to the Indians within gunshot of Boston town. The story of Father Jogues' subsequent adventures is one of tragic interest. The following summer, returning from Quebec with supplies for the Huron Mission, his party were surprised by the Iroquois on Lake St. Peter, and carried prisoners to the Mohawk towns. Every indignity and torture that the human frame can endure, were wreaked upon the wretched priest—a man of gentle birth, delicate culture, and scholarly training—and his companions. With mangled hands, and bruised and bleeding body, he was dragged in savage triumph from town to town, the sport of wanton boys and cruel squaws. His companions having been murdered or burned at the stake, Jogues wandered through the wintry woods; carved the Cross and the name of Jesus on the trees; and lifted his voice in a litany of sorrow. But his soul was sustained by visions of his Divine Master, and by the holy joy of being enabled to baptize by stealth no less than seventy Mohawk children, and thus, as he fondly believed, to snatch their souls from eternal perdition.

After a series of hair-breadth escapes he was rescued by the Dutch at Fort Orange, and was restored to France. Fêted and caressed by the Queen of Louis XIII., and by the ladies of the court, he longed to engage once more in his self-sacrificing missionary toils, and with the early spring took ship again for Canada. Undaunted by the agonies he had endured he returned to the scene of his sufferings, to establish among the Mohawks the Mission of the Martyrs, as it was prophetically named. "Ibo et non Redibo—I shall go, but I shall not return," he said, with a just

*Ad Majorem Gloriam Dei is the motto of the Order of Jesus.

presentiment of his fate, as he parted from his friends. He was soon barbarously murdered, and thus received the martyr's starry and unwithering crown (1644). Similar was the fate of Bressani, an Italian Jesuit. Taken prisoner like Jogues, while on his way to the Huron Mission, scarred, scourged, beaten, mangled, burned, and tortured, while hungry dogs fed off his naked body, he still continued to live. "I could not have believed," he wrote, "That a man was so hard to kill." "I do not know," he says, in his letter to the General of the Order at Rome, "If your paternity will recognize the writing of one whom you once knew very well. The letter is soiled and ill-written, because the writer has only one finger of his right hand left entire, and cannot prevent the blood from his wounds, which are still open, from staining the paper. His ink is gunpowder mixed with water, and his table is the ground." He, too, was rescued by the Dutch at Fort Orange, and returned to France, but eagerly hastened, as if in love with death, back to the scene of his sufferings and his toils.

Not a few others earned the honoured title of martyrs and confessors of the faith. Among these were Pères Daniel, Brébeuf, Lalemant, Garnier, Garreau, Buteux, and Chabanet; and Goupil, Brulé and Lalande, lay labourers, who died by violence in the service of the Mission. De Noue was frozen to death in the snow; and Châtelaine, Chaumont, Couture, and others, like Brèssani, endured tortures far worse than death.

The region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, which is now a rich agricultural district, was, two centuries and a half ago, the home of the numerous and powerful Huron Nation of Indians. Much of this region is still covered with what seems to be a virgin forest. Yet the plough and the axe of the pioneer often bring to light the relics of a former population, concerning whom local tradition is silent, and of whom the lingering Redmen of the present know nothing. Yet in the pages of history live the records of this lost race, written with a fidelity and vigour that rehabilitate the past, and bring us face to face with an extinct nation. The forty annual volumes of *Relations des Jesuites* contain a minute and graphic account by men of scholastic training, keen insight, and cultivated powers of observation, of the daily life, the wars and conflicts, the social, and especially the religious condition, of this strange people. As we read these quaint old pages, we are present at the firesides and festivals of the Huron nation; we witness their superstitious rites and usages, their war and medicine dances, and their funeral customs; and, at length, as the result of the pious zeal of the Jesuit missionaries, their general adoption of Christianity and their celebration of Christian worship.

In the region between the Georgian Bay, Lake Simcoe, and the River Severn, in the year 1639, were no less than thirty-two Huron villages, with an estimated population of about thirty thousand. These villages were not mere squalid collections of wigwams, but consisted of well-built dwellings, about thirty or thirty-five feet high, as many wide; land sometimes thirty and even a hundred yards long. They were generally well fortified by a ditch, rampart, and three or four rows of palisades, and sometimes had flanking bastions which covered the front with a crossfire. The inhabitants were not mere hunting nomads, but an agricultural people who laid up ample stores of provisions, chiefly Indian corn, for their maintenance during the winter.

As early as 1626, Jean de Brébeuf, the Apostle of the Hurons, had visited, and for three years remained amongst these savage tribes. On Kirke's conquest of Quebec, he was recalled, but in 1634, accompanied by Pères Daniel and Davost, he returned under a savage escort to the temporarily abandoned mission. By a tortuous route of nine hundred miles up the Ottawa, and through Lake Nipissing, French River, and the Georgian Bay, they reached the Bay of Penetanguishene. Over five and thirty *portages*, sometimes several miles long, often steep and rugged; through tangled forests, and over sharp rocks that lacerated their naked feet, the missionary pioneers helped to bear the bark canoes and their contents. Fifty times they had to plunge into rapids, and, wading or stumbling over boulders in the rocky channel, to drag the laden boats against an arrowy stream. With drenched and tattered garments, with weary and fasting frames, with bruised and mangled feet, stung by mosquitoes and venomous insects, they had to sleep on the damp earth or naked rock. "But amid it all," writes Brébeuf, "my soul

enjoyed a sublime contentment, knowing that all I suffered was for God."* Separated from his companions and abandoned by his perfidious escort, Brébeuf offered himself and all his labours to God for the salvation of these poor savages†, and pressed through the woods to the scene of his former toil. He found that Brulé, a fellow-countryman, had been cruelly murdered in his absence, and, with prophetic instinct, anticipated the same fate for himself, but desired only that it might be in advancing the glory of God. Davost and Daniel soon after arrived, a mission house and chapel were built, and the latter decorated with a few pictures, images, and sacred vessels, brought with infinite toil over the long and difficult route from Quebec. Here the Christian altar was reared. Surpliced priests chanted the ancient litanies of the Church, whose unwonted sounds awoke strange echoes in the forest aisles, and savage tribes were besought by the death of Christ and love of Mary to seek the salvation of the cross.

But, by weary years of hope deferred, the missionaries' faith was sorely tried. They toiled, and preached, and prayed, and fasted without any apparent reward of their labour. The ramparts of error seemed impregnable. The hosts of hell seemed leagued against them. The Indian "sorcerers," as the Jesuits called the "medicine men," whom they believed to be the imps of Satan, if not, indeed, his human personification, stirred up the passions of their tribes against the mystic medicine men of the pale faces. These were the cause, they alleged, of the fearful drought that parched the land, of the dread pestilence that consumed the people; the malign spell of their presence neutralized the skill of the hunter, and the valour of the bravest warrior. The chanting of their sacred litanies was mistaken for a magic incantation, and the mysterious ceremonies of the Mass for a malignant conjury. The cross was a charm of evil potency, blasting the crops, and affrighting the thunder-bird that brought the refreshing rain.

*"Mon âme ressentoit de très-grands contentmens, considérant que ie suffrois pour Dieu."—Brébeuf, *Relation des Hurons*, 1635, p. 26.

†"M'offris a nostre Seigneur, avec tous nos petits travaux, pour le salut de ces pauvres peuples."—Brébeuf, *Relation des Hurons*, 1635, p. 28.

The missionaries walked in the shadow of perpetual peril. Often the tomahawk gleamed above their heads, or a deadly ambush lurked for their lives. But beneath the protection of St. Mary and St. Joseph, as they devoutly believed, they walked unhurt. The murderous hand was restrained, the death-winged arrow was turned aside. Undismayed by their danger, undeterred by lowering looks and muttered curses they calmly went on their way of mercy. In winter storms and summer heat, from plague-smitten town to town they journeyed through the dreary forest to administer their homely simples to the victims of the loathsome smallpox, to exhort the dying, to absolve the penitent, and, where possible, to hallow with Christian rites the burial of the dead. The wail of a sick child faintly heard through the bark walls of an infected cabin was an irresistible appeal to the missionary's heart. Heedless of the scowling glance or rude insult they would enter the dwelling, and, by stealth or guile, they would administer the sacred rite which snatched an infant soul from endless perdition—from the jaws of the "Infernal Wolf." Thus, as they phrased it, the dying infants were changed "from little savages to little angels." Of a thousand baptisms in 1639, all but twenty were baptized in immediate danger of death. Two hundred and sixty were infants, and more quite young. The priests shared all the privations and discomforts of savage life. They endured the torments of filth and vermin, of stifling, acrid smoke, parching the throat, and inflaming the eyes till the letters of the breviary seemed written in blood. Often they had no privacy for devotion, save in the dim crypts of the forest, where, carving a cross upon a tree, they chanted their solemn litanies till, gnawed to the bone by the piercing cold, they returned to the reeking hut and the foul orgies of Pagan superstition.

Yet the hearts of the missionaries quailed not; they were sustained by a lofty enthusiasm that courted danger as a condition of success. The gentle Lalemant prayed that if the blood of the martyrs were the necessary seed of the Church, its effusion should not be wanting. Nor did the mission lack in time that dread baptism. The pious Fathers believed that powers supernal and infernal fought for them or against them in their

assault upon the kingdom of Satan. On the side of Christ, His Virgin Mother, and the blessed Gospel were legions of angels and the sworded seraphim. Opposed to them were all the powers of darkness, aided by those imps of the pit, the dreaded "sorcerers," whom Satan clothed with vicarious skill to baffle the efforts of the missionaries and the prayers of the holy saints. Foul fiends haunted the air, and their demoniac shrieks or blood-curdling laughter could be heard in the wailing night-wind, or in the howling of the wolves down the dim forest-aisles. More dreadful still, assuming lovely siren forms, they assailed the missionary on the side of his human weakness; but at the holy sign of the cross the baneful spell was broken—the tempting presence melted into air.*

Yet, with these intensely realistic conceptions of their ghostly foes, the missionaries shrank not from the conflict with hell itself. Emparadised in beatific vision, they beheld the glorious palace of the skies, prepared, a heavenly voice assured them, for those who dwelt in savage hovels for the cause of God on earth. Angelic visitants, in visions of the night, cheered their lonely vigils, and enbraved their souls for living martyrdom.† Such enthusiasm as that of these impassioned devotees was not without its unfailing rewards. Inveterate prejudice was overcome, bitter hostility was changed to tender affection, and the worn and faded black cassock, the cross and rosary hanging from the girdle, and the wide-brimmed hat of the Jesuit missionary became the objects of loving regard instead of the symbols of a dreaded spiritual power. The Hurons abandoned their cruel and cannibal practices. Many of them received Christian baptism. In the rude forest sanctuary was broken to savage neophytes the sacred bread which the crowned monarchs of Europe received from the hands of mitred priests beneath Cathedral domes.

The little children were taught to repeat the *Ave*, the *Credo*, and the *Pater Noster*. Rude natures were touched to human tenderness and pity by the pathetic story of a Saviour's love; and lawless passions were restrained by the dread menace of eternal flames. Savage manners and unholy Pagan rites gave way in many cases to Christian decorum and pious devotion, and the implacable Redmen learned to pray for their enemies. That, in some instances at least, this conversion of the Indians was not a mere nominal one, but a radical change of disposition, is evidenced by the following prayer of a Huron tribe for their hereditary foes, the cruel Iroquois: "Pardon, O Lord, those who pursue us with fury, who destroy us with such rage. Open their blind eyes; make them to know Thee and to love Thee, and then being Thy friends, they will also be ours, and we shall together be Thy children." Vincent, *Relation* 1645, p. 16. A more signal triumph of grace over the implacable hate of the Indian nature it is difficult to conceive. "Let us strive," exclaimed another convert, "to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus."

The scattered missionaries were reinforced by pious recruits drawn across the sea by an impassioned zeal that knew no abatement, even unto death. At almost every Huron town a mission was established and consecrated by some holy name. Thus in the northern half of what is now the County of Simcoe, were the missions of St. Michael, St. Joseph, St. Jean, St. Jean Baptiste, St. Louis, St. Denys, St. Antoine, St. Charles, St. Ignace* St. Francois Xavier, Ste. Marie, St. Anne, Ste. Agnès, Ste. Catherine, Ste. Cécile, St. Geneviève, Ste. Madeleine, Ste. Thérèse, and several others. The most important of these was that of Ste. Marie, established in 1640, on a small stream, now known as the River Wye, which flows into Gloucester Bay, itself an inlet of the Georgian Bay, not far from the present town of Penetanguishene. The outlines of the fortification, for it was both fort and mission, may still be traced amid the forest, which has long since overgrown the spot. A wall of combined masonry and palisades, flanked by bastions at the angles, enclosed a space of some thirty by sixty yards, containing a Church, a mission residence, a kitchen, and a refectory. Without the walls were a large house for Indian visitors, a hospital for the sick, and a

*Ragueneau, Relation des Hurons, 1649, p. 24. One chapter of the relations is headed *Du règne de Satan en ces contrées*, which the simple Fathers designated the very fortress and donjon-keep of demons—Une des principales forteresses, et comme un donjon des démons.

†*Relation*, 1649, p. 24.

*The frequency of this designation, throughout the whole of New France, attests the veneration in which the founder of the Society of Jesus was held.

cemetery for the dead. Sometimes as many as sixty white men were assembled at the mission, among whom were eight or ten soldiers, as many hired labourers, about a score of men serving without pay, and as many priests; most of the latter, however, were generally engaged in the various out-missions.

The demands upon the hospitality of Ste, Marie were very great. As many as six thousand Christian Indians were lodged and fed in a single year. But the Fathers bestowed such care on agriculture, sometimes themselves working with spade and mattock, that in 1648 they had provisions laid up sufficient for three years. They had also a considerable quantity of live-stock, including fowls, swine, and even horned cattle, brought with infinite trouble through the wilderness. But this prosperity was destined to be rudely interrupted, and to have a tragic close.

The Iroquois waged perpetual war against their hereditary foes, the Hurons. Urged by implacable hate, large war parties would travel on snow shoes through a pathless forest for hundreds of miles, to burn and destroy the Huron villages, and indiscriminately massacre their inhabitants—not merely the warriors, but the old men, the women, and the little children. No distance was too great, no perils too formidable, if they might only glut their thirst for Huron blood. Even single individuals lurked for weeks near the walls of Quebec or Montreal, for the opportunity to win a Huron scalp. The ubiquitous and blood-thirsty wretches infested the forest, lay in ambush at the *portages* of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, and sprang, like a tiger on his prey, on the straggling parties of their foes.

This tempest of human rage, in 1648 was let loose on the Christian missions. The storm burst on the frontier village of St. Joseph, situated not far from the present town of Barrie, on the morning of July 4th. This village had two thousand inhabitants, and was well fortified, but most of the warriors were absent at the hunt, or on distant journeys. Père Daniel, who for fourteen years had here laboured in the Gospel, arrayed in the vestments of his office, had just finished the celebration of the Mass in the crowded mission chapel, when the dread war-whoop of the Iroquois was heard. The painted savages rushed through the unprotected openings in the palisade, murdering all whom they met. Unable to baptize separately the multitude who, hitherto impenitent, now sought this ordinance, Père Daniel dipped his handkerchief in water, and shaking it over the terrified crowd, exclaimed: "my brethren, to-day we shall be in Heaven." Absolving the dying, and baptising the penitent, he refused to escape. "Fly, brothers," he cried to his flock, "I will die here, we shall meet again in Heaven." Boldly fronting the foe, he received in his bosom a sheaf of arrows, and a ball from a deadly arquebuse. "He fell," says the contemporary chronicler in the *Relation*, "murmuring the name of Jesus, and yielding, joyously, his soul to God—truly a good shepherd, who gave his life for his sheep."

Seven hundred persons, mostly women or children, were captured or killed. The body of the proto-martyr of the Huron mission was burned to ashes, but his intrepid spirit, it was believed, appeared again among the living, animating their hearts to endure unto the bitter end. And not for one moment did they quail. "We cannot hope," writes Ragueneau, his companion in toil and tribulation, "but to follow him in the burning path which he had trod, but we will gladly suffer for the glory of the Master whom we serve." The next act of this tragedy opens eight months later, in the early spring of 1649. A thousand Iroquois warriors had, during the winter, made their way from near the Hudson River, round the head of Lake Ontario, and across the western peninsula to the Huron country. The object of attack was the village of St. Ignace, situated about ten miles northwest of the present town of Orillia. It was completely surprised in the early dawn of March 16th, and taken almost without a blow.

All the inhabitants were massacred, or reserved for cruelties more terrible than death, save three fugitives who fled, half naked, across the snow to the neighbouring town of St. Louis, about three miles off. Most of the inhabitants of St. Louis had time to escape before the attack of the Iroquois, but about eighty Huron warriors made a stand for the defence of their homes. With them remained the two Jesuit missionaries, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, who, scorning to fly, chose the point of danger among their flock,

standing in the breach, the one baptizing the catechumens, the other absolving the neophytes. The town was speedily taken and burned. The Jesuits, however, were not immediately killed, "being reserved for a more glorious crown," but were, with the other captives, driven before their exulting conquerors back to St. Ignace.

Now began a scene of fiendish torture. The missionaries, stripped naked, were compelled to run the gauntlet through a savage mob, frenzied with cruelty, drunk with blood. They received a perfect storm of blows on every part of the body. "Children," said Brébeuf to his fellow captives, "let us look to God. Let us remember that He is the witness of our sufferings, that He will be our exceeding great reward. I feel for you more than for myself. But endure with courage the little that remains of these torments. They will end with our lives, but the glory that follows shall continue forever." The Iroquois, maddened to fury, tore off the nails of their victims, pierced their hands, lacerated their flesh. Brébeuf, of brawny frame, and iron thews, and dauntless bearing—the Ajax of the Huron mission—was the especial object of their rage. On him they wreaked their most exquisite tortures. They cut off his lips, they seared his throat and bleeding gums. They hung a collar of red-hot hatchets around his neck. But he stood like a rock, unflinching to the last, without a murmur or a groan, his soul even then reposing on God, and an object of amazement to even savage stoicism.*

The gentle and delicate Lalemant they enveloped in bark saturated with pitch, which they fired, seaming his body with livid scars. As the stifling wreaths of smoke arose, he cried, "We are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men." They then tore out his eyes, and scarred the sockets with burning coals. In derision of the rite of baptism, which the missionaries had so often administered to others, their savage tormentors poured boiling water on their heads. The dying martyrs freely pardoned their foes, praying God to lay not these things to their charge. After nameless tortures, the human hyenas scalped Brébeuf while yet alive, hacked off his feet, tore out his quivering heart, and drank his blood. Lalemant endured his sufferings for seventeen hours, and died by the welcome stroke of a tomahawk. Brébeuf's stronger frame succumbed to his more deadly wounds in less than four hours. The skull and other relics of Brébeuf are preserved at the Hotel Dieu in Quebec, and are said to have wrought miracles of healing, as well as the conversion of most obstinate heretics; but a more potent spell is that of his lofty spirit, his noble life, and his heroic death.

The night which followed this deed of blood was a night of terror at Ste. Marie, situated only six miles distant from St. Ignace. All day long the smoke of the burning village of St. Louis was visible, and Iroquois scouts prowled, wolf-like, near the mission walls. All that night and the night following, the little garrison of forty Frenchmen stood at arms. In the chapel, vows and prayers without ceasing, were offered up. The Hurons rallied, and attacked the Iroquois in furious battle. But their valour was unavailing; they were, almost to a man, cut off. The Iroquois in turn, panic-stricken, fled in haste, but not without a last act of damning cruelty. Tying to the stake at St. Ignace, the prisoners whom they had not time to torture, they fired the town, retreating to the music, delightful to the savage ear, of the shrieks of human agony, of mothers and their children, husbands and their wives, old age and infancy, writhing in the fierce flames' torturing embrace. The site of the hapless town may still be traced in the blackened embers, preserved beneath the forest growth of over two centuries.

The mission was wrecked. The Hurons were scattered. Their towns were abandoned, burnt, or destroyed, and they were themselves fugitives from a wrathful foe. "We are counted as sheep for the slaughter," writes the pious Ragueneau. The Fathers resolved to transfer the missions to the Grand Manitoulin, where they might gather again their scattered flock, free from the attacks of their enemies. They unhappily changed their destination to Isle St. Joseph, now known as Christian Island (probably from tradition of its Jesuit occupation), situated about twenty miles from Ste. Marie, and two or three miles from the mainland. They set fire to the mission buildings,

*"Souffroit comme un Rocher. Sans pousser aucun cry, estonnoit ses bourreaux mesmes : sans doute que son cœur reposoit alors en son Dieu."—Ragueneau, *Relation des Hurons*, 1649, p. 14.

and, with sinking hearts, saw in an hour the labours of ten years destroyed. On a rude raft, near sunset, on the 14th of June, they embarked, about forty whites in all, with their household goods and treasures, and, after several days, reached Isle St. Joseph. They built a new mission-fortress, the remains of which may still be seen. Here, by winter, were assembled six or eight thousand wretched Hurons, dependent upon the charity of the mission. The Fathers had collected five or six hundred bushels of acorns, which were served out to the perishing Indians, and boiled with ashes to take away their bitter taste. But the good priests found compensation in the thought that man shall not live by bread alone; and they sought unweariedly to break unto the multitude the Bread of Life. In their extremity the famishing creatures were fain to eat the carrion remains of dogs and foxes, and, more horrible still, even the bodies of the dead.

Before spring, harassed by attacks of the Iroquois and wasted by pestilence, half of the number had died. Day by day the faithful missionaries visited the sick, exhorted the living, absolved the dying, and celebrated the sacraments in the crowded chapel, which was daily filled ten or twelve times. Night by night, in frost and snow, and bitter storm, through the livelong hours the sentry paced his weary round. During the winter the Iroquois had ravaged the mainland, burning the villages, and slaughtering the inhabitants. St. Jean, a town of some 600 families, which had hitherto resisted attack amid the fastness of the Blue Mountains, not far from the present town of Collingwood, was taken and destroyed. Here Père Garnier, the scion of a noble family of Paris, shared the heroic fate of Daniel, the first martyr of the mission. He was slain in the act of absolving a dying Indian.

With the opening spring the pinchings of hunger drove the starving Hurons from Isle St. Joseph to the mainland. The relentless Iroquois were awaiting them. Of the large party who crossed but one man escaped to tell the tale of blood. The whole country was a land of horror, a place of massacre.* There was nothing but despair on every side. More than ten thousand Hurons had already perished. Famine, or an enemy more cruel still, everywhere confronted them. They resolved to forsake their country, to fly to some distant region in order to escape extermination by their foes. Many of them besought the Jesuits to lead them to an asylum beneath the guns of Quebec, where they might worship God in peace. The Fathers consulted much together, but more with God, and engaged in prayer for forty consecutive hours. They resolved to abandon the mission. Dread of the Iroquois hastened their retreat.

"It was not without tears," writes Ragueneau, "that we left the country of our hearts and hopes, which, already red with the blood of our brethren, promised us a like happiness, opened for us the gate of Heaven." The pious toils of fifteen years seemed frustrated, but, with devout submission, the Father Superior writes, "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth." They were accompanied in their retreat, by way of French River, Lake Nipissing, and the Ottawa, by 300 Christian Hurons, the sad relics of a nation once so populous. Along the shores where had recently dwelt eight or ten thousand of their countrymen hardly one remained. The little band of fugitives sought refuge on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. But even here they were pursued by the undying hate of the Iroquois, who again and again attacked the mission beneath the very guns of the fort. The remaining Hurons were dispersed in scattered groups far over the bleak northern wastes from the Saguenay to the Mississippi, and eventually disappeared as a distinct race. One band sought the aid of the powerful Ojibways, and confronted their merciless foe on the shores of Lake Superior, where a great battle was fought on the spot still known as Iroquois Point, otherwise "the place of Iroquois bones." A few families, the remnant of the once powerful Huron nation, still linger at Lorette, near Quebec.

After these sanguinary triumphs the incursions of the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence settlements increased in frequency and audacity. From 1650 to 1660 a perfect reign of terror prevailed. Not a year, and scarce a month passed without an attack. The Iroquois swarmed in the forests and on the rivers. They lay in wait, at times for

*"N'estoit plus qu'une terre p'horreur, et un lieu de massacre." —Ragueneau, *Relation des Hurons*, 1650, p. 22.

weeks, near the forts, thirsting for French or Huron blood. They entered the settlements, and killed and scalped the inhabitants on their own thresholds. Every man carried his life in his hand. The peasants could not work in the fields unless strongly armed and in a numerous body. The inhabitants of the frontier settlements were frequently obliged to take refuge in strong block-houses. Ville Marie lost in one month by these incursions over one hundred men, two thirds of whom were French. Mademoiselle Mance and the Nuns of the Hôtel Dieu found abundant employment in nursing the wounded defenders of the mission. These ladies, well born and delicately nurtured, espoused poverty, and toil, and suffering for the glory of God and the spiritual welfare of the thankless savages. So bleak was their chamber that their coarse bread froze on the table before them, and the snow, after a storm, was removed from the floor by shovelfuls, while the savages were known to crouch in the garden all night for a chance to tomahawk the "white girls" as they came forth in the morning.

Le Maitre, a Sulpitian priest, went out with the labourers to watch for the enemy while they worked in the fields. Seeing no danger, he took out his breviary to read the prayers for the day. Absorbed in his pious office, he walked into an ambuscade of Iroquois. Scorning to fly, he shouted the alarm to the labourers, and, to give them time to escape, himself alone confronted the savage crew. The wretches hacked off his head, and carried it as a trophy to their distant villages. Vignal, a fellow-priest, two months later, with thirteen men, went to bring stone from the Isle à la Pierre, nearly opposite Montreal, for the Convent they were building at the mission. As they landed, they were surprised by Iroquois. The priest was killed and cooked and eaten in the presence of his companions, who were dragged off to death or torture in the Mohawk towns.

The Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas, having engaged in war with the Eries, a tribe situated on the borders of the lake whose name they bore, sought the alliance of the French, and demanded the planting of a mission within their borders. To grant or to refuse their request was almost equally perilous. The Governor held a council on the subject. The Jesuits, full of zeal, gave their voice for the establishment of the mission. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," exclaimed one of them, "and, if we die by the fires of the Iroquois, we shall have won eternal life by snatching souls from the fires of hell." They, therefore, decided to plant a mission among the Onondagas, in the heart of the Iroquois country, with the threefold object of curbing their hostile disposition, of winning new converts to the Cross, and of securing the fur trade from the growing interference of the Dutch. In a temporary lull of hostilities, Père le Moyne and three other priests were selected to tread the pathway already reddened by the blood of Jogues, the previous envoy. They were accompanied by ten soldiers and forty settlers. The Mohawks, jealous of the increased influence with the French which the mission would give the other tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, tried to intercept the party, failing in which they ravaged the banks of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, and prowled around the very walls of Montreal and Quebec. From the Island of Orleans they carried off eighty Hurons, who were under the protection of the French, and, in contempt of the latter, made their prisoners dance and sing as they paddled their bark canoes beneath the very guns of the castle of St. Louis.

The Onondaga Mission was planted on the beautiful lake from which it took its name. Amid salvos of their miniature cannon, the chanting of the *Te Deum*, and the celebration of the Mass, the Jesuits, full of faith, took possession of the country in which they held their lives on the sufferance of treacherous savages. They prosecuted with zeal their evangelistic work; preaching, exhorting, and catechising, and baptising the children, or professed converts, throughout the Iroquois towns. Forest sanctuaries were erected, the sweet sounds of the Angelus rang from their tiny belfries, the images of Christ and his Virgin Mother were displayed on the rustic altars to crowds of wondering spectators. With a profound dissimulation, the savages were contemplating, all the while, the massacre of the entire mission, and an overwhelming invasion of Canada by the whole of the confederate tribes. The Jesuits were warned of their danger by the dying confession of a converted Iroquois. They hastily called in the priests from the outlying missions, and held an

anxious council in their mission-house by the lake, where the whole colony, fifty-three in number, were assembled. On every side were encamped their watchful and truculent enemy, on the alert both day and night. Escape seemed impossible. But the Jesuits, with a dissimulation even deeper than that of their wily foe, but which, under the circumstances, the sternest moralist could scarce condemn, devised a plan to outwit the wretches who were thirsting for their blood.

First, two light *batteaux* were secretly constructed in the loft of the mission house, for the transport of the entire party on the neighbouring lake and river. Then the Indians were invited to one of the glutton feasts at which, under the influence of a disgusting superstition, they devoured everything placed before them unless absolved from that duty by their hosts. The Fathers killed their hogs, and prepared a banquet of unusual piquancy. Amid the shouting and din of the feast, the *batteaux* were conveyed by stealth to the lake-side. When the Indians, gorged to repletion, had fallen into a heavy sleep, or semi-torpor, their hosts silently and swiftly withdrew—priests, soldiers, and settlers, abandoning everything—and before morning were far down the Oswego River, on their way to Lake Ontario. When the baffled Iroquois awoke from their torpor, the strange silence of the mission surprised them. A light March snow that had fallen covered the traces of the escape of their intended victims, and they concluded that the black-robed sorcerers must have flown off through the air. Pursuit was in vain, and the fugitives gliding down the St. Lawrence, with the loss of three men in the rapids, in due course reached Montreal and Quebec.

The Rev. Father Isaac Jogues

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ONTARIO

BY

THE VERY REV. W. R. HARRIS, D D., LL.D., Dean of St. Catharines.

THE Catholic Church has already existed close upon two thousand years, or nearly twice as long as one of the most venerable commonwealths in history. She appears before the world to-day in unimpaired vigour, with her constitution, laws and government unchanged. So far from betraying any signs of decrepitude and decay, she is instinct with life, and displays the missionary spirit and the Apostolic zeal which characterized her when she carried the Gospel into France in the fifth century, and to England in the sixth.

It is not my purpose to trace the history of the Catholic Church in Ontario from the first visit of Champlain to our Province until the present day (for that would include the romantic story of missionary enterprise and martyrdom among the native races), nor to relate the French-Canadian settlements and explorations so intimately associated with the dawn of Catholicism in Western Canada. These picturesque subjects have found a worthy historian in Parkman, whose glowing pages record the heroism of the early missionaries and describe with enthusiasm the daring enterprise of adventurous Catholic explorers. Many facts and incidents of absorbing interest to the Catholic reader must be relegated to the future historian, for this review of the Catholic Church in Ontario will be in its sweep and scope confined to fixed limitations and of inexorable brevity. Until 1763, when the Treaty of Paris was signed, the Roman Catholic religion was not officially recognized or tolerated in England or her Colonies. When our country was ceded to Great Britain, it was provided by the fourth section of this Treaty that Canadian Catholics should have freedom and liberty "so far as the laws of Great Britain permit." Fortunately, the good sense of the English Parliamentarians of that day drove the "coach and four" through this ominously dangerous reservation, and Colonial Catholics rested in peace.

The storm about Papal supremacy which followed the discovery by Baron Massères, the Attorney-General for Canada, of an old Elizabethan statute touching the Royal supremacy in religion was laid by the Quebec Act of 1774, when an oath of allegiance was substituted for the hostile "Test Oath." The oath was in these words: "I (A. B.) do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, King George and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his person, Crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts which I shall know to be against him or any of them; and all this I do swear without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation, and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever to the contrary, so help me God." This concession to the Catholics aroused bitter feelings in the American Colonies and in England, and, indeed, created almost a panic among the three thousand Protestants then residing in Canada. But the British Government held to the Treaty of Paris, the State stood aside, and so between the Churches of England, Rome and Scotland—legally so-called—the race was won.

Beginning with a group of Highland settlers in the year 1782, and an overflow of pioneer Frenchmen from Detroit and its neighbourhood into the County of Essex immediately before and after the war of Pontiac, the history of the Catholic Church in our Province is a record of steady and permanent progress, and though the

HIS EMINENCE E. A. CARDINAL FASCHEREAU

results are of considerable importance to the whole Dominion, the details of the story are perhaps rather of local than of general interest. There is a magnificent and dramatic scene in *Athalie*, where the veil of the temple is rent, disclosing to the terrified Queen, Joas, (whom she had believed dead) standing in his glory surrounded by an army bearing in their hands shields and swords. Even so it seems to me is the Catholic Church revealed to the old men of to-day, who sixty years ago thought her form was bent with age, and her forehead wrinkled with time, her gait halting and feeble, and her steps trembling with decrepitude. They said she dared not trust herself to advancing civilization and free institutions, but must cling to the mouldering fashions of an age that was past, to sleep for evermore in the common grave that closes over all things human. But the step with which she advances to-day is elastic with triumph—*vera incessu patuit dea*—her face is radiant and her brow erect and starlit, and the old men wonder how she has renewed her youth.

Bishop Macdonell, writing to Earl Bathurst in 1817, states that the Catholic population then was 15,000. He, no doubt, included the Indian and Half-breed Catholics, for with the exception of the Scotch Highlanders, the bulk of whom were settled in what is now Glengarry County, and the scattered French families of Essex, there were no Catholic settlers in the Province. Indeed, the growth, expansion and the steady increase of the Catholic Church in this country, as in the American States and the Pacific Islands, began with the Irish emigration of 1832, and are so intimately identified with the march of the Irish emigrants and their descendants as to form the most important chapter in the progress of the Church in modern times. In fact it is no boast, but on the contrary the literal truth, to say that ninety-eight out of every one hundred Catholic churches in the Province have been built by the open-handed generosity of the Irish exiles and their descendants, who are in a sense re-enacting here that which the Irish missionaries carried on in Scotland and England over a thousand years ago. It is no exaggeration to say that the faithful hearts, and generous hands and loving labours by aid of which the Catholic churches, educational and charitable institutions were built, and are being built in Ontario, belong to that noble Celtic people which Thierry, the historian of the Norman Conquest, characterized as "an indestructible race." Every nation is in some sense a providential nation, and has some mission assigned to it by the Almighty. Some peculiar thought, idea, or principle distinguishes or differentiates it from all others, constitutes its individual being, and affects the workings and development which tend to the great end of Providence. There is not a

The Very Rev. Dean Harris.

race that has ever by force or choice had its people scattered through the world, which has had in its exiles a Christian aristocracy more true or more steadfast to the Catholic faith and its institutions than the members of the Irish race. They have carried their religion with them wherever a kind or unkindly fate has driven them, and in the end their simple but unrelenting devotion to their Church and its institutions, has killed the prejudice against both race and religion which originally battled with a giant's strength against the

one and the other. Let it not for a moment be assumed that in paying this meed of admiration to the Hibernia-Celt, I mean to withhold a tribute of respect and applause to the enterprise and heroism of the Scotch settler and French pioneer, who belong to the same race but seem to lack as individuals or units that indestructible vitality of the Irish race which prevents their absorption into the dominant creed and population of another country.

The history of the Catholic Church in Ontario during the last two generations is most effectually expressed in figures. According to Gourlay there was in the whole Province in 1830 but 25,000 Catholics in a total population of 400,000, or, say one Catholic to fifteen Protestants. The next census will determine all conjectures, but meanwhile it is safe to consider that the Roman Catholics number fully one-fifth of the population of this Province. In 1830 there was one Catholic Bishop and six priests for Upper Canada. There were no Colleges, Convents, Separate Schools or charitable institutions, and but six priests doing duty from the Quebec boundary to the Detroit narrows and eastward to the Sault Ste. Marie. The literature of the Province, such as it was, was costly and at times openly hostile to the Catholic Church, its doctrines, and its people, and if we except *The Catholic*, which was about this time established and edited by Father John McDonald, the Roman Catholics had no organ to defend their doctrines or meet the attacks made upon them. A gratifying, and indeed it may be said, a Providential change has taken place in the last two generations. It will be seen that under a constitutional government permitting freedom of worship, the Roman Catholic Church was not only able to hold her own and keep abreast of the march of enterprise and progress which characterize our country, but to stay well to the front in every movement that makes for the morality and intellectual progress of the people.

Let us now rapidly review the birth and expansion of the Catholic Church in this Province. When, in 1700, La Mothe Cadillac brought a number of French-Canadian families to Detroit (now in Michigan, U.S.A.), accompanied by a Franciscan priest named Vaillant, he practically laid the foundation of French Catholicism in Western Ontario. These families increased and multiplied with that marvellous fecundity so complimentary to the morality of the French-Canadian people. After Pontiac's War many of them flowed over into Canadian territory, and founded at Pointe de Montreal, now Sandwich, the first church in Ontario. In 1767 the settlement was constituted a parish, with Father Potier as curè or parish priest. He remained in charge until 1781, dying from an accident at his post. Rochemonteix states in a note to his third volume of the "Jesuits in New France," that he saw a copy of the mortuary register of the Hurons, preserved at this Mission, which dated back to 1646. In 1783 Father Hubert reconstructed the church of the Sandwich parish by contributing three thousand dollars from his own patrimony. Five years afterwards his successor reserved a portion of this church for the Wyandot Indians, in recognition of their liberal contributions to its erection. In 1790 the population of this parish was reckoned at 860 souls. When the English traveller Howison visited this district eighty years ago he was forcibly struck with "the amenity of manners which distinguished them in strange contrast to the rudeness and barbarism of the settlers who people the other part of the Province." ("Sketches of Upper Canada.")

Prominent among the names of the heroic men who did duty in this mission is that of the Rev. Edmund Burke, who, in 1818, was consecrated Bishop of Halifax, and died there at the age of seventy-eight. This great priest, abandoning the emoluments and ease of a Professor's life, sought the companionship of wandering hordes and laboured with a zeal which has won for him an honoured place among the early missionaries of this country. In the autumn of 1794 he left Quebec and passed some time at Niagara, acting as Military Chaplain. Thence he pushed on to Detroit, and continuing his journey he reached Fort Miami—known to-day as Maumee City. When the limitless territory along the southern shores of the Great Lakes passed in 1796 under the dominion of the United States, Father Burke, who was intensely loyal to the British Government, crossed over into Canada and for a time took charge of the Sandwich Mission. This distinguished priest wrote a valuable treatise on the

Canadian missions which is preserved among the Archives of the Propaganda, at Rome. He enjoyed the sincere and cordial friendship of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, and of every military and naval officer who commanded in British America in his time. He was a tall, handsome man, of a cheerful and urbane disposition, and Great Britain had no more warm supporter of her authority and political institutions than the Right Rev. Edmund Burke.

The establishment of this Sandwich Mission dates the beginning of the French settlements in the County of Essex. They now number about 400 families, and form an important factor in the political, religious and civil life of this section of the country. Supplementary to this French-Canadian settlement was the attempt of Lieutenant-General the Comte de Puisaye and the Count de Chalus to plant a French settlement in the County of York and along the west bank of the Niagara River. During the French Revolution which preceded the Napoleonic era large numbers of Royalists fled from France to England. The Duke of Portland recommended some of these French refugees to settle in Upper Canada, and on July 5th, 1798, wrote to Mr. Peter Russell, Acting Governor. Lands were accordingly allotted to them in the townships of Markham, Whitchurch and Niagara. The effort, however, never passed beyond the experimental stage. The severity of the winter, the exertion required in clearing the land, and the total ignorance of pioneer life barred all hope to success. De Puisaye and De Chalus abandoned their lands and returned to France. Their dependants disappeared among their Lower Canadian compatriots, or found their way back to France, and no further mention is made of them in the annals of the country.

We now come to one of the most interesting periods in the early history of Catholicism in our Province. About twenty-five years ago a Scottish laird, a man of Canadian birth, and of considerable importance in the country, stated at a public banquet at Montreal "that more Gaelic is spoken in Canada in one week than during a month in the Highlands of Scotland." He referred no doubt to the Maritime Provinces, but especially to Glengarry, the home of the "Ch'lanadh Nan Gael" in Upper Canada. In 1773 a party of Scotch Highlanders on the invitation of Sir William Johnson settled on the banks of the Mohawk River, New York State, then a British Province. The Catholic immigrants were allotted lands in Schoharie County, where they cleared the forest and built for themselves comfortable homes. When the Revolutionary War began they remained loyal to the British Government, and were denounced as Tories, Baptists, and friends of English tyranny. The notorious John Jay, after the proclamation of the Quebec Act of 1774, granting to Catholics freedom from the pains and penalties of the Penal Laws, began a crusade of bigotry and fanaticism. The storm of social and political persecution swept down upon the Scotch settlers, and drove them over the border line into Lower Canada. Before leaving they were disarmed by General Schuyler, and in the autumn of 1776, accompanied by their pastor, Father McKenna, began their wearisome journey. They numbered about 300, and on their way to Montreal suffered severely from hunger and exposure, subsisting at times on roots and bark, the flesh of horses and even of dogs. In Tetu's "Les Evêques de Quebec" it is stated that Montgolfier, Vicar-General at Montreal, had in 1776 conferred missionary faculties on Father McKenna, who "had been charged to accompany a colony of Scotch Highlanders on their way to settle in Upper Canada, where they hoped to enjoy the Catholic religion without molestation."

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, in 1786, almost an entire parish in the north of Scotland, numbering 526 souls, arrived at Quebec on the 7th of September in that year, accompanied by their priest, the Rev. Scotus Macdonell. They continued their journey on to Glengarry, where they established the parish of St. Raphael, and with the assistance of their priest built the first church, known as the "Blue Chapel." The success and prosperity of the colony produced a favourable impression on the Scotch at home, and in 1802 the Rev. Alexander Macdonell made application for lands to the Home Government on behalf of the members of the disbanded Glengarry Fencible Regiment. This corps was mustered for service in 1794, and was the first distinctively Catholic regiment organized since

the Reformation, and for the first time since that period the British Government had recognized a Catholic priest as one of its military chaplains. In March, 1803, Chaplain Macdonell obtained from the Home Government a grant of land for every officer and soldier of the Glengarry Regiment who wished to settle in Upper Canada. They reached Quebec in 1803, and almost immediately proceeded to the Glengarry clearings. At this time (1804) there were in all Upper Canada one stone and two frame churches, and only two clergymen, the one at Sandwich, the other at

The Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell.

Glengarry. In the Life of Bishop Denaut, of Quebec, it is recorded that in 1801 His Lordship visited Kingston and Detroit, and on his return called at the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Raphael, where he was most hospitably received by the Catholic Highlanders. During this pastoral visit, the Bishop administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to two thousand souls, four hundred of whom belonged to Detroit. This appears to be a very large number, but when it is remembered that this was the first Episcopal visitation since that of Bishop Pontbriant to Detroit in 1755, the number will not be at all surprising.

The Rev. Alexander Macdonell, who led the third immigration of the Scotch Highlanders, may in a sense be styled the Father of the Catholic Church in Upper Canada. For ten years he was practically alone, facing the difficulties of his position with the traditional stoicism and heroism of his race. For more than thirty years his life was devoted to the missions of Upper Canada, and to any one at all familiar with the difficulties of travel in those early days, the hardships of bush life, and the severity of the winters, it will not be necessary to dwell upon the painful routine of his daily life. On the recommendation of the Bishop of Quebec, Father Macdonell, on the 31st of December, 1820, was consecrated Bishop and appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Upper Canada. In 1826, Upper Canada was erected into a Bishopric, and entrusted to the care of Bishop Macdonell, who fixed his See at Kingston. This is said to have been the first Catholic diocese established in a British colony since the Reformation with the concurrence and consent of the English Government. At this period, according to the Quebec Almanac, there were but seven priests in the entire Province, and as they bore the heat and burden of those times, their names are held in reverence and benediction. Their lives were one long, perpetual Odyssey, and have left behind them a halo of superhuman glory—the glory of prophets rather than of ordinary men. Simple and dignified, without the affectation of dignity, austere without fanaticism, their presence alone rooted up old prejudices, while their preaching and example filled the soul with new light and gave to religion an aspect of attraction and beauty. In charge of the missions of Sandwich and Malden were Fathers Crevier and Fluet; at Kingston, St. Raphael and Perth were Fathers Fraser, Angus Macdonell and John Macdonald; at York and Richmond, on the Ottawa, were Fathers James Crowley and Patrick Horan. We can hardly estimate the great influence these early priests exercised by their exemplary lives, their learning, their great qualities, and their virtues as holy men. Even their Protestant neighbours yielded to the subtle influence of their lives, and were attracted by their simplicity all

the more forcibly, perhaps, because it was so totally different from what their prejudices had led them to expect.

Many of the United Empire Loyalists who fled to Canada after the American Revolution brought with them most exaggerated ideas touching the Catholic Church and her Priesthood; but when they got to know the priests more intimately, and witness their zeal and self-denial their prejudices yielded to admiration. "As an Elder of the Kirk," writes Major Dunlop, "I had been taught to believe that a Catholic priest was a hypocritical knave who ruled his misguided followers for his own selfish purposes. I have found them a moral and zealous clergy, more strict in their attention to their parochial duties than any other body of the clergy I have ever met in any part of the world, and not a bit more intolerant than their clerical brethren of any other sect." (Sketches of Upper Canada, 1832.) This was the unsolicited testimony of a man who had seen much of the world; for the "Tiger," as he was familiarly called, had been a great traveller and student of human nature. There was something Patriarchal and Homeric in the lives of these pioneer priests, reading like the poetic legends in which nations have commemorated the history of their first establishment. Like the builders of Rome they could say:

"With aching hands and toiling feet
We dig and heap, lay stone on stone,
We bear the burden and the heat
Of the long day and wish 't were done,
Not to the hours of light we turn
All we have built can man discern."

"The splendid self-devotion of the early Jesuit missions," writes Parkman in his "Old Régime," "has its record, but the patient toils of the missionary priest rest in the obscurity where the best of human virtues are buried from age to age." As Catholic immigrants began to come into the country their first enquiry was for a settlement where there was a church and priest. Like the primitive rocks which arrest and fix geological deposits, the Church and priest caught the human tide, and the Catholic part of the tossing flood invariably settled around them. On the 16th February, 1837, Bishop Macdonell celebrated his Golden Jubilee. Fifty years before he had been ordained at Valladolid, Spain. For ten years after his arrival at Glengarry, in 1804, he was practically alone, yet at the time of his Jubilee by his indomitable energy and sleepless labour thirty-six churches had been built and twenty-four priests, most of whom had been educated at his own expense, were ministering to their scattered flocks. Answering an attack made upon him in the House of Assembly, 1836, by William Lyon Mackenzie, in which his character was assailed and the purity of his motives questioned, the Bishop in a letter to Sir Francis Bond Head dwelt with pardonable complacency on the hardships he had been called on to endure in the discharge of his sacred office, and of his subsequent efforts on behalf of religion.

"Upon entering my pastoral duties," he wrote, "I had the whole of the Province in charge, and without any assistance for ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada, carrying the sacred vestments sometimes on horseback, sometimes on my back, and sometimes in Indian birch canoes; living with savages without any other shelter or comfort but what their fires and their fares and the branches of the trees afforded; crossing the great lakes and rivers, and even descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence in their dangerous and wretched craft. Nor were the hardships and privations which I endured among the settlers and emigrants less than those I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties exposed on all sides to the weather, and destitute of every comfort. In this way I have been spending my time and my health year after year since I have been in Upper Canada, and not clinging to a seat in the Legislative Council and devoting my time to political strife, as my accusers are pleased to assert. The erection of five and thirty churches and chapels, great and small, although many of them are in an unfinished state, built by my exertion and the zealous services of two and twenty clergymen, the major part of whom have been educated at my own expense, afford a substantial proof that I have not neglected my spiritual functions, nor the care of the souls under my charge; and if that be not sufficient, I can produce satisfactory documents that I have expended since I have been in the Province no less than thirteen thousand pounds of my own private means, besides what I received from other quarters, in building churches, chapels, presbyteries and schoolhouses, in rearing young men for the Church and in promoting general education."

To record the history of this great man would demand a bulky volume, for his martial figure was conspicuous in the ecclesiastical, political and military life of this Province for more than thirty years after its separation from Quebec. Ever vigilant and observant for the interests of religion, he noted in whatever part of his vast diocese a group of Catholics settled, and made provision for their spiritual wants. In recognition of his loyalty he obtained from the Government of Great Britain liberal grants of land in trust for churches, and to his wisdom and foresight the Catholic Church in Ontario is deeply indebted. In 1839 the Bishop visited Scotland and died there in the eightieth year of his age. In 1861 his remains were transferred to Kingston, and were consigned to their last resting-place in the Catholic Church of that diocese. "With the maintenance of British connection in Canada," writes J. A. Macdonell in his "Sketches of Glengarry," the name of Bishop Macdonell must ever be indelibly associated. While he was a pillar of the Catholic Church—almost its pioneer in Upper Canada—he was a bulwark of the Throne. By precept and example again and again he proved his stern, unfailing loyalty, and drew from the highest authorities repeated expressions of gratitude and thanks. While the nature of his sacred profession debarred him from taking part in actual fighting, he nevertheless took good care to see that every man of his name was on hand to fight, and when there was fighting to be done he was always near to see that it was well done. It was a favourite saying of his that 'every man of his name should be either a priest or a soldier,' and had he not been a priest he would have made a great soldier. He had all the attributes of one. His stature was immense and his frame herculean. He stood six feet four and was built in proportion; he had undaunted courage, calm, cool judgment, resolute will and a temper almost imperturbable—although it was best not to arouse it. He had the endurance of his race, fatigue and privation were as nothing; he was a man of great natural ability, great parts and of a personality which impressed all brought in contact with him; he inspired confidence, admiration and respect, but above all he was a born leader of men. The gain of the Church was great, the loss to the army correspondingly great when he was ordained at Valladolid."

I have nowhere in my researches come across the reasons why Lord Dorchester, when he divided Upper Canada in 1788 into four Districts, gave to each an unmistakably Dutch name, Mecklenburgh, Lunenburgh, Nassau and Hesse. During the War of Independence large numbers of Hollanders who had settled in Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York immigrated to this country. They were chiefly Anabaptists, Quakers, Mennonites, Tunkers and Moravians, and as their religious principles would not permit them to bear arms, they were practically driven from their homes by the r American neighbours who demanded that they should fight in defence of "liberty" or leave the country. These thrifty and industrious people, numbering many thousands, were offered homes in Canada, and it was probably in compliment to their universal strength, as much as to the Hanoverian dynasty then reigning in England, that Lord Dorchester named the Districts. Not till 1835, however, did the Catholic Germans take root in our soil. These pioneer settlers came to our country from Upper and Lower Alsace, and opened farms in Waterloo County. They were soon joined by others of their countrymen from Baden, Wurtemburg, Bavaria and the Rhine Provinces. As they prospered and multiplied they overflowed into Bruce, Huron and Perth, and number to-day (1897) 1,533 families, or close on 8,000 souls. These Catholic Germans yield to no class of our people in sobriety, intelligence and industry. They are loyal and patriotic, and as a farming community are probably superior in education to any similar section of Canadians. They are exemplary and devout Catholics, having their own College, Convents and Schools, imparting to their children lessons of honesty, industry and sublime morality. They type the immortality of their Church, for while the Anabaptists, Quakers and Mennonites once so numerous in our land have disappeared, and are now absorbed by other religious bodies, the Bavarian and Alsatian Germans retain their religion, handing it down to their children as they received it from their sires, with every article untouched and every dogma entire.

During the Episcopate of Bishop Macdonell, a

stream of Irish Catholic immigrants began to flow into the Provinces, deepening and widening each year until, in 1847, it assumed the proportions of a river. The first colony of Irish Catholic immigrants settled in and around Perth, in the year 1822. In May, 1825, the Hon. Peter Robinson, in conjunction with Sir Wilmot Horton, induced four hundred families, numbering about two thousand souls, to settle the County of Peterborough. They came principally from the Counties of Cork and Kerry, Ireland. Each settler was allotted one hundred acres of land, and to every son who had attained his majority, a like proportion was given. Many of these settlers and their descendants took up land in the neighbourhood of Lindsay, and practically laid the foundations of what are now very flourishing and prosperous parishes. About 1831, Sir John Colborne allotted farms in the Township of Dummer, in the County of Peterborough, to three hundred families, numbering all told about one thousand seven hundred immigrants. These separate Irish colonies were as soon as possible supplied with priests, and from the rural parishes established, there went out from time to time young men who purchased farms in other parts of the country, and became instrumental in building churches and opening new missions. Not, however, till 1846 and 1847 did the great drift of Irish emigration set in towards this country and the United States.

It is not necessary in this review to dwell on the causes which conspired to cast upon our shores the thousands of men, women and children who came in at this period. The famine which drove them from their homes in Ireland may be regarded as Providential, in so far as it effected the development and expansion of the Catholic Church in this country. The wealth of the thousands who sought in the new country a refuge from the horrors of famine in the old, consisted of the splendid manhood of the men and the chastity of the women, a chastity so remarkable that it is incorporated into our language as a proverb. The tendency of the Catholic Celt gravitates towards the Church and the priest. He feels that the supports of religion are a necessity to him, and an abiding consolation in his exile. The Irish Celt is essentially a religious man, and though the temptation in a worldly sense impelling him to strike out into the wilderness and carve an independent home for his children is very strong, his spiritual instincts lead him to remain within the immediate influence of his Church, or at most, not to go beyond the fringes of her sacramental domain. Being naturally a spiritual man, he craves the consolation of his religion, her sacrifices and sacraments, and the spiritual tonic afforded him by her beneficent presence. When, therefore, a group of Irish Catholics was formed in any locality, they at once petitioned for a priest, and began the erection of a church. The old people, it is true, could only afford what was then known as the "Shanty Chapel." Their sons constructed around it a frame building, and to-day, all over the country, in every town and village of any importance, their grandsons have torn down the old buildings, and on their sites have erected, or are erecting, sacred edifices in brick or stone.

By a bull of Pope Gregory XVI., dated Dec. 17th, 1841, the Diocese of Toronto was cleaved from that of Kingston, and all that portion of the Province lying west of Port Hope was erected into a separate see. Its first Bishop was Michael Power, consecrated in May, 1842. The Bishop lived but a few years after his consecration. His death was a miracle of love, for he literally laid down his life for his fellow man. When the typhus rioted among the Irish emigrants who were stranded in Toronto in 1847, the Bishop descended from his Episcopal throne, entered the fever sheds, and brought the consolations of religion to the dying Irish emigrant. He moved among the haggard forms of the dying, helping all, as it was written of St. Charles of Borromeo, with heart and voice and purse, until at last he himself was stricken down, carried to his bed, and from his bed to his grave. From the death of Bishop Power, which occurred in 1847, the record of the Roman Catholic Church in our Province is contemporary history. The continued and continuous increase of Catholics demanded the establishment of additional ecclesiastical districts, governed by Archbishops and Bishops. For the better understanding of this division, I give the names of dioceses and the counties they included. The Diocese of Kingston was estab-

lished in January, 1826, raised to a Metropolitan See December, 1889, and is presided over by the Most Rev. James Vincent Cleary, D.D. The former Bishops were the Right Rev. Alexander Macdonell, died January, 1840; the Right Rev. Remigius Gaulin, retired 1852, died May, 1857; the Right Rev. Patrick Phelan, died June, 1857; the Right Rev. Edward Horan, died 1875; the Right Rev. John O'Brien, died 1879. The Diocese comprises the territory from the eastern line of Dundas County to the western boundary of Hastings County, being the Counties of Addington,

The Most Rev. Archbishop Cleary.

Dundas, Frontenac, Grenville, Hastings, Lanark, Leeds, Lennox and Prince Edward.

The Diocese of Toronto was erected Dec. 17, 1841, created an Archbishopric March 18, 1870, and is presided over by the Most Rev. John Walsh, D.D., who was consecrated Bishop of London in 1867, and transferred to Toronto and raised to the Archiepiscopal dignity in 1889. The former Bishops were the Right Rev. Michael Power, died October, 1847; the Right Rev. Armand Francois Marie de Charbonnel, resigned April, 1860, died 1891; the Most Rev. John Joseph Lynch, D.D., died May, 1888. The Diocese comprises the Counties of Cardwell, Lincoln, Ontario, Peel, Simcoe, Welland and York. The Diocese of Ottawa was established in June, 1847, created an Archdiocese June, 1885, and is presided over by the Most Rev. Joseph Thomas Duhamel, D.D. The former Bishop was the Right Rev. Joseph Eugene-Bruno Guigues, O.M.I., D.D., who died in February, 1874. The Diocese in Ontario comprises the Counties of Carleton, Lanark, Prescott and Lennox.

The Diocese of Hamilton was established February, 1856, and is presided over by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Joseph Dowling, D.D., who was consecrated May 1, 1887, and transferred from Peterborough to Hamilton, January 11, 1889. The former Bishops were the Rt. Rev. John Farrell, died Sept., 1873; the Rt. Rev. P. F. Crinnon, died Nov., 1882; the Rt. Rev. James Joseph Carbery, died Dec., 1887. The Diocese comprises the Counties of Brant, Bruce, Grey, Haldimand, Halton, Waterloo, Wellington, and a portion of Wentworth County. The Diocese of London was established in February, 1856, and is presided over by the Rt. Rev. Denis O'Connor, C.S.B., D.D., who was consecrated on October 19, 1890. The former Bishops were the Rt. Rev. P. A. Pinsonneault, resigned Dec. 18, 1866, died January, 1883; the Rt. Rev. John Walsh, consecrated Nov. 10, 1867, transferred to Toronto and raised to the Archiepiscopal dignity July 25, 1889. The Diocese comprises the Counties of Bothwell, Middlesex, Elgin, Norfolk, Oxford, Perth, Huron, Lambton, Kent and Essex. The Diocese of Peterborough was erected in July, 1882, and is presided over by the Rt. Rev. Richard Alphonseus O'Connor, D.D., who was consecrated May 1, 1889. The former Bishops were the Rt. Rev. John Francis Jamot, died May, 1886; the Rt. Rev. Thomas Joseph Dowling, D.D., transferred to Hamilton January 11, 1889. The Diocese comprises the Counties of Peterborough, Durham, Northumberland, Victoria and the Districts of Muskoka, Parry Sound, Algoma and that portion of the District of Nipissing north and west of Lake Nipissing in the Province of Ontario. The Vicariate-Apostolic of Pontiac was erected in July, 1882, the Vicar-Apostolic being the Rt. Rev.

Narcisse-Zephirin Lorrain, D.D., who was consecrated Sept. 21, 1882. The Diocese in Ontario comprises all of the Counties of Renfrew, and parts of the Counties of Frontenac, Lennox, Hastings and Haliburton, and part of the Districts of Nipissing and Parry Sound.

The following table will enable the reader to comprehend, at once, the distribution of Catholics throughout the Province (1897):

Diocese.	Population.	Priests.	Colleges and Seminaries.	Orphan and Charitable Asylums.	Hospitals.	Churches and Chapels.	Academies.	Parishes
Kingston	67,000	45	1	2	2	66	10	31
Ottawa	75,000	66	1	8	2	110	18	39
Toronto	62,000	79	1	3	1	84	18	46
Hamilton	51,000	55	1	4	2	75	15	40
London	62,000	71	1	1	3	79	12	49
Peterborough	42 000	49	0	2	2	60	3	25
Alexandria	22,000	14	0	0	1	18	4	12
Pontiac	25.000	33	0	1	3	48	3	21
	406,000	412	5	21	16	540	83	263

Attending the Separate Schools of Ontario are 43,000 Catholic childen. The Convents and Academies educate 3,750 pupils, and the Colleges, including the University of Ottawa, educated 1,430. Owing to the continuous increase of new parishes in the different Dioceses it is difficult to give the exact figures. For example, in the Vicariate of Pontiac during the past four months (end of 1897) new parishes were opened at Whitney, Barry's Bay, Lake Temiscamingue. In territorially large parishes such, for example, as Newmarket in the Diocese of Toronto, or that of Bracebridge in Peterborough Diocese, where Catholics are not grouped in sufficient numbers to support or build a church, "Stations" or missions are given twice a year at some farmer's house, where a temporary altar is constructed, the Sacrifice of the Mass offered, and instructions given to the people by the priest. The figures I have given indicate the growth and expansion of the Catholic Church in Ontario from 1830, when there was only one Bishop and six priests. For the past fifty years there has been practically no Catholic emigration to Ontario, so that during that time our increase has been by natural growth. Of the 412 priests practically engaged in work nine-tenths of them have made their course of philosophy and theology at the Grand Seminaire de Montreal. This institution is conducted by Sulpician Fathers who devote themselves exclusively to the preparation of young men for the priesthood.

When a young man aspires to Holy Orders (after having made his classical and mathematical course in one of the Diocesan Colleges) he enters the Grand Seminary and presents to the Director from his Bishop and the Principal of his College, certificates of character. The discipline of West Point or Woolwich is no more exacting or perfect than is that of the Grand Seminary. The curriculum of this institution is five and a half years, two years being devoted to logic or mental philosophy, and three and a half years to dogmatic and moral theology, hermeneutics and sacred liturgy. The utmost care is taken in the formation of his character; and if he fails to reach the high order of excellence and moral purity demanded of him, he is advised by his spiritual director to seek some secular calling. When he passes his examinations in philosophy and theology he is ordained to the priesthood and returns to his Diocese. He is then appointed as assistant to some parish priest with whom he has ample opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of parochial work. After a year or two of probation he is appointed a parish priest, and assumes charge of a mission in whatever part of the Diocese his Bishop commissions him. The duties and responsibilities of a pastor, whether his parish be large or small, are very serious and onerous—much more so, indeed, than is generally assumed. When some American priests applied a few years ago to the Insurance Companies to insure their lives in favour of churches which they had built, and were at the time heavily in debt, the Companies before issuing policies, deemed it prudent to make enquiries as to the number of years Catholic priests in the United States lived after their ordination. Their actuaries made a report, based on a period of forty years, and the figures were startling. From this report it was shown that the average life of the priest after his ordination, say when twenty-four years of age, was fifteen years! And if it should be asked, "What is the cause of this alarming

mortality"? we will not have far to go to answer.

When the young man enters the priesthood, after passing fourteen or fifteen years in college and seminary, he is scarcely fitted for the rough, hard work of missionary life. All aglow with fervour and zeal, his piety prompts him to undertake more than very often his strength warrants, or he is assigned or assisted to a large parish where his labours are more than his young constitution can bear. After a year or two he is appointed to the charge of a scattered parish

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where on Sundays he is compelled to rise early, hear confessions, say mass, and drive eight or nine miles to another chapel, where he again offers up the Holy Sacrifice, and while he is still fasting, addresses his people. If his parish, as is very often the case, be territorially large, he is compelled in the most trying seasons of the year —Lent and Advent—to give "Stations" in the remoter parts of his mission. Returning some afternoon from one of these Stations, he finds when he reaches home that perhaps a "sick call" awaits him in another part of his parish. A call of this nature is imperative, and cannot be neglected under pain of mortal sin, whether it comes at night or day, in a pelting storm of rain or in the severest frosts of winter. Nor can he excuse himself on the plea that the dying man is stricken with smallpox or diphtheria. The Catholic Church holds that the salvation of a soul counts for more than the life of a priest, and she commands that under all circumstances where possible, the dying man must receive the sacraments. The young priest, scarcely giving himself time to snatch a morsel of food, leaves to attend the sick man, and returning that night, he takes to his bed, and may never rise from it. The already enfeebled constitution is not equal to the strain, and in a few days all is over. Let us take another case. The newly-ordained priest is appointed by his Bishop as assistant in a large city parish, where three priests are trying to do the work of six. The pastor is engaged in building or, what is perhaps more onerous, fighting a heavy debt on a church already built. The repeated calls upon his time as the responsible head of the parish, throw upon the shoulders of his assistants the visitation of the sick, and much of the labour which under more favourable circumstances would devolve on the parish priest. For seven hours on Saturday the priests in large parishes are morally chained to the Confessional, and no one but a priest can conceive what this trying ordeal means. The following day brings severe work, and more severe responsibilities. The young curate must be on the altar at seven o'clock saying his mass in which he administers Holy Communion to 150 or 200 people. After mass he drives to some Catholic institution, and again offers up the Holy Sacrifice. In the afternoon he superintends the Catechism classes, attends the meetings of religious societies, and in the evening is expected to deliver an excellent sermon. This continual wear and tear soon tells upon any but a rugged constitution, and if he lives to the age of fifty, the priest is practically an old man. It is gratifying, however, to learn that vocations for the priesthood are increasing, and that in the division of labour which will follow, the priest will have a better chance for a long life.

If space permitted it would be both instructive and interesting to dwell on the charities of the Catholic Church in Ontario. In the City of Toronto alone there are 382 of the poor of both sexes cared for in the House of Providence. One hundred and seventy-four children are housed and educated at the Sunnyside Orphanage. The News Boys' Home on Lombard Street, the Blantyre Industrial Home, and the House of the Good Shepherd for fallen women, are conducted by the Sisters and chiefly supported by Catholic generosity. Once a year the Archbishop or Bishop of a Diocese officially visits the educational and charitable institutions within his jurisdiction, and administers confirmation in almost every parish of his diocese. It is his duty to exercise a judicious supervision over all his priests and members of religious communities, see that the spiritual wants of his people are attended to, and call together his priests every year for the Diocesan retreat. These retreats are conducted by members of the religious orders trained specially in the spiritual life, and are intended to keep alive an active devotion and piety in the priesthood. Over these annual retreats the Bishop presides, consults with his priests, and receives from them statements of the spiritual and financial conditions of their parishes.

Having now rapidly reviewed the early and contemporary history of the Catholic Church in our Province, it may be permitted me to ask what is the secret of its marvellous vitality and steady growth. Mr. James Anthony Froude in his work on the "Revival of Romanism," uses these remarkable words, "The tide of knowledge and the tide of outward events have set with equal force in the direction opposite to Romanism. Yet in spite of it, perhaps by means of it, as a kite rises against the wind, the Roman Catholic Church has once more shot up into visible and practical consequence. If she loses ground in Spain and Italy she is gaining in the modern, energetic races which have been the stronghold of Protestantism. Her members increase, her organization gathers vigour, her clergy are energetic and aggressive. She has taken into her service her old enemy the press, and has established a popular literature. What is the meaning," he asks, "of so strange a phenomenon? Is it because science is creeping like a snake upon the ground, eating dust and bringing forth materialism, that the Catholic Church in spite of her errors keeps alive the consciousness of our Spiritual being, the hope and expectation of our immortality?" In another part of this remarkable work he claims that Rome counts her converts from among Evangelicals by tens while she loses but here and there an unimportant unit. Some years before the tide of conversions had set in towards the Catholic Church in England, and when Mr. Froude was beginning to emerge from obscurity, Lord Macaulay was studying along the same lines. "There is not," he exclaims, "and there never was on this earth an institution of human policy so deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church."

So long as great Protestant thinkers regard the Catholic Church simply as a human institution her existence will prove to them an insoluble problem. The Catholic on the other hand is confronted with no difficulty; he compares the Church to the human body, differentiating of course the natural from the supernatural. As the vital principle of the body is the immortal soul, animating all parts, and every atom of its physical being, so to him the indestructible soul of his Church is the Holy Ghost. So long as the soul remains with the body, man lives, and so long as the Holy Ghost remains with the Church she cannot die. And as we have the ever-abiding Word of our Blessed Redeemer that the Holy Ghost would be with the Church until time shall be no more, the Church must live while time endures. Nor is her immortality limited to locality, for her influence is as far-reaching as the all-powerful arm of the Eternal Father. The distinguished French writer, De Maistre, rose from the study of the religious movements of the eighteenth century with the exclamation that "heresy could never hold its own against the Church of Rome unless supported by the strong arm of military authority." The position of the Catholic Church in Ontario to-day, contrasted with what it was fifty years ago, is a revelation. Deprived of education at home and pauperized by stern laws, the Irish emigrant found himself, when he reached this country, with few resources outside his bodily strength and his cheerful

habits. His character was spread before the public by journal, tract and magazine, as that of a lazy, shiftless, worthless creature. Indeed in 1846, the London *Times*, then the infallible organ of the Anglo-Saxon race, levelled these same charges against the Irish Catholic people. Even in this country public references to the Irish Catholic emigrant were often accumulations of falsehood. His brogue was detested, his honest face was caricatured, his word was doubted, and his religion hated as something absurd and idolatrous. Well, thanks to the intelligence and good sense of the great mass of the people of Ontario, these charges are no longer brought against us. The old prejudices have melted away by social and political intercourse, and to-day, believing that a man's religion is in the keeping of his God and himself, Catholic and Protestant stand shoulder to shoulder for the development of their common country and the upholding of her institutions.

The Most Rev. Archbishop Lynch.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

The RT. REV. JOHN CAMERON, D.D., Bishop of Antigonish, N.S.

FROM several Papal Bulls as well as from documents preserved in the Roman Chancery we learn that in 1154 Pope Anastasius IV. founded the bishopric of Gardar, suffragan to the metropolitan See of Drontheim in Norway. This bishopric included within its limits Labrador and probably the lands bordering on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. According to Norse tradition, Markland, supposed to be the land now known as Nova Scotia, was visited by Catholic missionaries. The same tradition speaks of a city—Norumbega—as having been founded in the newly discovered land. This city is marked on the geographical maps of 1542.

In the dawn of the seventeenth century French missionary efforts began to be directed toward the north-eastern shores of the New World. The first missionary to reach the Maritime Provinces, or indeed any part of Canada, was the Rev. Nicholas Aubry, a secular priest. He landed with De Monts and his first settlers in 1604, on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. The first settlement was made at Sainte Croix. After a wretched winter spent at this place, during which Father Aubry died, the little colony moved to Minas Basin, where they founded Port Royal. The Rev. Jesse Fléché accompanied the expedition of Poutrincourt to Port Royal in 1610. The Mic-mac chief, Mamberton, and a number of his people, were converted to Christianity by the preaching of this missionary. In the following year two Jesuits, Fathers Biard and Massé, came out with Biencourt to Acadia, where they laboured for two years amid great privations.

In May, 1613, a ship commanded by M. Saussaye arrived in Port Royal, having on board besides a number of colonists, the Jesuit Fathers Quentin and Du Thet. Here Fathers Biard and Massé joined the expedition, which sailed toward the coast of New England to found a new colony in the vicinity of Pentagoët (Penobscot). A landing was made at St. Sauveur, on the eastern shore of Monts-Deserts. The infant colony was destroyed the very same year by Argall, a Virginian marauder, who then proceeded to Port Royal, which he also destroyed. In the encounter with Argall, the Jesuit Du Thet met his death. Father Biard was taken to Virginia, whence he was sent to England. He succeeded eventually in reaching France. Father Massé, with fourteen others, was turned adrift in an open boat. They were picked up by trading vessels from St. Malo, and thus found their way back to their native land. In the spring of 1619 three Recollet Fathers came over, one of whom went to Port Royal. They were followed in 1630 by another little band of missionaries belonging to the same order. These Fathers laboured for many years in the new colony, ministering to the spiritual wants of the settlers and extending to the benighted Mic-macs the light of the Gospel and the blessings of Christian civilization. In 1632, Isaac de Launoy de Razilly was appointed Governor of the new colony, and gave a great impetus to Catholic colonization. He established the Knights of Malta in Acadia, and interested the whole Order in his work, thus engendering a feeling of greater security in the infant colony and fostering the spirit of missionary enterprise. De Razilly founded La Hève, and there stationed three Recollet Fathers.

Chevalier d'Aunay, Lord of Charnizay, succeeded de Razilly as Governor. He took an active interest in missionary work among the Indians. For the education of the Mic-mac youth he founded a school where some forty Indian pupils were taught by Franciscan Fathers. In his visits to the outlying posts and fishing sta-

tions he was always accompanied by priests, who gave missions to the settlers. On the northern side of the Bay of Fundy, d'Aunay erected a hospice, where the Recollets devoted themselves to the Acadians and Mic-macs, while the Jesuits were evangelizing the Abenekis and making them faithful allies of France. Under the Chevalier Grand-Fontaine, who, according to one account, succeeded d'Aunay in 1653, was maintained the patriarchal *régime* of peace and prosperity inaugurated by his predecessor. The growth of the Church kept pace with that of the colony. In the period between 1671 and 1679 Colbert re-organized the colonial government in Acadia, placing it under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Quebec. The population now rapidly increased. New parishes were formed at Minas, Beaubassin, Cobequid, Chipoudy, and Picoudiac. During this period Port Royal entered on a new era of prosperity.

Down to the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, all the French Ministers of Marine and the Colonies were zealous in forwarding the work of the Catholic missions, which they regarded as the keystone of colonial organization. With this end in view, they were in constant communication with the Bishops of Quebec, the Seminaries of St. Sulpice, and the Foreign Missions in Paris, whence went forth so many apostles to the Levant and to the New World. At this time a plan was matured for a division of missionary labour among the various religious orders. To the Jesuits was assigned the evangelization of the natives; the missionary stations were placed under the spiritual direction of the Recollet Fathers; while the newly founded parishes were confided to the charge of the Sulpicians and the priests of the Society of Foreign Missions. In the spring of 1675 the Vicar-General of Quebec sent some Recollet Fathers to establish a mission at Perci. In the autumn of the same year Father LeClercq was sent by Mgr. de Laval to assist Father Nolin at Baie Francaise. At the same time Mgr. de Laval appointed Father Claude to the mission on the River St. John. In 1676 came Father Petit, who fixed his residence at Port Royal. He was the first Vicar-General of Acadia.

Under the direction of the Vicar-General, the work of establishing missions went on hand in hand with the political organization of the colony. At the instance of the Commandant, de Meullet, several more priests came out from France. The management of the fishing establishment at Chedabouctou (Guysboro), though Protestant, invited three religieuse to that colony. There were also stationed at the same place the Pères Pénitents. Mgr. de St. Vallier, Bishop-elect of Quebec, visited Acadia in 1686. He found nearly all the Indians already converted, and Catholic settlements along the whole coast from Maine to Gaspé. Among these may be mentioned River St. John, Fort Midogteck, Madawaska, Miscou, Mirimachi, Chedabouctou (Guysboro), Beaubassin, Minas, Perci, Petit-Portage, Cape Louis, Isle St. Jean (P.E. Island), and Richibuctou. In the account of his pastoral visit, this Prelate quotes from the letter of the pastor of Port Royal an interesting testimony: "This settlement is composed of about eighty families, amounting to at least six hundred souls, a people naturally gentle and inclined to piety. Neither swearing, nor debauchery, nor drunkenness is known amongst them. Although they are scattered along the river for a distance of four or five leagues, they come in crowds to the church on Sundays and holidays, and frequently receive the sacraments. God forbid that I should attribute their piety to my feeble care; I found them such on my arrival. And nevertheless they had been without priests for sixteen years under the domination of the English. I must render this glory to God, and this justice to them."

Mgr. de St. Vallier visited the colony again in 1688. It was he who introduced the Sulpician Fathers into Acadia. He projected the foundation of a school for the education of the Indian youth at Port Royal, which was to replace that of the Recollets. A school was also founded at River St. John, and an attempt was made later on to establish one at Isle St. Jean (P.E. Island). The Sulpicians, who entered the colony in 1686, did not leave it till compelled by persecution, after the expulsion of the Acadians. They had charge of the parish churches at Port Royal, Beaubassin, Minas, Chipoudy, Peticodiac, and the missions attached to Beaubassin. Three of these fathers successively held the office of Vicar-General. After the English occupation, the British Govern-

ment would have no other priests in Nova Scotia but the Sulpicians. During the whole of their missionary career in Acadia these Fathers observed the neutrality required by the treaties and inculcated a similar observance on their parishioners. The French Ministry sent them out at the request of the English governor, and gave each missionary an allowance of 400 francs.

Among the Sulpician Fathers who laboured in Acadia were M. Geoffroy, (1686-1692), M. Baudin (1688-92), and M. Trouve (1688-1704). In 1697 Father Sily died on his arrival. M. de Miniac was Vicar-General from 1722 to 1740. M. de Breslay and M. Metivier attempted to found a school in P. E. Island, but without success. The latter returned to France in 1726, but De Breslay died in Acadia after having founded the Mission of St. Anne. In the course of the two years that he spent in P. E. Island (1721-1723) as pastor of Port Lajoie, he built a church which he dedicated to St. John the Evangalist. In his letters M. de Breslay signs his name with the title of "Grand Vicaire" added. M. Goudalie (1727-52), M. Chauvreux (1736-1760), M. Guay de Noxon des Enclares (1736-61) shared the hardships and sufferings of the Acadians before and after their banishment.

During the same period no fewer than twenty priests of the Society of Foreign Missions laboured in Acadia, Isle Royale (Cape Breton) and Maine. Of these, Fathers Maillard and Le Leutre were especially noted, not less for their zeal and patriotism than for the trials and sufferings they endured. The former came to Louisbourg in 1735. He remained with the children of the forest for over thirty years, and had the happiness of seeing them all converted to Christianity. His influence with the Indians was very great. When, in 1759, the English deemed it prudent to conclude a peace with the Indians, the Government built him a church and allowed him an annual pension of £200.

In 1718 the Recollet Fathers were called to Louisbourg, where they served as military chaplains to the garrison and ministered to the spiritual wants of the inhabitants. There were at this time three parishes in Louisbourg. The other military stations throughout the land were also served by Recollets. Of the twenty-six priests who officiated at Port Lajoie in P. E. Island from 1723 to 1755, twenty-one were Recollet friars. During this period the Jesuit Fathers were engaged in missionary work among the Abenaquis. After the cession of Canada to the English the Bishops of Quebec continued to send priests from time to time to the Maritime Provinces. During the period following the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, Catholic missionary work in the Maritime Provinces was carried on under the greatest difficulties. In 1759 the Government of Nova Scotia passed an "Act for the suppression of

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Popery." It decreed that "every Popish person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction and every Popish priest or person exercising the functions of a Popish priest" should leave the Province on or before the 25th of March. In 1766 an Act was passed forbidding any Catholic to establish a school within the Province on pain of fine and imprisonment. These penal laws were in a measure relaxed in 1783.

To conciliate the Indians, who as yet were far from being well disposed towards the English, the

services of a Catholic missionary were deemed necessary. Hence, in 1768, Father Bailly came from Quebec at the request of the Governor of Nova Scotia to continue the work of the Abbe Maillard. He was succeeded after a brief interval by the Abbe Labrosse. Within a short time the Abbe Boing, a son of one of the expelled Acadians, came to minister to the exiles who were now beginning to return. Father Boing visited Prince Edward Island in 1785, and there found about 50 Acadian families, composed mainly of those who had escaped the deportation carried out by Admiral Boscawen twenty-seven years before. These families formed the nucleus of the present flourishing Acadian population of the island.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the tide of Catholic immigration from the Old Country began to set in. As early as 1760 there were well nigh 100 English-speaking Catholics in the city of Halifax, mostly Irish. In 1772, John McDonald, of Glenaladale, organized an emigration of 210 persons who set sail from Scotland in the ship *Alexander*, and arrived the same year in Prince Edward Island. They were accompanied by the Rev. James McDonald, who ministered to the Scotch and Acadian settlers in the Island till his death in 1785. In 1790 another large and well organized emigration from Scotland arrived in Prince Edward Island. It consisted of 230 persons, among whom was the Rev. Angus B. McEachern, who afterwards became first Bishop of Charlottetown. About the same time 360 Acadian families returned from the Island of Miquelon and settled in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia. During these years Nova Scotia also received a large contingent of Scotch Catholics, who were driven from their small holdings in the Scottish Highlands by the rapacity of the land-owners. The Catholic soldiery of the 84th Highland Regiment disbanded at Halifax in 1783 and took up land in various parts of Eastern Nova Scotia. In the same period Catholic emigrants from the British Isles also found their way to other parts of the Maritime Provinces.

The first steps towards the formation of a hierarchy in the Maritime Provinces was the erection of Nova Scotia into a Vicariate Apostolic in 1817. Up to this time the whole country had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec. The first Vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. Edmund Burke, who for some years had acted in Nova Scotia as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. He was consecrated as titular Bishop of Sion on July 5, 1818. During his brief episcopate the number of priests and churches rapidly increased throughout Nova Scotia, and the foundations of a Catholic College were laid in Halifax. He died Nov. 29th, 1821.

On June 17th of the same year, the Rt. Rev. Bernard Angus McEachern was consecrated titular Bishop of Rosen, but still continued to act as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. On Aug. 11th, 1829, Prince Edward Island was erected into a diocese, with the see at Charlottetown, of which Mgr. McEachern became first Bishop. The Diocese of Charlottetown then included within its limits the Province of New Brunswick and the northern part of Maine. With the exception of five years, during which he was assisted by Fathers Pritchard and Dr. Calonne, Father McEachern had laboured alone in Prince Edward Island from 1790 till 1812. During this time he also attended to the spiritual wants of the Scotch settlers in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, with such marvellous success that none of them departed without the sacraments of the dying. Bishop McEachern died April 23rd, 1835, and was succeeded in 1837 by the Right Rev. Bernard D. McDonald, who was consecrated on Oct. 15th of the same year.

In 1842 Nova Scotia was erected into a diocese, Halifax being the episcopal see. The Rt. Rev. William Fraser, who since June 3, 1835 had been Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia and titular Bishop of Tanes, was the first Bishop of Halifax. In the same year the Diocese of Fredericton was erected, embracing New Brunswick and the northern part of Maine. The first Bishop of the newly-formed diocese was the Rt. Rev. William Dollard, who was consecrated June 11, 1843. In 1844 the eastern part of Nova Scotia, together with the Island of Cape Breton, was formed into a separate diocese, of which Arichat was the see. Bishop Fraser was transferred from Halifax to Arichat, and the Rt. Rev. William Walsh, who for two years had been coadjutor, became his successor in the see of Halifax. In 1852 Halifax was made

the metropolitan see of the Maritime Provinces, Bishop Walsh being raised to the archiepiscopal dignity. The suffragan sees were Charlottetown, Fredericton and Arichat. Bishop Dolan, of Fredericton, had died the previous year, and was succeeded by the Rt. Rev. Thomas L. Connolly, O.S.F., who subsequently became Archbishop of Halifax.

In 1860 the Diocese of Fredericton was divided into two,—St. John and Chatham—the northern part of Maine being at the same time attached to the Diocese of Portland. The first Bishops of St. John and Chatham respectively were the venerable prelates who still occupy those sees. Bishop Fraser, of Arichat, who died in 1851, was succeeded February 27th, 1852, by the Rt. Rev. Colin Francis McKinnon. Bishop McDonald, of Charlottetown, died in 1859, and was succeeded by Bishop McIntyre. Both he and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Rogers, Bishop of Chatham, were consecrated at Charlottetown on the same day, August 15th, 1860. The consecration of the present occupant of the See of St. John, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Sweeny, took place in April of the same year.

The Most Rev. Dr. Connolly, who was promoted to the archiepiscopal See of Halifax in 1859, died on July 27th, 1876, and was succeeded in the following year by the Most Rev. Dr. Hannan, who ruled for only five years. On January 21st, 1883, his successor, the Most Rev. Cornelius O'Brien, the present Archbishop, was consecrated at Halifax. In 1877, Bishop McKinnon, of Arichat, resigned his see and was named titular Archbishop of Amida; his successor in the See of Arichat being the Rt. Rev. John Cameron, who had been consecrated titular Bishop of Titopolis in 1870, and had acted as Bishop McKinnon's coadjutor until he became administrator of the diocese. The venerable Archbishop McKinnon passed away on September 26th, 1879. On August 23rd, 1886, the See of Eastern Nova Scotia was transferred from Arichat to Antigonish, the Rt. Rev. John Cameron becoming its first Bishop. Bishop McIntyre, of Charlottetown, died on April 30th, 1891, and was succeeded by the Rt. Rev. James Charles McDonald, who had been consecrated the previous year as Bishop of Ionia, and Coadjutor Bishop of Charlottetown.

Some idea of the growth of the Church in the Maritime Provinces during the last 130 years may be formed from the following statistics, which, however, are necessarily incomplete:

		Catholics.	Non-Catholics.
1767	Nova Scotia	1,718	9,961
1767	St. John's Island	276	243
1767	New Brunswick	152	1,024
1827	Nova Scotia	20,401	103,229
1841	Prince Edward Island.	20,335	26,307
1848	" " "	27,147	35,531
1851	Nova Scotia	69,131	207,623

The following figures are more detailed and include four defined Provincial periods:

1861.	Catholics.	Non-Catholics.
New Brunswick	85,238	166,809
Nova Scotia	86,281	244,476
Prince Edward Island	35,852	45,005
Totals for 1861	207,371	456,290
1871.		
Prince Edward Island	40,442	53,579
New Brunswick	96,016	189,578
Nova Scotia	102,000	285,800
Totals for 1871	238,458	528,957
1881.		
Prince Edward Island	47,115	61,776
New Brunswick	109,091	212,142
Nova Scotia	117,487	323,085
Totals for 1881	273,693	597,003
1891.		
Prince Edward Island	47,837	61,251
New Brunswick	115,961	205,333
Nova Scotia	122,452	328,071
Totals for 1891	286,250	594,655

The Ecclesiastical Province of Halifax, which includes the Maritime Provinces, with Bermuda and the Magdalen Islands, is composed of five dioceses, Halifax, Charlottetown, Antigonish, St. John, and Chatham. Halifax is the metropolitan See, and includes within its limits all the counties of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia except Pictou, Antigonish, and Guysboro. The Bermudas also form part of the Diocese of Halifax. The three counties named above, together with the four counties in the Island of Cape Breton, constitute the Diocese of Antigonish, while the Diocese of Charlottetown comprises the whole of Prince

Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands. The Diocese of St. John comprises the counties of Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, King, Queen, St. John, Westmoreland, York, and part of Kent. The remainder of New Brunswick forms the Diocese of Chatham. The appended table shows the number of priests, churches, chapels, etc., in the several dioceses of the Ecclesiastical Province in 1897:

	Halifax.	Charlottetown.	Antigonish.	St. John.	Chatham.
Diocesan Priests	40	44	67	46	50
Priests of Religious Orders	11		8	19	
Churches with Resident Priest.	33	34	57	40	44
Missions with Churches	60	15	35	21	27
Chapels	10	9	13	12	9
Seminaries	1				
Colleges	1	1	1	1	
Academies	4	8	5	2	8
Orphan Asylums	2			2	2
Industrial and Reform Schools.	2			3	
Protectories for Boys	1				
Homes for Aged Poor	1			1	
Hospital	1	1		1	4

The Catholic Colleges in the Maritime Provinces are St. Francis Xavier's, Antigonish, N.S.; St. Joseph's, Memramcook, N.B.; St. Dunstan's, Charlottetown, P.E.I.; St. Anne's, Church Point, N.S. St. Francis Xavier's College was founded in 1854 by the Rt. Rev. Dr. McKinnon, Bishop of Arichat, for the higher education of students aspiring to the priesthood and the learned professions. In this respect it has more than fulfilled the hopes of its founder. In 1866 it received University powers from the Legislature of Nova Scotia. It now possesses the most commodious and best equipped buildings of any Catholic collegiate institution in the Maritime Provinces. Its course of studies is two-fold, commercial and classical. English, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, and Philosophy are taught with a thoroughness which has acquired for the institution a high reputation. The staff of professors is composed of priests and laymen, the former being principally graduates of the Propaganda College, Rome.

St. Joseph's College, Memramcook, was founded in 1864 by the Rev. Father Lefebvre, C.S.S., and was intended especially for the higher education of the Acadian youth of the Maritime Provinces. It was incorporated with power to confer Degrees by an Act of the New Brunswick Legislature in 1868. The College buildings are picturesquely situated on an eminence overlooking the Memramcook valley. The studies are divided into two courses: commercial and classical. French and English are taught with equal care. The institution is conducted by the Fathers of the Holy Cross assisted by a corps of lay professors. Since its formation it has accomplished much in the cause of higher education in the Maritime Provinces.

St. Dunstan's College, Charlottetown, was founded in 1885, a few years after the closing of St. Andrew's College, the pioneer educational institution of Prince Edward Island. In this college the greater number of the clergy and many of the professional men of Prince Edward Island have received their classical training. In 1892 it was affiliated to Laval University, which confers degrees in Letters, Science, Arts and Philosophy on students passing the prescribed examinations. It is conducted by secular priests, with whom are associated a number of lay professors.

The College of St. Anne, Church Point, Digby, N.S., was founded in 1890 by the Fathers of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary, commonly called Eudists. Two years later it was incorporated, and received University powers from the Legislature of Nova Scotia. Classes are taught in English and French. The students are chiefly the sons of Acadian parents. The Eudist Fathers have also opened at Halifax an ecclesiastical seminary, primarily for the training of ecclesiastics of their own Order. Other young men studying for the priesthood are also received. Besides these colleges, there are a number of institutions for the higher education of young women. The Sisters of Charity have a flourishing institution at Rockingham, near Halifax. This convent, known as Mount St. Vincent, is the mother-house of the Order. Affiliated to this institute are several convents and schools conducted by the Sisters of Charity throughout the Maritime Provinces.

The Sisters of the Sacred Heart conduct a Ladies' Academy of a high order in the city of Halifax. The Sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame, of Montreal, have a large number of convents and schools in the Maritime Provinces.

The Convent of St. Bernard in the town of Antigonish, is affiliated to St. Francis Xavier's College. It has an advanced course of studies, several of the classes being taught by the College professors. Pupils of this institution are admitted to degrees in Arts on the same conditions as those prescribed for the students of St. Francis Xavier's College. The admission of four young ladies of St. Bernard's Convent to the degree of B.A. during the present year (1897), marks an epoch in the history of Catholic education in Canada. Thus the Congregation de Notre Dame, which was the first to found a Convent School in Canada, and also in the Maritime Provinces, is also the first to have its convent graduates admitted to University degrees. It may here be mentioned incidentally that the Sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame had a Convent School at Louisbourg during the French regime, the ruins of which are still pointed out.

The schools conducted by the various religious communities in the Maritime Provinces enjoy a deservedly high reputation. The distribution of the Catholic population in the several dioceses is shown approximately in the following table, based on statistics given in Hoffman's Catholic Directory for 1897:

Halifax	50,000
Antigonish	73,000
St. John	60,000
Chatham	55,000
Charlottetown	55,000
Total	293,000

The Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien.

DOCTRINES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

THE MOST REV. JOHN WALSH, D.D., Archbishop of Toronto.

I HAVE been asked to contribute to the Canadian Encyclopedia a brief exposition of Catholic doctrine and belief. I do so with much pleasure, and hope that this authoritative statement of what Catholics *do* believe will help to remove prejudice, and impart some useful religious knowledge. We are confident that if our separated brethren knew our doctrine better, they would like us and our religion all the more. In the space at my disposal I can give only a summary of our doctrine, but I shall endeavour to make that summary as complete and clear as possible. As I am expected to give only those doctrines that may be considered distinctively Catholic, it will be assumed that the reader knows the principal religious truths which all professing Christians are supposed to believe. Such, for instance, are the existence, attributes, unity and Trinity of God; the Incarnation, Divinity, Life, Death and Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. All who hold these truths believe that there is one supreme, personal, all perfect, omnipotent Being, Creator and Lord; First Beginning and Last End of all things; that this infinitely perfect Being is God; that there is only one God, and cannot be more Gods than one; that in this one God there are three Divine Persons, really distinct and equal in all things—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; that each Divine Person is God, each having numerically and identically the same divine nature, and that all Three are from Eternity; and yet, that there are not three Gods, but only one God. This is the mystery of the Trinity, and a mystery is a revealed truth, which even after it has been revealed, we cannot fully comprehend.

All Christians are supposed to believe, too, that the Second Person of the blessed Trinity, God the Son, became man; that He was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary; that by His life, teaching, miracles, death and resurrection, He proved Himself to be truly man and truly God—having two distinct and perfect natures, the human and the divine, united in one Divine Person, the Second Person of the blessed Trinity. Christians believe, moreover, that this Divine Person in two distinct natures, Jesus Christ our Lord, redeemed mankind by His sufferings and death; that He is the one and only Mediator; that there is only one name under heaven in which men can be saved, and that is the adorable name of Christ Jesus our Lord. Most Christians believe, too, that God wishes all men to be saved, and that Christ the Saviour died for all; and just here come in the doctrines that may be called distinctively Catholic. While most Christians hold that Christ our Lord wishes all men to be saved, all are not agreed as to the means of salvation He provided. Most non-Catholic Christians maintain that Christ left a Book, called *The Bible*, as the chief, if not the only means of salvation. Catholics hold that Christ established a Church and to that Church He intrusted the means of salvation, including the Bible. This brings us to my special subject, and I shall treat first of the Catholic religion and the (Roman) Catholic Church.

Religion is the theoretical and practical recognition of our relations with our Maker. There can be only one true religion, because there is only one true God; and, indeed, it may be added —because there is only one true man. All men are essentially equal in their religious relation to God, because all men are equally creatures, and all are composed of body and soul. As rational creatures they are bound to give their Creator supreme worship. As compound creatures that worship must be internal and external, of soul and body. The same reasons that show how religion should be one, make it also clear that religion should be universal, for all men and all time; and unchangeable, for God cannot change, and

neither can man's essential relations to God. Though there is and can be only one true religion, this religion may be variously divided. There is natural, and supernatural or revealed religion. And of revealed religion there is the old and the new, the Mosaic or Jewish, and the Christian religion. We have to do only with the Christian religion, which, indeed, sums up, includes and completes all religion, and which may be defined as the summary of all the truths which God has proposed for our belief, of all the laws which He has enacted for our observance, and of all the external means of grace and salvation He has provided for us on earth. The Christian religion is the Catholic religion. The Catholic Church is the divinely appointed means for preserving and propagating the Christian religion, and the Catholic Church may be described as a visible, well-defined and thoroughly organized moral body, or society, established by Christ, whose members profess the Catholic or Christian religion which He instituted.

The whole of the essential organization of the Church was the immediate work of Christ—as much His work as the institution of His religion. He not only instituted the Church as a fact. He constituted it as a perfect supernatural Society. A society is a number of individuals pursuing a common end with united effort. The end common to all in this Society is eternal salvation. The means common to all is the profession of the same Faith and participation in the same worship and sacraments. The united effort of all is secured by the supreme spiritual authority appointed by Christ Himself. All this is proved from the words of our Lord in the well-known texts of Matthew xxviii., 18, and xvi., 18, and John xx., 21: "As the Father sent me"; "Thou art Peter"; "Feed my sheep." But in this brief article I cannot attempt to prove, but must content myself with simply stating as clearly as I can what Catholics hold and believe regarding the Catholic Church.

The Church, as I have said, is a perfect Society, a supernatural Society, a Society founded by Christ for the salvation of souls. But the Church is a Society of living men, and therefore must be a visible Society. It is a society for all men who are to be saved, and therefore must be a perpetual Society. No society can exist without a head, a governing power. Christ might have left it to the members of His future Church to elect their own head, and choose their form of Government, or He might have appointed one of His Apostles, and given him power and authority to found a Church. But he did neither of these things; what He did do, was to first select the head, and then found the Church Himself. "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church." Had the people chosen the foundation and built the Church they might have had power to change it. Had Peter by divine appointment built the Church he might have had power to modify it. But when Christ Himself built His Church, no power on earth could undo it, and the gates of hell could not prevail against it. Christ Himself was the foundation of the Church, and if He remained visibly on earth forever He would not have needed any other foundation. But as He knew He was to go to the Father and leave a visible Society of men on earth, He knew too that His Society must have a visible head, and so He made St. Peter His Vicar with supreme power—legislative, judicial and executive—to rule His Church, and in and through his lawful successors to rule it to the end of time. This is what Catholics mean by the supremacy of St. Peter, and of the Pope of Rome as his lawful successor.

The Church of Christ is one, holy, catholic and apostolic. The Church is one, not only to the exclusion of multiplicity, but of division or diversity. "I will build my Church" (not Churches), Christ said; "To thee I will give the keys"; "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep"; "There shall be one flock and one shepherd." The Church is holy in its Founder, its doctrine, its sacraments and in many of its members. It must be Catholic for all men, all places, all time, and teaching all truth and always and everywhere the same. The true Church of Christ is Apostolic, founded on Christ and His Apostles, and deriving its power from legitimate uninterrupted succession from them. These attributes and marks of the Church of Christ are to be found in the Roman Catholic Church and in that Church alone. By divine precept all are bound to belong to the Catholic Church. "He that hears you

hears Me"; "He that will not hear the Church, let him be as the heathen"; "As the Father sent Me, I send you, go teach all nations"; "Preach the gospel to every creature"; "He who believes and is baptized shall be saved": "He who believes not shall be condemned." There is only one true Church. All are obliged to belong to that Church. He who knows this obligation and does not comply with it cannot be in the way of salvation. This is what is meant by saying, "Outside the Church no salvation." Those who do not know or suspect their obligation of joining the true Church; who cannot tell which is the true Church; are said to be in a state of invincible and excusable ignorance, and may belong to the soul of the Church to which all belong who are in the state of grace.

The Church of Christ is not only a perfect Society, a supernatural Society, a divinely founded and a divinely preserved Society, but it is essentially a teaching, a dogmatic Society. "Going therefore teach," etc.; "All things whatsoever I commanded," etc.; "All truth," etc. A society teaching supernatural truth, mysterious truth beyond human comprehension, must be an infallible Society, especially if refusal to hear this teaching is threatened with divine punishment. Hence the Master said; "I will be with you always"; "I will send the Holy Ghost the Spirit of Truth, and He will abide with you," etc. The only Church on earth to-day that pretends to claim infallibility is the Roman Catholic Church, and she not only claims it; she exercises it, and in diverse ways: (1) Through General Councils; (2) Through the unanimous voice of the Bishops dispersed throughout the world, but united with the Pope; (3) Through its ordinary and uniform preaching; (4) Through the Pope alone teaching *ex cathedra*. It will be seen that there is no exercise of infallibility without the Pope, for he must preside, personally or by delegate, at the General Council, and approve its decrees, and he must confirm the Church's ordinary teaching. I shall cover the whole question of infallibility, then, by treating of Papal Infallibility.

Papal Infallibility. But before entering on the consideration of this doctrine, it will be useful to make some preliminary remarks on the subject of definitions of faith. A definition of faith is not the creation of a new doctrine, but is simply an official declaration by the Church that the doctrine so defined is contained in the deposit of revealed truths committed by Christ to her guardianship. St. Vincent of Lerins thus beautifully explains what is the nature of the deposit of faith committed by Christ to the Church: "What is a deposit? It is that which is intrusted to you, not that which is the fruit of your invention; it is what you have received, not what you have devised; it is a matter, not of ingenuity, but of learning; it is not a private assumption of authority, but an affair of public transition; a thing transmitted to you, not produced by you; a concern in which you are not to pass for the author, but the guardian; not the founder, but the disciple; not the leader, but the follower." (Comm. Con. Hereses, c. xxvii.)

The Church does not, of course, pretend to create doctrine. She simply defines, whenever she deems it opportune, revealed doctrines that are assailed, proposes them as divine truths to be explicitly believed, and thus lifts them beyond the region of controversy among her children. A definition of faith, then, is not the creation or invention of a new doctrine, but is simply an official promulgation of a truth as old as Christianity itself. Hence, St. Vincent of Lerins (who flourished in the early part of the fifth century), speaking of definitions of faith by General Councils, says: "What else has the Church ever endeavoured by the decrees of Councils but that what was before simply credited should be more diligently believed; that what before was preached more sparingly should afterwards be preached more instantly; that what before was securely reverenced, the same afterwards should be more carefully cherished. This, I say, and nothing else, has the Catholic Church, provoked by the novelties of heretics, ever done by the decrees of her Councils; nothing, to wit, but what she had previously received from her forefathers by tradition, that same she consigned thenceforward to posterity by writing also: 'O, Timothy,' says the Apostle, 'preserve the faith, avoiding the profane novelties of words.'" (Commonitorium, c. xxiii.).

And he adds, when the Church defined doctrines as necessary to be believed, "What was it

but marking with the propriety of a new appellation an old article of faith?" The faith which was before implicit, or wrapped up, as it were, in the deposit of revealed truths committed to the Church, becomes by the Church's definition explicit faith, to be believed by all, under pain of exclusion from her communion. Thus, when at Nice, A.D. 325, the consubstantiality of the Son with the Eternal Father was defined against Arius, there was surely nothing added to the faith. Nor again at Constantinople, A.D. 381, when the divinity of the Holy Ghost was asserted against Macedonius; and when the Fathers of the Council at Ephesus, A.D. 431, pronounced Mary to be the Mother of God, what was it but re-asserting in a different form the decree of Nice? Mary was the Mother of Jesus, and He was the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father. Mary was therefore the Mother of God. So, again, when both at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and at Constantinople, A.D. 680, the Church defined that Jesus Christ has two Wills, the human and divine, being both God and man, in opposition to the Monothelites, who contended that He had but one, there was here no new revelation, no new addition to the faith; there was only a new expression and assertion of the human and divine natures in the God-man—to use the words of St. Vincent of Lerins, "What was it but marking with the propriety of a new expression, an old article of faith?" Now this is precisely what the Church has done in defining the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; she has marked with the propriety of a new expression an old article of faith. She has not by this definition made new additions to the faith, but merely declared an old truth, and proposed it to be explicitly believed by the faithful about the much misunderstood question of definition of faith.

Papal Infallibility means that the Sovereign Pontiff is, by divine appointment, exempt from error, when, in his official capacity, he teaches obligatory doctrine to the Universal Church; that is when, as Vicar of Christ, he proposes to the Universal Church a doctrine regarding faith or morals. The following is the statement of the Vatican Council on the subject: "We teach, and define it to be a dogma divinely revealed that when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in the discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines that a doctrine regarding faith or morals is to be held by the Universal Church, he enjoys by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed His Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine regarding faith or morals." It is most important that we should have clear and accurate notions on this subject. I have just stated what the doctrine of Papal Infallibility is. It may be well, then, to state what it is not.

Papal Infallibility is not Papal impeccability. It is one thing to be exempt from sin or the power of sinning, and it is another to be exempt from doctrinal error in teaching. According to the supposition of St. Paul, a person may have such extraordinary faith as to be able to remove mountains, and yet not have charity or the love of God. There is not, therefore, question here of the moral conduct of the Sovereign Pontiff, but simply of his official teaching as head of the Church.

Infallibility is not inspiration. Inspiration implies infallibility, but the latter does not necessarily imply the former. By inspiration is meant that singular impulse of the Holy Ghost moving one to write. His direction and presence guiding and illuminating the mind of the writer, not allowing him to err, and causing him to write whatsoever God wishes. Inspiration, then, comes immediately from God, and inspired writing is His very word.

By infallibility is understood a special providence and assistance of God, by which the Pope is preserved from all doctrinal error in teaching and defining matters of faith and morals contained in the deposit of divine truth already revealed. In order that a Papal utterance may have the character of a teaching *ex cathedra*, for which alone infallibility is claimed, it is required that it should treat of a question connected with faith or morals, and that it should propose a doctrine to be believed or rejected under pain of censure. Secondly, that the Holy Father should manifest the intention of teaching, as Pope, and of commanding the Universal Church to accept his doctrinal decrees. These conditions are necessary to con-

stitute an infallible ordinance issued by the Sovereign Pontiff. Hence it follows that infallibility is not claimed for the Pope when he speaks in conversation, when he treats of scientific matters unconnected with the Faith, when he writes private documents, when as private doctor he writes theological treatises or commentaries on Holy Writ; nor is this august prerogative claimed for his private opinions, his disciplinary decrees, his omissions of definitions of faith, and other matters of that sort.

This doctrine does not, therefore, bind us to hold that the Pope was always infallibly right in deposing Princes and absolving subjects from their allegiance, and in the exercise of all the privileges which the jurisprudence of the ages of faith conferred on him. Impartial history attests that in all these transactions the influence of the Pope was exercised in favour of human rights and liberties, in opposition to tyranny and oppression. But all these considerations are beside the question, and have nothing to do with the point at issue. Now, there is nothing strange in the doctrine that God has given such a prerogative to man for the benefit of the human race which he came to redeem. Did He not repeatedly endow man with the gift of prophecy; enable him to peer into the mysterious future, and with unerring accuracy foretell events that were buried in its womb? Did he not give man the stupendous power of arresting the sun in its course, and the moon, when Joshua commanded, "Move not, O Sun, toward Gabaon, nor thou, O Moon, towards the valley of Adjalon. And the Sun and Moon stood still till the people revenged themselves of their enemies" (Joshua x., 12,13). Did not Moses, by the divine power, fill Egyptian rivers with tides of blood? Did he not, by the waving of his hand, cleave a passage through the Red Sea, whose waters stood up on either side like liquid walls, to enable the chosen people to pass dryshod to the shores of the desert land? Did he not cause to gush from the flinty rock streams of sparkling water to slake the thirst of the Israelites in the desert? Has not God, in His New Dispensation, bestowed on man the power of forgiving sins?—a power so stupendous as to extort from the wondering Jews the cry, "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" Were not the Evangelists endowed with infallibility? Were not the writers of the Acts and Epistles infallible? Were not the Apostles of Christ infallible? There is, therefore, nothing out of harmony with God's dealings with man as shown either in the Old or New Dispensation in the doctrine that God shields the supreme head of His Church on earth from all doctrinal error in his quality of universal teacher. We have simply to ascertain if Christ has bestowed this prerogative upon the Sovereign Pontiff, and, if we find that He has, we must bow in humble submission to His divine will, and

The Most Rev. Archbishop Walsh.

bless and praise God, who has given such power to man.

The Church and the Bible. There are two Divine sources of the Church's infallible teaching—Scripture and Tradition, or the Written and Unwritten Word of God. With regard to the Scripture, the Bible, the Old and New Testament, the position and relation of the Church is this. The Church teaches that the Scripture is the revealed word of God, that every tittle of it was written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that in

the words of St. Paul to Timothy: "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice," II. Tim. iii. 16. With a mother's care she protected and saved the written Word during the bloody persecutions which the Roman Empire for three hundred years carried on against her and everything that belonged to her, including the Scripture. She protected and saved it during the ages when the fierce northern pagan barbarians swept in a tide of destruction over Europe, burning, pillaging and wasting everything in their path. It was she that settled the canon of the Scripture and authoritatively decided which books were canonical and true Scripture and what must be considered as spurious. For centuries she kept hundreds and thousands of her children employed in translating and transcribing the word of God, aye, and in letters of gold and on parchment of purple, to show veneration and love for God's Word. She causes it to be read in her public services and to be expounded to her people.

The priests are bound under the most solemn obligation to read daily for an hour the Scripture and Commentaries on the Scripture. Her commentaries on it are the best and most learned ever written. Catholic Kings and Emperors in the middle ages, when wishing to testify their regard and reverence to friends or to religious men, could find nothing more expressive of their esteem than copies of the Scripture, and these copies were not unfrequently written in letters of gold and covered with purple and ivory and precious stones. And when printing was invented the Church made use of this new art, which was about to revolutionize the world, to disseminate the Word of God in the vernacular among the people. Thus, in Germany a Catholic version was printed nearly sixty years before Luther's translation; in fact, five different Catholic versions of Scripture in the vulgar tongue were published in Germany before Luther's Bible appeared. The very same thing occurred in Spain, Italy and France. See letter of Pope Pius VI. to the Archbishop of Florence on the popular use of the Bible, in first page of the Douay Bible. See also the magnificent Encyclical letter of Leo XIII. urging the prayerful study of Holy Scripture. From these facts it is evident that it is false and unjust to accuse the Catholic Church of being opposed to the Scripture. On the contrary, it is her child and she is its mother, and she has ever protected, guarded it, and fostered it with a mother's loving care. But the Church is not only the friend and guardian of Scripture; she is also its divinely appointed official interpreter and teacher.

The Bible, as read and interpreted by each individual for himself, was never intended by Christ to be the rule of faith and of morals. There are overwhelming arguments and irrefragable facts against this Protestant theory. 1st. Christ never wrote a word of the Bible. 2nd. He never commissioned His Apostles to write it. 3rd. The Bible was not entirely written and completed until about sixty-five years after the Ascension of our Lord. 4th. Until the time of the invention of printing, nearly fifteen hundred years after the Christian era, it was a physical impossibility to disseminate the Bible so as to bring it within the reach of all. Lastly, the vast majority of people could not read it enough even though they had copies of it. The unlearned and unstable wrest it to their own destruction. Christ our Lord appointed His Church to be the guardian and teacher of His revealed Word to His people. Just as the civil society and the governing power make laws and appoint judges to expound their true meaning, so Christ, the Divine Law-giver, appointed and commissioned His Church to interpret and teach the true meaning of His revealed word to His people. All power, said our Lord to the Church in the persons of the Apostles, is given to me in heaven and on earth. "Going, therefore, teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (Matt. xviii. 19). And again: "Go ye unto the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature." (Mark xvi. 15). "He that hears you hears Me, and he that despises you, despises Me." (Luke x. 16). "He that will not hear the Church let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican." (Matt. xviii. 17). All these texts and many others go to show that Christ established His teaching Church to be the rule of faith, and not the reading of the Scripture. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (x. 17) positively affirms that "faith cometh by hearing," but faith would

not come by hearing, but by reading, if the Protestant theory were correct.

This is the relation of the Church Catholic towards Holy Scripture. She is its divinely appointed guardian and unerring teacher. She is not guilty of the absurdity of telling every man, woman, and child to read the Bible and to make out their religion from its pages. We see what the result of this theory has been in the innumerable sects that exist outside the Church, all pretending to read and to understand the true meaning of the Bible, and all differing in their understanding of it. Such endless divisions and such multitudes of warring sects generated by the principle of Protestantism have filled the world with doubts regarding the divinity of Christianity, have supplied the infidel with powerful arguments, and have served to bring the religion of Christ into contempt. There is but one God and one true Faith, and that Faith is kept in its unity, purity and integrity by the Church Catholic—which interprets God's word by virtue of a divine commission and divine authority.

There exists in the Church as different from the Scripture a Tradition of divinely revealed doctrines and institutions. Tradition in its evident sense means the transmission of the truths of salvation, in whatsoever manner, by the teaching office of the Church. Tradition in a stricter sense is the transmission of revealed truths or precepts otherwise than by Holy Writ. Such traditions are generally called oral, handed down by word of mouth, though the truths so transmitted might sometimes be written and otherwise preserved, as in the Councils of the Church, the Church's Liturgical Books, the Acts of the Martyrs, Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments, and especially in the Works of the Fathers of the Church. These Fathers were saintly and learned men, mostly priests and Bishops who flourished from apostolic times to St. Gregory the Great (604) in the Western, and St. John Damascene (754) in the Eastern Church. The Fathers were succeeded by the Doctors of the Church. As soon as we have the testimony of the Fathers or of other monuments to prove that the Church has at any time taught any truth as revealed, we are certain that such a truth is simply an article of the Church's faith.

Since the belief of the Church is unchangeable, it is not necessary for the value of tradition that the testimony of the Fathers should be absolutely unanimous, but it is necessary that a sufficient number should testify, and not merely to the truth handed down, but to the fact that such truth came from apostolic times and was always held by the Church as revealed by God. Such divine tradition has always enjoyed the same veneration in the Church as the Bible itself. Indeed, as a medium of transmitting revealed truth, tradition is more important, more necessary than the Bible. The Church existed before the Bible, and could exist without it. But the Church never did exist and never could exist without divine tradition. "Stand fast," says St. Paul to the Thessalonians, "and hold the tradition which you have learned whether by word or by our epistle" (Thess. xi. 14). Upon which St. Chrysostom says: "It is evident that the Apostles did not communicate all in writing, but much without writing. Both deserve equal faith. . . . It is tradition; ask no more." Indeed, without tradition and the Church's authority, the sacred Scriptures themselves would be practically useless, for neither their inspiration nor certain interpretation could be conclusively and authoritively proved. "I would not believe the Gospel," said St. Augustine, "unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me to it."

Sacrifice and Sacraments. Jesus Christ our Lord, as man and mediator, had a threefold office: He was Prophet, Priest and King. This threefold office He communicated to the ministers of His Church. In the teaching and ruling power of the Church I have considered the divinely communicated prerogatives and power of King and Prophet, and will now devote a few words to the most important and practical office and power of the Christian Priesthood. The Son of God by His Incarnation, was ordained, consecrated and appointed a Priest in a twofold sense. He was a Priest according to the order of Aaron, or the Levitical order, and according to the order of Melchisedech. As a Priest according to the order of Aaron He offered Himself a bloody sacrifice on the cross. As a Priest according to the Order of Melchisedech He offered Himself in the Eucharistic Sacrifice the night before He

suffered. Melchisedech is called a priest because he offered a sacrifice of bread and wine. (Gen. xlv. 18-19). The night before He suffered Jesus Christ took bread and said: "This is my body which is broken for you" (I. Cor. xi. 24), and taking the wine He said: "This is the Challice of the new Testament in my blood which is poured out for you" (Luke xxii. 20). The Catholic Church holds and believes that in these words Christ meant what He said, and did what He said. His words were not merely declarative, they were effective; they were sacrificial and sacramental. In these words, and by these words, the first sacrifice of the Mass was offered, and the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist instituted. The sacrifice consisted in the action; the sacrament in the continued existence of the body and blood of Christ under the appearance of bread and wine. The action was the conversion of the whole substance of wine into the blood of Christ. This conversion is rightly called by the Church, Transubstantiation. The separation of the Body and Blood was a mystic slaying, placing Christ the Lord in the condition of a victim—an equivalent death and a perfect sacrifice. Every religion that pretends to be divine must have a sacrifice, for sacrifice is an essential and distinctive act of divine worship. All other religious acts such as prayers, petitions, thanksgivings, etc., may be offered to a creature; sacrifice can be offered only to the Creator for it is an act by which we acknowledge God's supreme dominion over us, and our total dependence on Him. The religion of Christ, the Christian religion, is a perfect religion, and therefore must have a perfect sacrifice. It is a religion, the religion, that is to last till the end of time, and therefore must have a perpetual sacrifice. The sacrifice of the Mass is perfect and perpetual, for when Christ, our great High Priest according to the Order of Melchisedech, had said His first Mass, He straightway gave His Apostles power to do what He had done. He ordained them priests by saying: "Do this in commemoration of me." In virtue of these words, these first priests and their validly ordained successors to the end of time, by saying Christ's words do what He did—change bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, and offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Those who have rejected the sacrifice of the Mass have rejected and lost the Christian Priesthood. A priest may be defined as a sacrificial and a sacramental man—a man duly consecrated and appointed to offer sacrifices and administer sacraments. "So let a man account of us," says St. Paul, "as ambassadors of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God." As a sacrificial man the priest ascends the altar of God to offer the highest act of worship to the Supreme Lord of all. As a sacramental man he comes down from the throne of God to bestow divine graces and gifts to the people in dispensing the sacraments. A sacrament is a visible or outward sign or act instituted by Christ to give Grace. Grace is a supernatural gift destined by God to make us to merit heaven. This supernatural gift is of the essence of justification. We are not justified or saved by the imputation of the merits of Christ, but by co-operating with the application of the merits of Christ, and this application is made by the sacrifice of the Mass, but especially by the sacraments. There are seven sacrifices, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Holy Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony. Space permits me to speak of only two—Penance and the Holy Eucharist. I have already said something of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar and need add only this. After the consecration and the conversion of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, the Catholic Church holds that Christ our Lord is whole and entire—body and blood, soul and divinity—under the appearance or species of bread, and under the appearance of wine, and therefore while the laity may receive the Holy Eucharist under both species, such reception is not necessary for the communion of the people who communicate sacramentally, but it is necessary for the priest whose communion completes the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

The Sacrament of Penance. Our Blessed Lord came down from heaven to destroy the power of Satan, to overthrow the reign of sin and to establish in its stead the kingdom of God's peace and charity. The object of His earthly mission, and the work of His divine life here amongst us, was to save mankind from sin and its dreadful consequences, and to rescue them from the horrors

of an eternal death. He therefore took the virtue of penance and raised it up to the dignity and the saving power and efficacy of a sacrament, and attached to it for all time the divine attribute—the God-power of forgiving sins. Henceforward, this sacrament of penance will be the channel through which in life-giving streams the precious blood will be poured abroad for the salvation of the penitent sinner; it will be a divine *probatica*, into whose healing waters the spiritually sick and blind and lame may be plunged for the healing of their souls, and for the recovery of their health and strength. It will send the voice of Christ into the graves, where too many souls, alas, lie, Lazarus-like, dead and stinking with putrefaction, calling them back to health and life and happiness, and restoring them living members to the Holy Church of God.

Whenever our Blessed Lord intended to establish some great institution of mercy and love, He first promised it in order to prepare men's minds for it, to awaken in them a yearning expectancy, and to dispose men to appreciate the better the boon to be conferred; and then after some time He fulfilled His promise by the creation of the institution. Thus, when he intended to institute the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, He first promised it, as we find in the 6th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John: "The bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world," and then He redeemed His promise by the institution of the sacrament, when He said at His last supper, "This is my body—this is my blood" (Matthew xxvi.). So, also, when He determined for the preservation of the Church's unity and life to establish the Primacy of St. Peter and his successors, He first said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew, c. xvi., v. 19); and after His resurrection He actually conferred the primacy when He commissioned Peter to feed His lambs and to feed His sheep—that is, the whole flock of the divine sheepfold—all the members of the Holy Church (John xxi.).

In accordance with this law of conduct, our Divine Redeemer first promised the institution of the sacrament of penance, when He said to His Apostles, "Whosoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven" (Matthew xviii. 18). And when the minds and hearts of the Apostles were in some measure prepared for the reception of this stupendous power, for the establishment of this wondrous institution of God's infinite pity and mercy for sinful man, He then instituted the sacrament when He said to them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained" (John xx. 23). The words used by our Saviour in the institution of this sacrament are worthy of our deepest attention, for they seem to have been especially employed to show the awfulness of the institution, to show that it was indeed a new creation on the earth, and the work in a special manner of divine omnipotence and infinite mercy. He began by assuring the Apostles that He constituted them His vicars and representatives, and that He there and then conferred on them the same authority to teach and the same power to forgive sins with which He himself, as man, had been clothed by the Eternal Father. "As the Father has sent me, I also send you." As if He would say: "I as man hold from God the power to forgive sins, and that I have the power I have already proved by a miracle (Matthew iv.), and I hereby delegate that power to you forever. To the Church and to its ministers for all time, do I give this divine prerogative, this God-power for the destroying of the reign of sin in human hearts and souls, and for the salvation of all penitent sinners."

"He then breathed upon them." When God made man "He breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." (Gen. 2 c. 9 v.) "He inspired into him the soul that worketh, and He breathed into him a living spirit." (Wisdon xv. 11) That is, the breath of God breathed into inanimate matter, created man, and made him a living, rational person; gave him the soul that worketh, and the living, quickening spirit; made man the master work of His creation; made him a little less than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honour. This is the first instance of which we are told in Scripture that God breathed upon man, and

the result was the existence of rational man, made in the image and likeness of God—"constituted in innocence and justice," that greatest and most perfect work of the first creation, on beholding which "All the morning stars shone out together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." (Job xxxviii. 7.) The second instance is that of which we read in the 31st chapter of Ezekiel, when the Spirit of God breathed upon the dry bones that filled the plain, and they started into living men, and "stood upon their feet an exceeding great army." We thus find it a settled law, that whenever the Scripture mentions that "God breathed" we may expect a singular exercise of His creative power. We have a right to expect a new creation of His infinite power, goodness and love.

When, therefore, we read that our Lord "breathed" upon His Apostles, we should be prepared for some creative act, for a special exercise of omnipotent mercy and love. And this is precisely what occurred. Our Blessed Saviour on this occasion breathed His divine life into the Church and made it a living organism. It was a new creation, a new moral world that was called into being, a spiritual kingdom established by the risen Christ, that shall never be destroyed and that shall stand forever amid the revolutions and changes of time, doing Christ's work in the world. To this Church He communicated the Holy Ghost to be its abiding life; and that Divine Spirit will never henceforward cease, through the Sacrament of Penance, to work miracles for the salvation of souls. He will work miracles such as that wrought by Christ at the tomb of Lazarus, and as those others wrought by our Lord during His life on earth; He will raise the spiritually dead to life; He will, in a spiritual sense, make the blind to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear; and He will preach the blessed evangel of immortal hope and infinite mercy and compassion to poor sinners. As by the fall, man lost the supernatural life of the soul, and defaced the image of God stamped upon it, so in the order of restoration effected through Christ, the Holy Ghost through the Sacrament of Penance, restores to man the supernatural life he had lost, and gives him back the image of God in all its pristine beauty and loveliness. And thus the new creation, operated by the spirit of God through this sacrament, is, if possible, more glorious than the original creation; it seems more worthy of God, since it is a brighter revelation of His infinite mercy, compassion and love, and because the re-creation and salvation of the soul is a greater exercise of omnipotence—a greater work than the material world with all its wondrous harmonies and beauties.

This line of thought is in accord with what the great St. Cyril writes on this subject. "In the beginning," he says, "man was made by the word of God, and God breathed into him the Breath of Life, and enriched him by a participation of His spirit. But since by disobedience man fell, and lost his pristine comeliness, God again formed him and restored to him a new life through His Son, in order that he might learn that it is the same God who, in the beginning, created human nature and sealed it with the Holy Spirit, and again in the beginning of the restoration of human nature communicates by breathing the Holy Ghost to His disciples, to the end that as we were created in the beginning, so also we might be renewed." The Sacrament of Penance is therefore one of the greatest of God's works and a most powerful and efficacious means of salvation. It is indeed the true refuge of sinners, and sanctuary of asylum in the new law, which shields sinners from the consequence of their guilt, and hides them from the wrath of God and His terrible judgments. And if the Church, in the excess of her joy, dares to sing on Holy Saturday, "O felix culpa," "O happy fault which merited such and so great a Redeemer," may we not venture, in the exuberance of our heartfelt gratitude to God, to say, "O happy sins which deserved the institution of so great, so wondrous a sacrament, in which, as an inexhaustible fountain, the precious blood of Jesus, which speaketh better than that of Abel, forever flows for the salvation of sinners, in which it washes the soul from the guilt of sin, and makes it whiter than snow, creating in the sinner a new heart and renewing an upright spirit within his bowels."

Indulgences. But the priests say they can forgive sins and they charge money for doing so! That priests can forgive sins on certain conditions is true, but that they charge money for doing so is

a wicked falsehood. Christ could forgive sins and He gave the same God-like power to His Church for all time when He said to His Apostles: "As the Father has sent me I send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain they are retained" (John xx. 22, 31). Now, what are the conditions on which the Priests of the Church are empowered to absolve from sin? The conditions on the part of the penitent are Contrition, Confession and Satisfaction. That is to say, the penitent must be truly and really sorry for his sins, because they offend God, and must be firmly resolved not to sin again. He must confess all his grievous sins to the priest and lay before him his naked heart; must confess to the priest his sins of thought, his sins of act, his sins of omission. The penitent must in addition perform the works of penance prescribed by the Confessor in satisfaction for his sins. He must also repair injury done his neighbour in goods or character. These, and these alone, are ordinarily the conditions on which actual, grievous sin can be forgiven in the Catholic Church. Is this an easy process? Is this ordeal calculated to encourage the commission of sin, or is it not? It has proved to be a most efficient deterrent from the commssion of sin. How much easier is the Protestant doctrine and practice on this point! The Protestant says: "Believe in Christ, and all grievous sins will be forgiven." An easy system, truly. It is, indeed, a salvation made easy, and the narrow road to heaven broadened and made smooth.

But is not the doctrine and practice of Indulgences calculated to debase and corrupt? Indulgences, it is said, are not only a pardon for past sins, but a permission to commit future sins, and all this for a pecuniary consideration. This is a wicked misrepresentation and calumny. An Indulgence is not a pardon for sin or a permission to commit it. An Indulgence is the remission of the temporal punishment due for sin after the guilt and the eternal punishment due for it have been forgiven. We have several proofs in Holy Writ that after the guilt of sin has been forgiven, there still remains due for it a temporal punishment. Thus Adam was forgiven the guilt of his sin, and yet what fearful temporal punishment had to be endured by him for it! He was banished from Paradise and was condemned to death. Famines, pestilence, wars, sickness and death, and numberless other temporal chastisements have followed on the original sin of Adam. David was forgiven his double sin of adultery and murder. And yet he was punished for it by the death of his child. Moses was forgiven his sin of doubt; yet, as a temporal punishment of it, he was not allowed to enter the land of promise. It is therefore certain that a temporal punishment remains due for sin after the guilt of it has been forgiven. Now the Church, by virtue of the power of loosing and binding left to her by Christ, can remit this temporal punishment on certain prescribed conditions, such as the worthy reception of the Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist, the recitation of certain prayers, acts of mortification, alms, deeds and other works of mercy. There is nothing in all this to show that an Indulgence is the pardon of sin or permission to commit it. This is, of course, another misrepresentation, another false accusation against God's Church. On the contrary, the Catholic doctrine of Indulgence shows the enormity and heinousness of sin, it illustrates the infinite merits and efficacy of Christ's atonement, and shows forth the tender mercy and goodness of God and the mutual union and charity that bind the members of the Church in one great brotherhood.

Celibacy of the Priesthood. Having spoken of the Catholic Priesthood as sacrificial and sacramental, it will be in order to say a few words of the celibacy of the Catholic Clergy. This has grown out of the nature and objects of their ministry; it is the outcome of Christian aspirations and Christian ideals as regards the sublime office of the Christian Priesthood. Long before the great persecutions of the first three centuries ceased, the profession of virginal and continent life is found established as a rule amongst the clergy. The reasons on which this great institution rests may be summarized as follows: (1) The priest is a partaker in the eternal Priesthood of Christ, and should be a close imitator of the Virginal Life of Christ. (2) The priest who holds in his hands the Virginal Body of our Lord in the Eucharistic Sacrifice ought, according to

the fitness of things, to be himself a virgin. Who, asks the Psalmist, shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord, or who shall stand in His Holy Place? The innocent in hands and clean of heart (Psalm xxiii. 3). (3) A priest is a soldier of Christ, and should not be mixed up with secular and family matters and cares, but should give himself up, heart and soul and body, to the service of His Master. "He," says St. Paul, "who is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided" (I. Cor. vii. 32, 33). A priest should be free from all earthly entanglements and independent of secular interests and family cares, so that he might devote his whole life exclusively to the service of God and the salvation of souls, and be ever ready, like his Divine Master, to lay down his life for his flock. An unmarried priest can enter with a lighter heart into a pest-house or fever shed than a married minister who has to consult the safety of his family. Witness the case of Father Damien, who lived and laboured and died amongst the lepers of Molokai. A married Father Damien would be an impossibility.

The Doctrine of Purgatory. There are some other doctrines distinctively Catholic on which my space will permit me only a very few words. There is the doctrine of purgatory; prayers for the dead; suffrages and veneration of saints; and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The truth that Catholics believe about purgatory is that it is a place or state in the other life where some souls suffer for a time before they can enter heaven. The word "Purgatory" is not found in Scripture; but the state or place called purgatory is clearly indicated in 2 Maccabees 12-40; Matt. v. 25; I. Cor. iii. 11; Matt. xii. 32—and the reason for purgatory is the holiness, justice, and mercy of God. According to the holiness of God nothing defiled can enter heaven. According to his justice and mercy only the reprobate, mortally guilty at the moment of death, can be condemned to hell. Many, we hope most, who die, are not grievously and obdurately sinful; and very few die who have not to make satisfaction for sins already forgiven or to atone for venial offences. Now, purgatory is a state or place where satisfaction is made for sins whose guilt and eternal punishment is already forgiven, or for venial offences or voluntary stains found in the soul at the moment of death. The doctrine of prayers for the dead proves the existence of purgatory, and there is nothing more clear in the teaching of the Fathers (the principal witnesses of Divine Tradition) than the precept and practice of praying for the dead. St. Chrysostom says: "It is not without good reason ordained by the Apostles that mention should be made of the dead in the tremendous mysteries, because they knew well that these would receive benefit from it." (On the first Epistle to Philippians, Homily 3). And St. Augustine says: "It is not to be doubted that the dead are aided by the prayers of the Church and by the salutary sacrifice, and by the alms which are offered for their spirits that the Lord may deal with them more mercifully than their sins have deserved, for this which has been handed down from the Fathers, the Universal Church observes." (Vol. 5, Sermon 172). These two testimonies not only prove purgatory and prayers for the dead, but incidentally confirm what I have said about Tradition and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The suffering souls in purgatory can be helped by the prayers of the faithful on earth and of the saints in heaven, but all the satisfaction or remission of temporal punishment that such prayers effect comes from the merits of Christ and contribute to His glory. Catholics venerate and pray to the Saints in Heaven; and they do this because the Saints are the friends of God. Catholics easily distinguish between the honour they give to God and the honour they give to the Saints. To God alone they offer sacrifices; of Him alone they beg grace and mercy—while of the Saints, including the Blessed Virgin, they ask only the assistance of their prayers.

Devotion to the Virgin Mary. And this brings us to my concluding paragraph, on Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God. The Catholic Church is accused of adoring the Blessed Virgin, and of giving her divine honour, and of placing her before and above her Redeemer in the work of man's redemption and salvation. In other words, the Church is charged with being guilty of the heinous and abominable crime of

idolatry. This accusation is false, wicked and cruelly unjust. The Church abhors the sin of idolatry, and has laboured for centuries to destroy it from the face of the earth, and she teaches that the Blessed Virgin is a mere creature, and that Christ is her Redeemer as well as of all the other children of Adam; that she, being a creature, it would be a damnable sin to adore her or give her divine honours; that there is an infinite distance between God the creator and a mere creature; that God is infinite perfection and that the creature is finite; and that to God alone should be reserved supreme worship and divine honour and adoration. And hence of God alone we ask grace and mercy; but of the Blessed Virgin and Saints we ask only the assistance of their prayers. But we honour the Blessed Virgin, because she is the Mother of Christ, our God and Redeemer; because, as such, she is the most perfect creature that ever issued from the hands of God. But the honour we pay to her is not the supreme honour due to God, but the inferior and infinitely different honour which is due to a creature, even the most perfect. We call her blessed, because she herself, inspired by the Holy Ghost, prophesied that all generations should call her blessed. God honoured her by choosing her for his mother, and the Archangel honoured her when he hailed and greeted her as being "full of grace," and as having God with her in an especial manner. And surely it is but right and proper to honour her whom God himself so much honoured.

Besides, in honouring her we but honour the gifts and graces which God so abundantly bestowed upon us, and which crowned her with honour and glory. We also pay an inferior honour to the Saints, because they are friends of God, and thus do we in accordance with the injunction of the Psalmist to praise God and His Saints. As the moon shines by the reflected light of the sun, but does not dim his glory nor rob him of the effulgence of his rays, so the Blessed Virgin and the Saints shine by the reflected light of God's beauties and perfections—that is, by His graces and His gifts. But instead of diminishing the honour and the glory which are essentially His, they but serve to increase and intensify them. Of God we ask mercy and pardon, but we ask the Saints only to pray for us. Is there any harm in this? Was it wrong for St. Paul to ask the prayers of his disciples, and if not, how can it be wrong for us to ask the prayers of the Saints now reigning with God in glory? It is on this principle of invocation and intercession that we act in daily life. Witness persons wanting Government appointments asking the influence of respected friends of the Government. It is of her the inspired writer spoke when he exclaimed, "Who is she that cometh forth like the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible like an army in battle array?" (Canticles 6, 9.) St. John, in the Apocalypse (12 c., 1), describes her as "clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." Even Protestant poets, inspired by faith as well as poetic genius, paid her the highest tributes of reverence and honour. Thus Wordsworth sang:

"Woman whose virgin bosom was uncross't
By the least shade of thought to sin allied.
Woman above all women glorified,
Our tainted nature's solitary boast.
Purer than foam on central ocean toss't,
Fairer than eastern skies at daybreak strewn
With fancied roses; than the unblemished moon
Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast.
Thy image falls to earth, yet some I ween
The suppliant knees might bend
As to a visible power in which doth blend
All that was mixed and reconciled in thee;
Of mother's love with maiden purity,
Of high with low, celestial with terrene."

The doctrines of purgatory and praying for the dead and of invoking the intercession of the Saints and the Blessed Virgin besides being authorized by the word of God have their foundations in the doctrine of the "Communion of Saints," an article of the Apostles' Creed. The Communion of Saints is a great fact attested by the revealed Word of God and embodied, as I have said, as an article of faith in the Apostles' Creed. The Church Catholic is a living organism—it is the body of Christ. It exists in heaven in a triumphal state, on earth in a militant state, and in purgatory in a suffering state. "As in one body," says St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, "there are many members, but all the members have not the same office, so we being many are one body in Christ, and each one members of another." The Communion of Saints is a great fact attest-

ed by the revealed word of God, and embodied as an article of faith in the Apostles' Creed. The Church is a vast society of the children of Christ, embracing the saints in heaven, the suffering souls in purgatory, and its members still detained in the flesh. There is a bond of union, of sympathy, and of charity, binding all these children of the Church in one great family of God. Death cannot separate these souls, nor raise up an impassable barrier dividing them, for Christ, who is our peace, hath broken down all the walls of partition which sin and death had interposed between God's children, and hath made both one; that is, hath embraced and united the saints in heaven, his children on earth, and his suffering prisoners in purgatory, into one body, which is His Church. And, as in the human body, all the members are interdependent and minister to each other's wants, and feel for each other's sufferings, and contribute to the well-being of the whole body, so, in the Church of God, which is the body of Christ, the various members thereof do, by the divine appointment, and according to their position and the measure of their capacity, minister to each other's spiritual needs, interchange kindly and merciful offices, are bound together by the bonds of active charity and friendship, which defy the powers of death and the ruin and wreckage of the grave.

We here on earth invoke the prayers of the Saints—they intercede for us with God—and by prayers, alms and other good works we bring relief and comfort, and we hasten the day of their freedom and happiness for the prisoners of God in purgatory. This is the Communion of Saints in the fullest sense of the word. It presents the whole world of souls who are at friendship with God, whether they still remain in the flesh or are already divested of their bodies, and are reigning in heaven or suffering, with unspeakable longing for home, in purgatory, bound together in the golden bonds of sympathy, friendship and love—bonds which death itself cannot rend asunder; for love is stronger than death—*fortis est ut mors dilecto.* In the Catholic system the love of friendship and of charity is not killed or extinguished by death. It survives its awful ravages; it smiles above the wreck of mortality, like the blessed light of hope upon a death-bed or the rainbow of promise over the retiring waters of the deluge. Soul lives in blissful communion with soul—friend here with departed friend—and neither death nor the grave can part them. This is and ever has been the belief and practice of the Church, and hence we find in every Christian age, from the catacombs to the nineteenth century, prayers and sacrifices offered up by the living for the souls of the faithful departed. We find this belief and practice recorded on the damp walls of the catacombs; on mural tablets in churches; on the tombs that affection or pride has raised to the memory of the departed. In this view of the case, also, the office of the Blessed Virgin as our advocate and our Mother, does not cease now that she is exalted over principalities and powers in heaven. On the contrary, her interest in us is but intensified there, and as she will ever be the Mother of Jesus, and as Jesus even in the eternal heavens, will be forever her Son, so her prayers and her intercession for her poor wayfaring children on earth will have the power and efficaciousness which the prayers of such a Mother must always have with such a Son, and they will never cease to be offered up for us in mighty advocacy before the throne of grace and mercy—for Mary, like her divine Son, will always live in heaven to make intercession for us. So reasonable is Catholic teaching on this point, and so much is it in accord with the dictates of common-sense, as well as with the revealed word of God, that even enlightened Protestants are forced to admit it. Thus the late pure-minded Longfellow beautifully expresses this teaching:

> "This is indeed the Blessed Mary's land,
> Virgin and Mother of our dear Redeemer,
> All hearts are touched and softened at her name,
> Alike the bandit with the bloody hand,
> The priest, the prince, the scholar, and the peasant,
> The man of deeds, the visionary dreamer,
> Pay homage to her as one ever present.
> And if our Faith had given us nothing more
> Than this example of all womanhood—
> So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,
> So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,
> This were enough to prove it higher and truer
> Than all the creeds the world had known before."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN QUEBEC

BY

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THOUGH Jacques Cartier, on his second voyage of discovery in 1535, was accompanied by two chaplains—Dom Guillaume le Breton and Don Antoine,* yet it does not appear that any serious attempt was then made to Christianize the natives. This may be explained by the innate timidity of the latter, which kept them aloof from the French, or by the lack of confidence they evidently entertained towards the new-comers. Cartier himself being very religiously inclined, never missed an opportunity of practising his religion, particularly in their presence, in order, as it were, to lead them gently to the light of faith.

It was only in 1604, almost seventy years later, when De Monts, accompanied by Champlain, sought to establish a colony in Acadia, that any serious effort was made to convert the Indian tribes. Unfortunately, the two antagonistic elements which composed the expedition—Roman Catholics and Huguenots—were a serious obstacle to the furtherance of so noble a mission. The inevitable friction which existed between them soon degenerated into open enmity, though both factions equally laid claim to the profession of the Christian faith, thus becoming rather a cause of scandal than of edification to those whom they sought to enlighten. Champlain himself bitterly deplores this sad state of things, and attributes the failure of the enterprise to this lamentable antagonism "so ill-calculated to bear fruit for the greater glory of God."†

Poutrincourt, who succeeded De Monts, appears to have taken greater interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives. At his request two Jesuit Fathers were sent out by the Pope himself. Soon others followed, gradually extending the field of their labours even into the present State of Maine. Amongst his little band of heroic apostles we find Fathers Biard, Masse,* Quentin and Lalemant. Their zeal was not, however, crowned with the success it deserved. Internal strife and border warfare which even then existed between the neighbouring colonies, paralyzed their efforts, and soon naught remained but the smoking ruins of their once flourishing missions. Again and again were new attempts made, with varying success, to revive them, but it was only in 1646 that under the direction of Father Druillettes they assumed a character of permanency. Still, some lasting impression must have always remained in the hearts of these simple minded children of nature, for, eighty years later, Mgr. de St. Vallier and the Recollets found in those remote wilds the Emblem of our Redemption honoured and revered on the banks of the Miramichi, at Baie des Chaleurs and at Gaspé.†

It is not my intention to dwell at greater length on the history of those primitive Acadian and Abenaquis Missions, so replete with deeds of heroic self-sacrifice and Apostolic zeal—the scope of the present article barely allowing of even a rapid glance at the more important ones which have originated in the Province of Quebec.‡ It is by no means an easy task to follow up the progress of the mission work of the various religious orders in Canada—their lines of action con-

*Liste de l'Equipage de Jacques Cartier, 1535.

†Champlain—"Voyages de la Nouvelle France, etc.—1632.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This contribution was written by Father O'Leary at the request and under the authority of His Grace Archbishop Bégin, of Quebec.

*F. Enemond Masse died May 12th, 1646, and was buried at Sillery, near Quebec,—where a handsome monument marks his last resting place.

†Ferland, History of Canada, Tome I., pg. 74.

‡For further information I beg to refer the student of Canadian history to that excellent History of Catholic Missions by John Gilmary Shea, whom I shall have occasion to quote further on, also to Champlain's works, The Relations, and the Journal des Jesuites, Biard, Bressain, Leclerc, Charlevoix and many others.

FRANCOIS DE LAVAL DE MONTMORENCY.

tinually crossing and intermingling. To avoid confusion, I will endeavour to trace each series of missions from its origin, through its development to its final result. In doing so I may have unavoidably to go over portions of the same ground. Their general character is one of gradual conquest, steady advance and regular growth.

1. *The Recollet or Franciscan Missions.* In answer to Champlain's appeal in 1615, the first to devote themselves to the cause of Christianizing the natives were the Recollets or Franciscans—who may justly be styled the pioneers of civilization in New France. Their field of labour was immense, extending over most of what now constitutes the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Though only three in number, they found it necessary to divide their forces in order to reach their new charges. Father Dennis Jamay remained at Quebec, to administer to the wants of the French settlers and neighbouring tribes; Father Jean Dolbeau repaired to Tadousac to take charge of the Montagnais Indians; Father Joseph LeCaron devoted himself to the spiritual care of the Hurons, residing on the shores of the great lake which bears their name. Soon other labourers joined them in the Lord's vineyard (1622-23). Among the fresh recruits we find Frère Gabriel Sagard, destined to become one of the foremost historians of New France, and Father Nicholas Viel, the first to sacrifice his life in the holy cause he had espoused.* Finding their strength unequal to their self-imposed task, they sought the aid of some more powerful Order, to insure its success. The appeal was soon answered by the Jesuits, who immediately sent to their help some of their most distinguished members (1625).† Hand in hand, the two Orders toiled harmoniously in the same great cause, until Quebec fell into the hands of the English in 1629. The missionaries were then made prisoners, and with Champlain transported to England.

In 1632, on the restoration of the Colony to France, the Jesuits alone returned. Despite their most strenuous efforts, it was only in 1670 that the Recollets were again to re-visit the scenes of their former labours. From their return until their suppression at the conquest of Canada by the British in 1759, and for years after, the Recollets appear to have devoted themselves exclusively to the service of the French colonists in the different parishes. It is true, however, that, in 1680, they had again endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to establish a mission among the Illinois. Its founder, Father Gabriel de la Ribourse, met his death at the hands of hostile Indians and the mission had to be abandoned. Among his companions was the famous explorer, Father Hennepin, whose name, deservedly or not, has been connected with that of La Salle in the latter's discoveries on the Mississippi. Apart from the Houses of their Order in Montreal and Three Rivers, their principal foundation was their Monastery on the banks of the St. Charles at Quebec, built in 1623, restored on their return to the Colony, and finally transferred to the Upper Town in 1681. With the death of Frère Louis, the last of the Recollets to descend into the tomb, the Order became extinct in Canada.

2. *The Jesuit Missions.* It was in 1625 that the first Jesuit Fathers came to Canada. They did so in answer to the urgent appeal of the Recollets. Their missions assumed at once a permanent character, and were it not for the taking of Quebec by Kirke, it could be said that they had existed uninterruptedly from 1625 to 1763. Quebec had become the centre of operations, whence fearless missionaries were sent to the furthest extremities of North America. The Court of France itself caught the contagion, and the movement became a popular one. Many noble youths left the Court or the camp to join the ranks of the sons of Loyola.* One of them, the son of the Marquess de Gamache, devoted his whole fortune to the cause. He founded, in 1635, the College of Quebec, destined to prepare worthy subjects for the far distant missions. This institution continued to flourish until the suppression of the Order in 1763. The work of the Jesuit Fathers

*Father Nicholas Viel, while descending to Three Rivers was, through the treachery of his Indian guide, drowned in the *Rivière des Prairies* near Montreal. The place where the sad tragedy took place is still called *Sault au Recollet*. Sagard, 320 - Leclerc I. 317.

†Among the new arrivals were: Fathers Charles Lalemant, Enemond Massé, Jean de Brebeuf, Anne de Noue, and the Recollet, De la Roche Dallion. "*Mercure Français*"—Leclerc, etc.

*See Gilmary Shea. History of Catholic Missions.

soon gained an extraordinary impulse. In 1637 they founded the Mission of S. Joseph de Sillery for the Montagnais and Abenaquis Indians, whose exemplary conduct "reminded one of the lives of the primitive Christians."* In 1642 we find them establishing an advance post at Sault Ste. Marie. Nor were the Abenaquis in the extreme east forgotten, the re-organization of their missions being due to the zeal of Jesuit missionaries sent out from Quebec. Father Gabriel Druillettes repaired thither the same year (1646) that Father Isaac Iogues went forth to martyrdom and death in the heart of the Iroquois country. The mission he established, at the cost of his life, continued until 1685, when the neophytes, being constantly exposed to intrigue and violence on the part of their pagan kinsmen, it was thought advisable to remove to the shores of the St. Lawrence where three flourishing villages soon sprang into existence, and subsist to this day.

The Huron mission was the most interesting and important of the Jesuits' undertaking. Reorganized in 1634 by Fathers Brebeuf, Daniel and Davost, it continued until the dispersion of the nation. The beginnings were indeed slow and discouraging, and pestilence and warfare added their horrors to the situation, so that in 1640, on the arrival of Father Raimbault, hardly 100 out of 16,000 professed the Christian faith.† The school which the Jesuits had founded in Quebec for the education of Huron children was also a failure, only three pupils having ever attended it. Nevertheless the missionaries laboured on with unremitting zeal. They succeeded at last in establishing a few Christian villages, to which at length the proud Hurons, crushed and humbled by continual and disastrous warfare, flocked to seek the consolations of religion. Their fate, however, was sealed. In 1648 St. Mary's became a prey to the fierce Iroquois, and Father Antoine Daniel there sacrificed his life. The following year the same misfortune befel the villages of St. Ignatius and St. Louis. Here again the same scenes were renewed. Fathers Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant fell into the hands of the enemy and, after enduring cruel torture, died in the greatest agony (1649). Thus ended the career of De Brebeuf, the apostle of the Hurons, and with him the mission which he had sacrificed the best years of his life to build up. Fathers Garnier and Chabanel were the next victims. This was the death blow to the Huron nation. The remnant of the tribe repaired to Quebec, settled first on the Isle of Orleans, then at Ste. Foye, and finally at Lorette, where their descendants may yet be found. Such was the fate of the Huron Mission, extinguished in the blood of some of the noblest children of France. During its short existence, twenty-six missionaries had laboured in the peninsula on the Lake. Seven of these had perished by the hand of violence; eleven had remained.* This failure, if even such it may be termed, served at least to confirm the words of an eminent American historian, that whatever danger there might be, "the Jesuit never receded one step."

3. *The Illinois Mission.* Would that time and space were possible in this short sketch to dwell on the good work done in those far-off regions—then a part of the territories claimed by Quebec. Their history would be as interesting as that of any other mission of North America. A passing tribute cannot but be paid to the zeal of Father Marquette—the discoverer of the Mississippi and their founder. He arrived in Green Bay in 1673, and after two years of hardships and privations gave up his soul to his Maker—May 19th, 1675. Thus calmly and gently, as he had lived, died the sainted Marquette, a martyr to his zeal.† Father Allouez, another celebrity, succeeded him. In 1699 the Seminary of Quebec, following in the footsteps of the Foreign Missions of Paris, joined the popular movement—and the missions among the Tamarois and the establishment of a village at Kaskia, are tokens of the zeal they displayed. The pioneer of these new missions was Francois Jolliet de Montigny, a man of vast design and boundless zeal. He, with Antoine Davion, undertook the laborious task in 1698. Soon, however, the mission of the Illinois fell into the hands of the Jesuits and was continued by them even until long after the extinction of the Order. The outcome of all

*Relations des Jesuites. Journal des Jesuites, M.S.

†Relations 1640.

*Shea—History of the Missions, 195.

†Shea—History of the Missions, 408.

these missions was the discovery and development of the then Far West—where Jesuits, Recollets and Priests from the Seminary of Quebec laboured almost side by side.*

The Roman Catholic Episcopacy in Canada. The Jesuit missionaries having had control of the spiritual affairs of the Colony for over twenty-five years, and hardly nine of the secular clergy having even visited the country during that space of time, it was deemed advisable that a more regular and uniform system of ecclesiastical government should be established. It therefore became necessary that some one invested with Episcopal authority should be appointed, and the choice fell on the youthful Francois de Laval, Abbé de Montigny. Born at Montigny-sur-Aure, France, April the 30th, 1622, he was consecrated by the Papal Nuncio himself as Bishop of Pètréa and Vicar-Apostolic of Canada, in the Abbey of the Benedictines at St. Germain des Piès, near Paris (1658). His departure was somewhat delayed by difficulties raised by the Archbishop of Rouen, who claimed jurisdiction over the Colony, but in the following year (1659) he set out for his new field of labour. The task before him was no sinecure; the country was on the verge of ruin as the result of half a century of warfare; pestilence, intemperance and calamities of all kinds had also done their work. Nothing daunted, Mgr. de Laval courageously set to work. His first care was for the natives whose ranks were already becoming decimated by the baneful influence of the liquor traffic. He at once became their powerful protector, and to his zeal may be attributed the adoption of strenuous measures intended to protect them against unscrupulous traders. The latter naturally became his inveterate enemies, and to this first energetic act of his may be attributed most of the persecutions to which he was ever afterward exposed at the hands of interested officials. Another difficulty stood in his way, as the Abbé de Queylus, representative of the Archbishop of Rouen, refused to recognize his authority. But an appeal to Rome soon set things in their proper condition.

In 1674, Mgr. de Laval obtained the erection of the Diocese of Quebec, with jurisdiction extending over the most part of what was then known of North America. Nor was he unequal to the work which claimed his attention. Like the first followers of our Lord, distance and dangers had no terrors for him. He repeatedly visited the vast territory entrusted to his care, from the missions of Acadia to the valley of Lake Champlain and the waters of the upper Lakes. Apart from his evangelical work he drew into closer contact the various religious bodies and secular clergy scattered over the country; and so successful were his endeavours that the manuscript History of the Seminary of Quebec refers to the union that existed between all under his paternal guidance—as recalling that of the primitive Church when all were of *one heart and one mind.* The temporal welfare of the Colony also received his attention. After a voyage to France, his great influence obtained the creation of a Sovereign Council for the better administration of affairs. "He was the soul and life of this Council whose real founder he was. . . . . It was he who set it in motion and directed the labours of this great institution in which was concentrated all the moral strength of the Colony."*

Many have thought that had Mgr. de Laval taken a less active part in the government of the Colony, he might have avoided the serious difficulties which later occurred between him and several Governors. Perhaps so; but Mgr. de Laval, having at heart the greater good of all, was not likely to sacrifice his conscience to the fear of insult or even violence. The principal cause of these difficulties was not his connection with the civil government of the country, but was the result of his strenuous efforts for the suppression of the liquor traffic. Though the Marquess de Tracy had seconded his efforts, Count Frontenac, an otherwise excellent administrator, was far from imitating his predecessor, and Mgr. de Laval, though enfeebled by age and infirmities, had to drag himself to the foot of the throne to obtain justice.† The fundamental work of Mgr. de Laval, and one destined to immortalize his

*Shea – History of the Missions, 127.

*M. l'Abbé A. Gosselin—"Vie de Mgr. de Laval."

†"It is impossible," says Abbé Ferland "not to admire the energy of this noble Bishop, imploring the King's pity for the poor savages of New France with the same courage as did Las Casas in favour of the savages of Spanish America."—Ferland, Hist. du Canada.

name was undoubtedly the creation of his Seminary. His biographer, Latour, calls it the *chef d' œuvre* and special effort of his life. Founded in 1663 the Grand Seminary was soon followed in 1668 by the erection of the Minor Seminary; to it he devoted all his care and attention. "Is it then to be wondered at that such an institution founded and fostered by so saintly a Prelate could not but prosper under the blessing of heaven?"* An Industrial School was also established which existed until 1715.

Prosperity at last seemed to dawn on the Colony. Apart from the Institutions of the Jesuits and Recollets in Quebec, which were in a flourishing condition, Montreal had also its seat of learning—founded by M. de Queylus and M. l'Abbé Souart, both Sulpicians. Needless to enumerate what the Sulpicians have done for Montreal; to the zeal, charity and self-sacrifice of these men the great metropolis owes most of the wonderful religious and educational establishments which are its pride to-day. Nor was the cause of female education forgotten. As early as 1639 the Ursuline Convent existed in Quebec, under the care of its founders, Mde. de la Peltrie and its no less illustrious first Superior, the Venerable Marie de l' Incarnation, rightfully placed on a level with the heroic women of the Bible and worthy of the title of "Theresa of New France."† In 1653 "The Congregation of the Ladies of Notre Dame" was founded in Montreal, under the direction of the Venerable Soeur Marguerite Bourgeois. Its sphere of usefulness was by no means limited to the one locality, for soon branches of the institution were found flourishing in all parts of the Province and at the present day exist in many important cities of the neighbouring Republic. The cause of charity had also found its heroines. In 1639, Quebec had its Hotel Dieu, the gift of the Duchess d' Aiguillon, whilst in 1657 Montreal had also its Hospital, the creation of two other heroic women, Mlle. Mance and Madame de Bouillon. Could the annals of these institutions be opened, what examples of charity and self-denial would they not reveal! Still another foundation which cannot easily be passed over in silence was the erection by Mgr. de Laval in 1665 of the Sanctuary of St. Anne de Beaupré, since become the most frequented shrine in North America.

Such was the prosperous condition of the Church in Canada, when the venerable Prelate, already bending under the weight of years and feeling his life gradually ebbing away, sought about him for a successor to assume the heavy burden. Mgr. Jean Baptiste de Saint Vallier was

Mgr. Jean Baptiste de St. Vallier.

named to succeed him, but inevitable delays intervened, and on two different occasions the saintly old man was again obliged to assume the reins of power. Nor were his last years exempt from trials. His Divine Master seemed to wish to impress on his mind that his happiness was not to be of this world. He had the sorrow to see his beloved city beseiged by the enemy in 1690; but all through these trying times his courage never failed him. His last and most cruel ordeal was to witness the destruction by

*Les Eveques de Quebec.—Mgr. H. Tetu.

†Archives de l' Archévéché de Quebec, Lettre de M. Emery. Mde. de la Peltrie died Nov. 18th, 1671, and the Venerable Marie de l' Incarnation the 30th of April of the following year.

fire of his Seminary, twice in four years. Need it be wondered at that this worst trial of all weighed heavily on his heart? Whilst submitting to the designs of the Almighty, he bowed his head in obedience to His holy will and quietly expired May 6th, 1708. Mgr. de Laval died at the age of 86 years; he had been a Bishop for fifty years, during thirty-five of which he governed the Church of Canada. Never was Prelate more sincerely mourned. During the better part of his life the Colony had witnessed him at work, whilst experiencing his vigilant care and paternal tenderness. Each one had lost in him a friend, a benefactor and a father. His mortal remains now rest in peace, in the vaults of the Seminary Chapel, within the shadow of the great institution—his noblest monument—erected by himself to the glory of God, of religion and of his country.

Mgr. Jean Baptiste de St. Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, was born in Grenoble, in 1653. Though he had passed the earlier years of his career at the Court of Louis XIV. as Almoner to the King, still his life was ever blameless and even to his last hour most edifying. He first came to Canada in 1685 as Coadjutor to Mgr. de Laval, and filled that position until 1688 when he repaired to France to receive the Episcopal consecration. In order to acquire a complete knowledge of the state of the Church in Canada he undertook without delay upon his return one of the most arduous duties of Episcopal administration—a pastoral visitation, beginning with the religious communities and extending over the length and breadth of the country. The result was a report of a most satisfactory and even laudatory character. Unfortunately, a few years later these, his first impressions, seem to have undergone such a change that Mgr. de St. Vallier was taxed with having been either insincere or ill-informed. His first administrative act left no doubt that the paternal sway of the saintly and meek Laval was soon to be replaced by a more vigourous policy. He issued two pastoral letters on the public morals of certain classes of society, couched in most forcible and unmistakable terms. Nor did the Governor and family escape his vigilant zeal. He fearlessly reminded him and those in power of the obligation they had incurred of setting a good example to the people. This first manifestation of his authority left in the hearts of many a feeling of uneasiness and dread. Their forebodings were unhappily to be realized in after years; though Mgr. de St. Vallier has been justly considered as a most zealous and pious Prelate. Still, he never tolerated the least opposition to his strong and unbending will. To this fact may be attributed most of the dissensions and strife which pervaded the country during his administration and tended to paralyze his otherwise meritorious endeavours.

The Seminary, the Chapter, the Sulpicians, the Recollets and even the Religious communities of women, felt each in turn the effects of his domineering spirit, and at times had to resent it, and even his best friends, including Frontenac, seem to have turned against him. Appeal after appeal from both sides were addressed to the King, with the result that the extraordinary resources of Mgr. de St. Vallier always won. We will not enter at greater length into the history of this sad condition of affairs, the scope of this short sketch not permitting it. At the same time when united action was most desirable, the Colony was visited by war. The Massacre of Lachine was soon followed by the Siege of Quebec (1690), and the Colony was again threatened with an invasion under Admiral Walker (1711). It is true that on one of the latter occasions the patriotism of Mgr. de St. Vallier manifested itself in a remarkable pastoral letter to his flock, calling on them to defend to the end their faith and their country.* On his return to Canada in 1688, when his influence was greatest at the Court of France, Mgr. de St. Vallier had brought with him munificent gifts in money from Louis XIV. and the nobility. To these he added his own patrimony. These resources permitted him to better the material condition of the people, and to establish many eminent and useful works—which was his greatest merit. Though often absent from his Diocese, to which the venerable Laval had returned, its administration was carefully maintained. He founded a number of flourishing parishes, and attended particularly to the discipline of the

*Lettres pastorales de Mgr. de St. Vallier. MSS. aux Archives de l'Hôpital-Général.

clergy by the establishing of Synods or ecclesiastical Conferences. Many of his *Mandements* and regulations are in force in the Diocese of Quebec even to this day. The King, in 1714, granted him a Coadjutor in the person of Mgr. Mornay. This Prelate, however, despite the urgent appeals of Mgr. de St. Vallier, never came to Canada, and the latter continued to administer during the remaining years of his life an immense Diocese which extended from Acadia to Louisiana. Finding his end drawing near, he definitely withdrew to the General Hospital, his cherished foundation, where, after passing his last years in the practice of mortification and devotion, he died December 26th, 1727, aged seventy-four years, during forty of which he had exercised Episcopal authority. Though he died poor himself, his charities were of a princely character. I may mention here a few of them:

1. To the Quebec Seminary he had given 40,080 *livres*.

2. His Episcopal palace, which had cost him 80,000 *livres*, he bequeathed to his successors.

3. To the founding of the General Hospital he devoted 60,000 *livres*.

4. To the Ursulines at Three Rivers he gave 30,000 *livres*.

5. A gift of 20,000 was made to the Seminary of Montreal.

6. To the erection of a school at Quebec he gave 8,000 *livres*.

7. To the Sisters of the Congregation of Montreal he bequeathed 6,000 *livres*.

The total amount of money expended by Mgr. de St. Vallier in Canada reached the enormous sum of 600,000 *livres* ($120,000), 200,000 of which or $40,000 were from his own patrimony.* Such was Mgr. Jean Baptiste de St. Vallier. Three words extracted from his funeral oration, attributed to l'Abbè Fornel, depict his real character: "He was a Bishop great by his piety, greater still by his zeal, and greatest by his charity. *Ab auditione mala non mebiti.*"

Mgr. Duplessis de Mornay had been named by the King, Coadjutor to Mgr. de St. Vallier. On the death of the latter he assumed the title of Bishop of Quebec, but never came to Canada. He attempted to govern his Diocese by means of a Vicar-General with most unsatisfactory results—the old dissensions breaking out afresh. After having obtained a Coadjutor, Mgr. Dosquet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Mgr. de Mornay died at Paris November 28th, 1741, at the age of 78 years.

Mgr. Pierre Herman Dosquet—Mgr. de Mornay's successor—arrived in Canada in 1729. He found the antagonism between the Chapter, the Seminary and the Religious communities as rife as ever, and had to resort to severe measures of discipline towards the former and with only partial success.

Mgr. Joseph Octave Plessis.

He devoted himself more particularly to the cause of education, and although many noble institutions were already in existence he succeeded in giving to them a new impetus and greater efficiency. The rural districts also claimed his attention. He had brought with him from France twenty-four lay-teachers, some of whom he stationed in the cities, but the greater number were distributed through the parishes. His health, which was never of the best, soon gave out under the strain laid upon his mind by the old feuds which seemed only abated for a time. In 1735 he definitely left for France, and died at Paris in 1777.

*Les Eveques de Quebec by Mgr. H. Tetu.

Mgr. Pourroy de Laubervière, a young priest of extraordinary talents and most exemplary virtue, was appointed to succeed Mgr. Dosquet. Consecrated in 1739, he arrived in Canada the following year. The rejoicing of the people at his advent, which they considered as a harbinger of peace, was short-lived. He had contracted the dreaded ship fever whilst attending to the sick, and eighteen days after his arrival he died regretted by all.

Mgr. de Pontriand (1741-1760) was the last Bishop under the French *Régime*. When he died New France had passed into other hands. His administration of twenty years covered the darkest days of the Colony—war, famine and pestilence successfully doing their deadly work. His life was one series of heroic virtues, whilst his extreme prudence in those trying times tended in no small measure to the pacification of the country. The Cathedral of Quebec had need of urgent repairs. Mgr. de Pontriand undertook to enlarge and almost rebuilt it. It was opened to public worship in 1749. It was he also, who with the assistance of Mde. d'Youville, founded the Hospital of the Grey Nuns in Montreal. This institution, now so flourishing all over the Province, was intended at that time to replace a previous one which would no longer suffice for the wants of the population. He also extended the sphere of labour of the Sisters of the Congregation by restoring their Convent at Louisbourg. In the meantime the different divisions of the British army were slowly but surely penetrating into the very heart of the French possessions. He remained near Quebec during its eventful siege by Wolfe, and witnessed the final conflict under its walls on the ever memorable 13th Sept., 1759. Seeing that all hope had vanished, after bidding a last farewell to the still smoking ruins of his Cathedral so lately restored, he repaired to Montreal where he died before seeing the final cession of the country, June 8th, 1760, aged 51 years. Before dying he issued a circular letter to his clergy cautioning them to use the greatest care and to devote themselves more particularly to spiritual than to temporal matters. To General Murray he also wrote imploring his protection for the vanquished, whilst at the same time he adopted measures that no insult should be offered himself.

With the advent of Mgr. Jean Oliver Briand, begins what might be called the diplomatic period in the history of the Church in Canada. Seldom was ever Prelate surrounded with difficulties which claimed greater tact and prudence. "On the one hand, he had to deal cautiously with the susceptibilities of a newly organized Administration; on the other with a corresponding want of confidence on the part of the people—mistrusting its most benevolent motives. To him were entrusted both the cause of religion and the political interests of the population confided to his care. His was to gain the confidence of the King's Representatives without losing that of his clergy, of whom he equally stood in need."* The sequel will show that Mgr. Briand was equal to the occasion. At the death of Mgr. de Pontbriand the Canadian Church was without a pastor. True, after the decisive battle of St. Foye, 1760, M. Briand, with General Murray's consent, had held an assembly which entrusted the general supervision of religious matters to three priests—M. Briand, residing in Quebec; M. Perreault at Three Rivers; and M. de Mongolfier in Montreal—but it was evident that this arrangement was only temporary. By the treaty of peace signed in Paris (1763), the Canadians became entitled to the free exercise of their religion, with the restriction, "*in as much as the laws of Great Britain may allow.*" It was the interpretation of this clause which furnished a subject of controversy, destined to last for many years; the Home Government contending that it (the clause in question) did not necessarily require the nomination of a Catholic Bishop.† Instructions to that effect, and others of a more intolerant nature, were communicated to General Murray and his immediate successors.

Would that these and a few more pages could be torn from the history of our country! Posterity would be all the more grateful but unfortunately "*scripta manent.*" After two appeals made personally against this ruling to the King, George III., it was intimated privately to M. Briand, that in the event of his being appointed to the See of Quebec, no opposition would be met

*Oraison funebre de Mgr. Briand par M. J. O. Plessis. MSS — Au Seminaire de Quebec.

†MSS.—History of Quebec Seminary.

with from the Home Government. In 1766, he was therefore consecrated Bishop on the express condition that he was to be subject to no foreign power, and to have no relation either with Rome or the Court of France. Thus M. Briand became the *second founder* of the Catholic Church in Canada. On his arrival, one of the first to congratulate him, was his personal friend General Murray.* Great were the wants which required his attention. His Cathedral and Palace were still in ruins since the siege, and had to be rebuilt. The other communities had almost equally suffered and had to be provided for. Even Montreal, though distant from direct interference, did not escape. The complete destruction by fire of the General Hospital, in 1765, was soon followed by that of the Convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame in 1769. To these institutions and their restoration he devoted most of his personal property.

About this time, Mgr. Briand, fearing his advancing years, and desirous of perpetuating the Canadian Hierarchy after his death, sought and obtained a Coadjutor who should succeed him. After considerable hesitation on the part of the Home Government, consent was finally given and the consecration of Mgr. d'Esglis, was immediately proceeded with (1772). The famous "Quebec Act," so intimately connected with the American Revolution is due, partly at least, to the extraordinary *prestige* of Mgr. Briand. It restored Catholics to their former rights by rendering them eligible to public offices, and confirmed the free exercise of their religion. On the breaking out of the American Revolution in 1774 Mgr. Briand, dreading the influence it might have on the Canadian people, issued one of his most remarkable pastoral letters setting forth the many reasons which should confirm them in their loyalty to the British Crown. A similar one soon followed when Quebec was besieged by the combined forces of Montgomery and Arnold. They both had the desired effect, the priests in particular, with only one exception, following faithfully the instructions of their pastor.† These were among the last of his administrative acts. Enfeebled by illness he found himself forced to resign his pastoral charge (1784). He lingered on however for ten years more, surviving the Prelate whom he had chosen to succeed him, and another, Mgr. Bailly (1794) consecrated in his stead. At last death ended his painful and long illness—2nd June, 1794. He had governed his Church during 28 years. His funeral oration was delivered by the then Rev. J. O. Plessis, destined later to become one of Canada's most distinguished Bishops. It was a masterpiece of eloquence.

Mgr. Mariaucheau d'Esglis, the first native-born Prelate, succeeded Mgr. Briand on his retiring from office. His administration of four years was most uneventful. He died in 1788, aged 78 years. Mgr. Jean Francois Hubért was the next Bishop of Quebec. Apart from the question of erecting a mixed University which was then being agitated, and to which he was strongly opposed, and other matters of a disciplinary nature, no other event of great importance happened during his term of office. He had chosen as Coadjutor Mgr. Bailly, who died before him. Mgr. Hubért died in 1797. He had consecrated three Bishops, ordained fifty-three priests and confirmed more than forty-five thousand persons.

Mgr. J. O. Plessis, the 11th Bishop of Quebec and first Archbishop "de jure" was born in Montreal. His career appears to have been one of the most remarkable of any Canadian Prelate. The difficulties which beset his administration seemed only to increase with time, and to tax all his energy and vast resources. Under the direction of Mgr. Briand he soon become proficient in the difficult task of governing a people and also acquired the great secret of fulfilling his every duty with the most scrupulous care. Though to Mgr. Plessis, the Canadian Church is indebted for its civil liberty, still another eminent Bishop, Mgr. Denaut, may claim his share in obtaining this tardy act of justice from the Home Government.

Mgr. Plessis' first care was to make a complete study of the causes which had led to the overthrow of French domination in Canada. It was probably this study and the knowledge he acquired at the same time of the character of the men who then governed the Colony, which influenced his convictions in after life in regard

*Letters of General Murray.—Quebec, June 20th, 1766.

†Letter of Col. Caldwell to Genl. Murray.

to the relative merits of the two régimes. He soon found that under British rule, the clergy and rural population enjoyed a fulness of liberty unknown before the conquest.* Nor was Mgr. Plessis ever ungrateful for such favours. Whatever else his enemies may have had to reproach him with, at least they never could cast a doubt on his loyalty.† Such was Mgr. Plessis; such his sentiments which I may safely say are those of his eminent successors even to the present day. How unfortunate that so many narrow-minded officials of the Colony should have so little understood him. Let me, however, hasten to say that in the various appeals made by Mgr. Plessis to the Home authorities he always obtained at their hands justice and consideration.

His first conflict with the Colonial officials was anent the establishing of a national University. M. Plessis took an active part in the deliberations on the subject and a firm stand against an innovation which was not considered advantageous to the Catholics. At the request of the Council of the Seminary, he prepared on the question at issue a lengthy *Memoire* to be forwarded to England. This, his first official effort, is a remarkable example of diplomacy and skill. Named Curé of Quebec in 1792, whilst attending to the wants of so important a parish, M. Plessis did not neglect that other great duty of a pastor—the education of youth. The Church and the liberal professions owe to his zeal and generosity some of their brightest lights. He also founded schools in the various suburbs of the city, for which he chose the teachers himself. His elevation to the Episcopal throne was not without meeting with strong opposition from various quarters. The Duke of Kent himself manifested his disapproval in unequivocal terms. In a letter to Governor Prescott, His Royal Highness intimated that the Government would find in the new Prelate a dangerous opponent, one who would never admit the King's supremacy in things ecclesiastical.

Consecrated in 1801, it was only five years later that Mgr. Plessis found himself at the head of the Church in Canada by the death of his predecessor. Under the administration of Mgr. Denaut the situation had already become critical, and even then Mgr. Plessis had found himself in direct conflict with Attorney-General Sewell, who claimed for the Government the right of appointing parish priests.* As a result of an interview between them, the former thought it expedient to advise Mgr. Denaut to have his civil status recognized, and a petition to that effect was entrusted to Sir Robert Shore Milnes, who was leaving for England. No answer was returned. Mgr. Plessis' views on the subject are set forth in a letter to his agent, M. Bourret, then in London;† "his sole object," he wrote, "being to obtain the recognition of the Bishop of Quebec in accordance with the religion he professes. . . . And without the sacrifice of any of the rights and privileges of the Church." It would avail little to recall here the bitter utterances of some of those in power during this period.

In the midst of the storm which followed, Mgr. Plessis preserved that dignity and calm for which he was noted. Ever ready to give all authority its due without endangering the interests of religion, (Letter to H. E. Sir James Craig), his moderation in these trying circumstances must have gone far to allay the general excitement. Sir George Prevost having again opened up the question of the Bishop's status, Mgr. Plessis wrote in reply his famous *Memoire* setting forth: 1st. What the condition of the Roman Catholic Bishop had been before the conquest. 2nd. What it was since. 3rd. What it should be in

*L. Abbé Ferland: "Mgr. J. O. Plessis, Eveque de Quebec."

†The following foot-note is not out of place in this connection; it is an extract from the funeral oration of Mgr. Briand, by the then M. J. O. Plessis, from the original text:

"On ne pouvait se persuader que des hommes étrangers à notre sol, à notre language, à nos lois, à nos usages et à notre culte, fussent jamais capables de rendre au Canada ce qu'il venait de perd en changeant de maitres. Nation généreuse, qui nous avez fait voir avec vant d' évidence combien ces prejugés itaient faux; nation industrieuse qui avez fait germer les richesses que cette terre renfermait dans son sein; nation exemplaire, qui dans ce moment de crise enseignez à l' univers attentif en quoi consiste cette liberti après laquelle tous les hommes sonpirent et dout si peu connaissent les justes bornes; nation comparissante qui venez de recueillir avec humanite les sujets les plus fideles et les plus maltraites de ce royaume auguel nous appartissmes autrefois; nation bienfaisante qui donnez chaque jour au Canada de nouveller preuves de votre liberalite; non, non, vous n' etes pas nos ennemies ni ceux de nos proprietes que vos lois protegent—ni ceux de notre sainte religion que vous respectez."

MSS.—"Oraison funebre de Mgr. Briand," Archives of Laval University.

*History of Canada by Robert Christie. Vol. VI., pg. 94.

†July 4th, 1806.

order to ensure the stability of the Catholic and Episcopal succession.

On the breaking out of the War of 1812, the loyalty of the Canadians in obedience to the direction of their pastors, virtually put an end to the painful struggle that had lasted so long. Mgr. Plessis' right to the title of "Bishop of Quebec" was officially recognized by the Government, and an allowance of £1,000 granted to him and his successors. Despite his numerous occupations, Mgr. Plessis still found time to busy himself with his plans for a better system of education. It was to his strenuous efforts that the Colleges of Nicolet and St. Hyacinthe, as also a primary college at St. Roch—since extinct—owed their existence. Thus did he effectively dispose of the project of a "Royal Institute of Public Instruction." Nor did the government of his vast Diocese suffer from this multiplicity of external affairs. He found means to visit it, in its full extent, from Acadia to to the Red River. This Visitation convinced him that another sub-division of territory had become necessary. In the furtherance of his desire he repaired to Rome and then to England. It was on his return that he learned that Quebec had been created a Metropolitan See.* His voyage had been altogether successful—the nomination of the two auxiliary Bishops, Mgr. Lartigue for Montreal and Mgr. Provencher for the North-West Territories, meeting with the approval of even the Government in England. Their official appointment dated from February 1st, 1820. On his return from Rome, the Bishop of Quebec was formally presented to the King, George IV., who received him with great cordiality, and commended his loyalty, as also that of the Canadian people, during the trying times of 1812.

The nomination of Mgr. Lartigue as auxiliary Bishop to Mgr. Plessis did not, however, please every one. Quite a number, even among the clergy in Montreal, were desirous of having an independent Prelate of their own. This, however, was an impossibility at the time, since the new Catholic Bishops were barely tolerated by the Government, and it took quite a while for them to get accustomed to the new order of things. One of Mgr. Plessis' last efforts as a Legislative Councillor (to which body he had been appointed in 1817) was his opposition to the union of the two Provinces—which measure was for the time being rejected by the British Ministry. From the time of his return to Canada it became evident that the enormous labour he had gone through was now telling on his otherwise robust constitution. His other infirmities precipitated the end, which all had hoped was still distant. He retired to the General Hospital, and there peacefully expired on December 4th, 1825, after a most active and unequalled administration of nineteen years. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, wishing to show the esteem in which he held Mgr. Plessis forwarded to England an official despatch, in which he stated that "the Church had lost in him a venerable Prelate; his people a faithful and indefatigable guardian of its spiritual interests; the King a most true and loyal subject."

Mgr. Bernard Claude Panet, the 12th Bishop of Quebec, was descended from a most honourable French family. In 1780 he was entrusted by his Bishop with the care of several important parishes in which a certain amount of uneasiness still lingered as the result of the American Revolution. His meekness, zeal and piety were his greatest recommendations to these positions. Even after his appointment as Coadjutor to Mgr. Plessis in 1806, he still continued to fulfill the duties of a parish priest, dividing his time between the cause of education and agriculture. On the death of Mgr. Plessis, he took possession of the See of Quebec with Mgr. Signay as Coadjutor (1827). He gave particular attention to the establishment of parochial schools, and his plan for a Council of Public Instruction was adopted by the Government, and with slight modification is still in force. The last year of his life was darkened by the dreaded visitation of the cholera which in five weeks made 4,000 victims in Quebec and Montreal. He died in the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, on Feb. 14th, 1833. His correspondence, which is voluminous, shows that he was the intimate adviser of Mgrs. Denaut and Plessis, as also in close relation with the Governor-General. His piety, wisdom, zeal and charity place him in the foremost rank of the Canadian Episcopacy.

Mgr. Joseph Signay, ordained in 1802, was also

* By consent of the Holy Father, Pius VII., and through a sense of delicacy for the British Government, Mgr. Plessis never assumed the title of Archbishop.

for a time employed in the rural ministry until called to the Parish of Quebec where his great administrative ability found a larger field of action. Chosen Coadjutor to Mgr. Panet in 1827, he succeeded the latter in 1833. The charity of Mgr. Signay was soon called into action by a series of misfortunes which successively visited the country. The cholera in 1832 and 1834 was followed by the almost complete destruction of the city by the two conflagrations of 1845, when over 3,000 houses were destroyed. In 1847 the typus fever broke out among the unfortunate Irish emigrants seeking a home in Canada. The great charity of both Bishop and priests on this occasion will ever deserve the gratitude of the Irish race in this country. Among others, the name of that grand old priest, Mgr. C. F. Cazeau, "the father of the Irish orphan," can never be forgotten.

Among other establishments due to the zeal of Mgr. Signay, I may mention that of the Propagation of the Faith and of Societies of Temperance. As under his predecessors the education of the people received due care. At his request the Brothers of the Christian Schools settled in Quebec in 1843, and since then have spread far and wide over the country. During his administration the Holy See finally erected Montreal into a Diocese with Mgr. Lartigue as first titular Bishop (1836). The troubles of 1837-38 followed, but were mostly confined to the district of Montreal. Then came the union of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1844 the Diocese was again sub-divided and an Ecclesiastical Province formed with Quebec as the metropolis. Mgr. Signay was thus recognized as its first Archbishop. He retired from active life in 1849 and died the following year, aged 71 years. The Church at his death was in a flourishing condition. Catholic Canada possessed 1 Archbishop, 4 Bishops and 572 priests; more than 100 students in Divinity; 900,000 Catholics; 1,800 pupils in 11 ecclesiastical institutions; 3 religious Orders for the education of boys; 50 Communities of women entrusted with that of young girls, or with the care of the sick and of orphans; and 400,000 members of temperance societies. Mgr. Signay had ordained 72 priests and consecrated two Bishops.†

†Hist. des Eveques de Quebec. Par. Mgr. H. Tetu, p. 581.

Mgr. Pierre Flavien Turgeon had been chosen by Mons. Plessis to succeed him, but had constantly declined the honour. Ordained in 1810, he entered the Quebec Seminary, where he filled various important positions for the space of twenty-two years. Finally, on the pressing solicitation of Mgrs. Panet and Signay, he consented to accept Episcopal consecration in 1833. Unfortunately the joy caused by this news was doomed for a time to disappointment. Strong efforts were being made at Rome against his nomination, and another candidate from Montreal was suggested in his stead. This opposition delayed for quite a while the action of the Church at Rome, and it was only the following year (1834) that he was consecrated Coadjutor. He shared with Mgr. Signay all the labours of his Episcopal administration, and finally succeeded him in 1850.

One of the first acts of Mgr. Turgeon was the holding of the first Provincial Council of Quebec, at which ten Prelates were present. It was in this solemn assembly that the erection of Laval University was decided upon. This important event was announced to the faith by a Pastoral Letter, dated Dec. 8th, 1853. During the remaining years of his administration, Mgr. Turgeon took an active interest in the organization of this institution. St. Ann's College also benefited by his generosity, and he is there still considered as one of its greatest benefactors. His re-establishment of ecclesiastical conferences, suspended since the conquest, was destined to revive and encourage among his clergy the study of sacred science. The erection of the Diocese of Three Rivers soon followed the holding of the first Council. Among other works of his charity I may mention the Refuge of the Good Shepherd and the Orphanage of the Sisters of Charity. A career so well begun was destined to end suddenly. On Oct. 19th, 1855, the illustrious Prelate was stricken with paralysis. He lingered for twelve years, until on August 25th, 1867, he departed this life sincerely regretted by all.

Mgr. Charles Francois Baillargeon, apart from his administrative ability, was remarkable for his great charity. He nobly seconded the efforts of Mgr. Turgeon, whose Coadjutor he became in 1850, after having been in the active ministry since his ordination in 1822. Like his predeces-

sors he took an active part in the cause of education. It was he who founded in Canada a branch of that worthy organization of St. Vincent de Paul. Many charities benefited by the constant attention he bestowed on them, notably the Refuge of the Good Shepherd, and the Orphanage of the Sisters of Charity. As administrator of the Diocese in 1855, he found occasion to prove that his learning was as profound as his charity and other virtues.

His translation of the New Testament, his various *Mandements*, notably that on the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception and another on the Confederation of the Provinces, show that few subjects could escape his grasp. In 1868, he presided over the fourth Provincial Council, and the following year repaired to Rome to attend the Œcumenical Council which was then being held. This was one of his last efforts. His health failed him, and he had to retire to Canada before the close of the Council. Until the last he interested himself in the welfare of the country at large, and one of his last *Mandements*, issued on the occasion of the Fenian invasion, called upon all to do their duty. He died Oct. 13th, 1870. His memory is still revered as that of a Saint. The simplicity of his manner, his amiability, his great talents and virtues reminded one of some of the early Doctors of the Church.

His Eminence Elzear Alexandre, Cardinal Taschereau, was one of the greatest personalities of the Canadian Episcopacy. He was always a slave to duty in whatever position he was called to fill: "Priest, Professor, Director and Superior of the Seminary, Rector of the University, Archbishop, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church—in these various positions he performed with equal vigour and lustre the various and great functions with which Providence had entrusted him."* On his return to Canada from taking a complete course of theology at Rome, he was ordained priest in 1842. The Seminary solicited the aid of his valuable services, and during twelve years he was Professor of Philosophy in that institution. Suddenly a cry of distress called him from his peaceful labours. The dreaded tpyhus had broken out among the Irish emigrants on their way to our hospitable shore. M. l'Abbé Taschereau hastened to their aid, regardless of his own safety. Often was he seen boarding vessels at anchor and penetrating to the hold reeking with infection; often had he to step over the bodies of the dead to administer to the wants of others awaiting a similar fate. Such heroism almost cost him his life; he caught the contagion and for three weeks hovered on the brink of eternity. In the midst of his various occupations in the Seminary he still found employment for every spare moment—founding among the pupils literary societies, which are still flourishing; reforming the rules of the Grand and Minor Seminaries; even composing treatises on Architecture and Astronomy. It is due to his untiring love of work that the Seminary now possesses its valuable manuscript history; a most voluminous work which he compiled himself.

His life-long connection with Laval University, of which he was one of the founders, is already well-known. To it he devoted his best energies, and many a time did he repair to Rome to further its interests. Mgr. Taschereau received the Episcopal consecration at the hands of Mgr. Lynch, March 19th, 1871, and immediately took possession of the Archiepiscopal See. The great sacrifice he made in doing so, is evinced by his touching *adieu* to the ever dear Seminary in which all his affections centered. This, however, did not prevent him from attending to the wants of other meritorious institutious. St. Ann's College, whose finances were at the time in a disastrous condition, may claim him as its second founder. In 1873, he erected canonically the Seminary of Chicoutimi, which he considered himself "as an additional favour granted our country." The Diocese of Chicoutimi was erected in 1878. The classical course in Levis College and its civil incorporation are due to his great zeal for education. During his administration several religious Orders were called to labour in the Arch-diocese, amongst others the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Many schools were entrusted to the care of the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul, of St. Viateur, of the Sacred Heart, etc., etc. Charitable institutions flourished and new ones were added to their number such as the Hospital of the Sacred Heart.

*Pastoral letter of Mgr. L. N. Bégin, April 20th, 1898.

However great the consolations derived from these works, many were the trials he had to undergo. On several occasions Rome had to make its authority felt to restore order in the country and twice sent its delegates to Canada—Mgr. Conroy and Mgr. Smuelders. Both bore testimony in no measured terms to the vast erudition and judgment of the Archbishop of Quebec. One of the greatest epochs in the history of Canada was when Mgr. Taschereau was created Cardinal in 1886. Quebec had already witnessed many imposing pageants, but the ceremonies on this occasion eclipsed them all. The eminent dignity with which he was invested did not in the least affect the even tenour of his life. His enormous correspondence, his *Mandements* forming two large volumes, and various other works continued to fill his precious time. In 1893, at his urgent request, Mgr. Bégin was transferred from the Diocese of Chicoutimi to the Arch-diocese of Quebec, where he acted as Coadjutor to the venerable Prelate. From that time Cardinal Taschereau's health began steadily to fail and on the 12th of April, 1898, he quietly passed away from this life to receive in a better one the crown he so well deserved.

During his administration he had presided over three Provincial Councils, consecrated six Bishops and ordained 280 priests. "He was truly a man of God, a great and holy Pontiff, his only aim was to scrupulously fulfil his every duty, only seeking in all things the triumph of Justice and Truth."* By his death "he leaves to his succesor a Diocese most admirably organized, a model clergy, a believing and religious people, a Church sanctified by its Bishops and forever ennobled by the glories of the Cardinalate"† To-day Mgr. Bégin occupies the throne of the lamented Prelate, and it need not be doubted that taking into consideration his vast attainments as theologian, historian, linguist, writer and orator, the succession to the Archiepiscopal See of Quebec is in worthy hands.

* Mgr. L. N. Bégin—Circular to the Clergy Apr. 12th, 1898,
† Mgr. H. Tetu, "Les Evèques de Quebec."

The Most Rev. Archbishop Begin.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CANADA—EDITOR'S NOTES

The Catholic Church in the North-West. Mr. Robert B. Hill in his "History of Manitoba" published at Winnipeg in 1890, gives an interesting sketch of the work done by the Roman Catholic Church in the the North-West, and from this volume the following facts are partly obtained. In point of time, this Church seems to have been the first to occupy missions in what was then known as Rupert's Land. As far back as 1690 two French priests visited the country to teach the Indians, after having studied their language as a preliminary. In 1731, Father Messager, a Jesuit, was attached as chaplain to the little band of explorers under the command of DeVerandrye the elder, who first traversed the country west of Lake Superior. Father Messager did not remain in the country, but returned to Quebec with his party. In 1736 came Father Orneau, also attached to an exploring party under one of DeVerandrye's sons. This party, while camped on an island in the Lake of the Woods, was attacked by a band of Sioux, and massacred to a man. The succeeding conquest of Quebec by England interrupted further Roman Catholic efforts in Rupert's Land, and not till the year 1818 does any record of missionary effort appear. In that year two French-Canadian priests from Quebec, the Rev. N. B. Provencher and the Rev. Severe Desmoulin, arrived at Red River. In 1822, Father Provencher was consecrated Bishop, with the title of Bishop of Juliopolis—it being the custom of the Church to provide titles for Bishops located in regions not yet regularly divided into Dioceses, from places in the East. Bishop Provencher was made an Auxiliary to the See of Quebec, with authority over those portions of the Diocese known as the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Territories. Again, in 1844, these portions were detached from the See of Quebec altogether, and erected into a separate Apostolic Vicariate, but still under the jurisdiction of the same Bishop. During these twenty-two years he had been assisted by the undermentioned priests:

Rev. Severe Desmoulin	1818-1824
" Theodore Destroismaisons	1820-1827
Rev. Jean Harpar	1822-1832
" Frère Boucher	1827-1833
" G. A. Belcourt	1831-1859
" Charles Edward Poire	1832-1839
" Jean Baptiste Thibeault	1833-1868
" M. Demers	1837-1838
" Joseph A. Mayrand	1841-1845
" Joseph E. Darveau	1841-1844
" L. Laflèche	1841-1856
" Joseph Bourassa	1844-1856

The above-mentioned M. Thibeault, in 1842, was the first priest to visit the Saskatchewan valley and the English River district. In the first-mentioned he founded the Mission of St. Ann at Frog Lake, in 1844; in the latter, the stations on Red Deer Lake, known as Notre Dame des Victoires and L'Ile à la Crosse, in 1845. After spending ten years in Indian labours, he returned to Red River, where he settled down in the Parish of St. Francis Xavier, and where he was appointed Vicar General of the Diocese. M. Demers became Bishop of Vancouver Island, while M. Darveau was drowned at Dog Bay, in Lake Winnipeg, in 1844, while on a visit to a post under his charge. In 1841 was established the Order of the Oblats de Marie l'Immaculee, which had been founded by the Right Rev. C. J. Eugene de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles (1816) in France. This Order required of its members, poverty, chastity, obedience and perseverance. To the Rev. Père Guigues, Principal of this Order in Canada, Bishop Provencher, in 1844, applied for men to assist him in working his missions. In response to his request, early in 1845, the Rev. Father Aubert and Frère Alexandre Taché, were sent to Red River. On their arrival, Father Aubert was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese, while Frère Taché was ordained a priest by Bishop Provencher, and after having finished his novitiate, was admitted into the Order of the Oblates. These priests were accompanied to the settlement by two ladies, members of the Order of the Grey Nuns of Canada, who came to strengthen the work already commenced in 1844 by Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Coutlee and Lafrance, members of the Grey Nunnery of Montreal, who had also come

at the call of Bishop Provencher to found a branch of their Order at St. Boniface—now a suburb of Winnipeg—and open a school for the instruction of the youth growing up under his charge.

On the 9th of November, 1846, Frère Faraud arrived at St. Boniface. After passing the grade of sub-deacon he was ordained a priest by Bishop Provencher in 1847, and appointed to accompany the plain hunters on their autumn trip. In 1848 he went to L'Ile à la Crosse, and to Athabasca in 1849, where he permanently resided at the Mission of the Nativity—a station founded at the western extremity of Athabasca Lake by Mgr. Taché in 1847. From 1844 to 1850, Bishop Provencher conducted personally the Episcopal business of his Diocese, but in 1850 a coadjutor and successor was appointed on the 14th of June in the person of Father Taché, with the title of Bishop of Arath, while the name of the Diocese was changed from that of the North-West to that of St. Boniface. During this year Bishop Taché visited Europe, where he was consecrated in the Cathedral of Viviers, France, by Archbishop Guibert, of Tours, and Bishop Mazenod, of Marseilles, and was also appointed by the latter Superior-General in Red River of the Order of Oblates. After paying a short visit to Rome, he returned to L'Ile à la Crosse, arriving there on the 10th of September, 1852. On the 7th of June, 1853, Bishop Provencher died in his palace at St. Boniface. His memory was held in high respect by all who were privileged personally to know him, and especially by the poor of his own parish. His name will be long remembered and associated with the Cathedral destroyed seven years later, whose two towers, standing 150 feet in height, were prominent objects in the landscape, and could be seen from a great distance on the prairies.

On the 3rd of November, 1854, Bishop Taché, as successor to the deceased Prelate, arrived at Red River from L'Ile à la Crosse, and took possession of his Cathedral Church and Palace at St. Boniface. In August of this year also, there arrived in the settlement from France, Father Vital Grandin, who accompanied Bishop Taché on a tour to Athabasca in 1855. On the 10th of December, 1857, by virtue of a Papal Bull of that date, Father Vital Grandin was formally nominated coadjutor and successor to Bishop Taché, with the title of Bishop of Satala. On the 30th of November, 1859, he was consecrated in the temporary Cathedral of St. Martin at Marseilles, by Bishop Mazenod. Though in poor health, he returned to his Station at L'Ile à la Crosse in 1860. In 1858 Father La Comb had established St. Albert's Mission, nine miles west of Edmonton, now the largest and most prosperous Catholic mission in the North-West. At this time it was simply an Indian and Half-breed camping-ground, but is now the seat of a Bishopric, with palace, cathedral, nunnery, and various other buildings, all large and well furnished—the first named being a really handsome frame structure. In 1867 Father La Comb was succeeded by Père La Duc; and in 1860, during a protracted visit of Bishop Taché to his Saskatchewan missions, the cathedral, school and palace at St. Boniface were destroyed by fire. During the following year he visited Europe with the double purpose in view of raising funds for the erection of the present church and palace, and of making the preliminary arrangements for a division of his Diocese, separating the Mackenzie River and Athabasca districts into a distinct Bishopric, with the Rev. Père Faraud as Bishop, under the title of Bishop of Anemour. This was duly carried out and Bishop Faraud was consecrated by Archbishop Guibert, in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Tours, on the 30th of November, 1863—returning to his Diocese in 1865.

In 1861, Bishop Grandin proceeded on a tour through the Mackenzie and Athabasca regions, where he founded a depot which he called Providence, and intended as the future residence of a new Bishop. After penetrating as far as Fort Norman, he returned to L'Ile à la Crosse, which is situated in the heart of the Indian country, in 1864. Another mission station, worthy of an extended reference is that of Lac la Biche, situated on the shore of the lake of that name, and about nine miles north-west of the Hudson's Bay post, in latitude 55°. Here, long before railways were thought of, the Fathers, with their Indian wards, sowed, harrowed, reaped, and ground into flour the excellent wheat and barley produced locally. But to follow the ever-widening stream of mission effort put forth by the Roman

Catholic Church in the Red River country is more than space will permit, and to judge of its influence and beneficence in those early years is only possible to those who know the conditions surrounding northern pioneer life. All honour indeed is due to it and the Church of England for their noble, self-denying efforts in the days now gone by.

The Cathedral of St. Boniface, consumed by fire in 1860, has been replaced by a stone edifice of neat design which possesses a splendid organ—a gift from the Archbishop's numerous friends in Quebec. With the new palace, also constructed of stone, and the large and handsome buildings of the college and nunnery close by, it constitutes a monument to the labours of Archbishop Taché. The Sisters of St. Boniface have also an Hospital for incurable patients, with numerous beds, almost constantly occupied by sufferers of all creeds and nationalities, as also an Orphanage, and a Refuge for infirm and helpless females. In 1871 Bishop Taché had been named Archbishop of a new Ecclesiastical Province which included the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, the Diocese of St. Albert, British Columbia, and the Districts of Athabasca and Mackenzie. Both Bishop Provencher and his eminent successor devoted much attention to the local development of religious educational institutions.

A portion of his residence had been reserved by the former upon his arrival in the country in order to establish therein the first College of St. Boniface, and the devoted Prelate during all the rest of his life added the teaching of children to his other numerous and important occupations. To his successor, Archbishop Taché, it was reserved to build the handsome College now standing on the banks of the Red River. The location, the construction, the playgrounds and everything connected with the building are stated to be excellent. The course of studies appears to be equally so, including as it does both commercial and scientific pursuits. The Superior of the Convent of St. Boniface has jurisdiction over similar institutions at St. Albert, Lac la Biche, L'Ile à la Crosse and Mackenzie River. The same Order of the Grey Nuns has also established Convents at St. Francis Xavier, St. Vital and St. Norbert. The number of Roman Catholics in Manitoba, according to the Census returns, has increased from 12,246 in 1881 to 20,571 in 1891. In the North-West Territories they have risen from 4,443 to 13,008.

Archbishop Tache and the North-West. The Taché name and family is one of the most ancient and honourable in Dominion annals. Jean Taché, the founder of the race in Canada, arrived at Quebec in 1739, and entered into business in the Province. He married Marguerite Joliete, the youngest daughter of the celebrated explorer of the Mississippi, and was the direct ancestor of Sir Etienne-Pascal Taché and the Archbishop. Alexandre Antoninus Taché was born at Rivière-du-Loup, below Quebec, on July 23rd, 1823. His younger years were passed under the careful guidance of his parents, to whose training he owed much. When little more than a child in age (ten years) he entered the College of St. Hyacinthe, and in 1841 ended his classical course in that institution. Immediately afterwards he commenced ecclesiastical studies in Montreal, and at the College of Chambly, in a short time returning to St. Hyacinthe as Professor of Mathematics. During his course as a student he had been noted for his docility of character, his prudence, and, above all, for intellectual ability.

Stirred to the soul, however, by the missionary spirit and a longing to do something for the inhabitants of the then distant and semi-barbarous North-West region, he decided to continue his studies for the Church, and in October, 1844, entered the Novitiate House of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Montreal. On June 24, 1845, Father Peter Aubert, the first Oblate missionary in the North-West, and Frère Taché received their obedience from the Superior, Father Guigues, who afterwards became first Bishop of Ottawa, and departed for their field of labour and self-sacrifice. It is not difficult for the imagination to picture this boy missionary leaving all that was dear to him in the world and setting out by canoe or oxen teams for the "Great Lone Land." His own words, as quoted in the *Daily Nor'-Wester*, Winnipeg, June 22, 1894, best explain his feelings:

"You will allow me to tell you what I felt as I receded from the sources of the St. Lawrence, on whose bank Providence had fixed by birth-place,

and by whose waters I first conceived the thought of becoming a missionary of the Red River. I drank of those waters for the last time, and mingled with them some pitying tears, and confided to them some of the secret thoughts and affectionate sentiments of my inmost heart. I could imagine how some of the bright waves of this dear old river, rolling down from lake to lake, would at last strike on the beach nigh to which a beloved mother was praying for her son. I knew that, being intensely pre-occupied with that son's happiness, she would listen to the faintest murmuring sound, to the very beatings of the waves coming from the North-West, as if to discover in them the echoes of her son's voice asking a prayer or promising a remembrance. I give expression to what I felt on that occasion, for the recollection now, after the lapse of twenty years, of the emotions I experienced in quitting home and friends, enables me more fully to appreciate the generous devotedness of those who give up all they hold most dear in human affection for the salvation of souls."

An unbroken journey of sixty-two days brought the two young missionaries to Saint Boniface. They met on their arrival with a kindly welcome from Bishop Provencher, who, however, is said to have been quite disappointed at the youthful appearance of Alexandre Taché. "I have asked," he said, "for a missionary, and they have sent me a mere boy." Five years afterwards the "boy" was his Coadjutor Bishop. On September 1st, 1845, Frère Taché received deaconship, and on October 12th of the same year was ordained a priest. After this he remained some months in St. Boniface, doing missionary work and studying the languages of those Indian tribes which he expected soon to help in evangelizing. On the 8th of July, 1846, the young priest was instructed to proceed to L'Ile à la Crosse, which was reached after a harassing journey of two months. On his arrival there he heard of an Indian chief who was dangerously ill at Lac Vert, some ninety miles distant, and who desired to be baptized. Thither Father Taché went, and hastening through dismal swamps and vast pine forests, he arrived in time. On his return, after a rest of four days, he set out for Lac Caribou, which lay 350 miles to the north-east. On March 25, 1847, he reached his destination, and was the first of any creed to preach the Gospel in that desolate spot. He next went to Athabaska, and, without heeding warnings as to the ferocity and savageness of the Indians, he courageously travelled on foot for some 400 miles. In the course of three weeks his untiring zeal was rewarded with the conversion of 194 Indians of the Cree and Montaignais tribes. He left these aborigines with reluctance, for his field of labour was vast and broad. However, he visited them again in 1848, and has spoken of them as follows: "Although the heart which so often rebels against right reason not only in the case of the untutored child of the forest but also to him born and nurtured in the midst of civilization, still offered its practical objections to the full Christianizing of these Indians, nevertheless the triumph of faith was secured at Athabaska. It is now one of the chief centres of Christianity in North-Western America."

It is impossible now to realize all the trials, labours and hardships which missionaries underwent in the early days of the North-West. The life was one of alternate successes and disappointments. Sometimes, as the Archbishop has more than once said, after accomplishing in face of the most severe difficulties a journey of hundreds of miles, the missionary would find that, owing to delays encountered on the way, the object of his journey was frustrated by the tribe whom he had travelled to meet having gone farther on. Meantime his little stock of provisions was perhaps exhausted, and the few Indians who had accompanied him had abandoned him in the wilderness. "The dogs of his team are famishing. He divides with them the last remnant of food and starves himself to save these poor brutes, for on them his own safety depends. He then starts out on his return trip, perhaps three or four hundred miles distant," and as the Archbishop often experienced, went for days at a time without sustenance. In July, 1848, Father Taché was joined at L'Ile à la Crosse by Father Faraud. For two years he had not met an Oblate Father. His time was spent either with the Indians in the places of their encampment or in journeying from point to point over the vast district confided to his personal charge. He had to endure often long periods of isolation and solitude. In January, 1849, he and Father Faraud were both at Athabaska when disquieting news reached them from St. Boniface. They were informed by their Superior, Father Aubert,

that owing to lack of funds their missionary labours would have to end. The following noble and heroic words (quoted by the newspaper already referred to) are truly characteristic of these earnest missionary fathers:

"The news which your letter brings us afflicts us profoundly; we cannot reconcile ourselves to the thought of abandoning our dear neophytes and our numerous catechumens. We will confine our demands upon your assistance to the narrowest limits. We hope that you will always be able to provide us at least with altar breads and wine for the Holy Sacrifice. We ask only one further favour, which is that we be allowed to continue our present labours. The fishes of the lakes shall supply us with the food we shall require, and the wild beasts of the forests will furnish us with clothing. Again we beg of you, Reverend Father, not to call us away from a work to which our hearts are so much attached."

Happily the dreaded evil was averted and Fathers Taché and Faraud were allowed to continue their work of zeal. Sir John Richardson, when he was on his expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, met Father Taché at L'Ile à la Crosse, and thus speaks of him and Father Faraud: "They are both intelligent and well-informed men, devoted to the task of instructing the Indians. They have already taught many of their pupils here to read and write." Meanwhile a letter had come to the young priest from Bishop de Mazenod, calling him to Marseilles, France. He met there the celebrated founder of his Order, and an interesting scene follows the meeting during which the youthful priest is informed that it is the wish of the Pontiff that he should be consecrated Coadjutor Bishop to Mgr. Provencher. Father Taché is said to have pleaded many reasons for not accepting the proffered honour; and averred that he wished to remain an Oblate missionary. After some persuasion, however, he yielded, and on November 23rd, 1850, was consecrated a Bishop in the Cathedral at Marseilles, and appointed Superior of the Red River Missions. His stay in Europe at this time was cut short owing to a promise which he had made to meet some of the Indian tribes in the following September, so that after a hurried visit to Rome he returned to Quebec, where he saw his mother and family, and, spending only a day or two with them, hastened on to his western home. It may be mentioned that just at this time he was joined by Father Lacombe, so well known in the history of the North-West.

Mgr. Provencher breathed his last at St. Boniface on July 7th, 1853, and was immediately succeeded by Bishop Taché, who thus became the second Bishop of St. Boniface. He did not, however, come immediately to that place to reside, but remained for some years at L'Ile à la Crosse. In 1856 he again journeyed to Rome with the object of obtaining a Coadjutor Bishop, and succeeded in procuring for his assistant Father Grandin, who

The Most Rev. Archbishop Taché.

has since been established in the See of St. Albert. On his return from Rome he finally settled at St. Boniface. Though elevated to the Episcopal dignity he was still untiring in missionary labours. The annals of St. Boniface show that during the earlier years of his Episcopate he made many hazardous trips into the interior of the country and was never at rest. Speaking of one of his visits to Lac la Biche the Bishop has declared that "A canvas tent in the midst of the snow, even though it be planted on British soil, does not

present a proper idea of Engish comfort. On the day of the arrival of their Bishop, they (the missionaries) took possession of their poor cabins, which cost them much trouble to erect. They did not possess even a single chair; a log of wood had to serve as an Episcopal seat. . . . . Hard work and anxieties were not the only trials of these young fathers; hunger also contributed its own share to their sufferings. I was profoundly afflicted in finding these young *Confreres* pale, emaciated and grief-stricken."

From Lac la Biche on this occasion, Bishop Taché set out for the mission at Athabaska, and after a journey of ten days arrived safely. In December, 1860, he undertook a journey that was to last for six or seven weeks. It was through the most desolate parts of the Diocese, and the privations endured were beyond description. Of one instance the Bishop says: "We left our snow beds at the early hour of one in the morning to continue our journey; we travelled all night; at 10 a.m. we halted to rest and partake of a little food. We found it almost impossible to kindle a fire. I sat beside the dying embers, cold and hungry and wearied—a peculiar sadness oppressed me. I was then 900 miles distant from St. Boniface." During this journey another serious calamity befel the Catholic missions. The Cathedral and palace at St. Boniface were destroyed by fire, and this was followed by a flood which inundated the entire country around.

Soon after this the indefatigable Prelate went to Quebec to solicit aid for the rebuilding of his church and residence. He continued his journey to France, to attend the election of a Superior-General of the Oblate Order, in place of Mgr. de Mazenod, who had recently died. Thence he repaired to Rome, where he obtained from Pius IX. his sanction to the division of the Diocese of St. Boniface, by the creation of the Apostolic-Vicariate of the Mackenzie river. In 1863 he again visited the East to attend the Provincial Synod of Quebec. In 1867 he went to Rome, and on his return through France attended the General Chapter of the Oblate Order. In 1869 he again went to Rome, in order to be present at the Œcumenical Council then being held at the Vatican. While attending this Council he was suddenly recalled by the Government at Ottawa, who were then fearful of the Indians rising in rebellion along Red River. His policy was helpful in preserving peace and in restoring calm and confidence to the minds of the people in his charge. Through his efforts the union of the North-West with Canada was greatly aided. That his great services as a missionary and an ecclesiastic were warmly appreciated in Rome at this time may be judged from the fact that his Diocese was raised to an Archiepiscopate—the Papal bull to this effect being issued on September 22nd, 1871. From this time until his death on June 21st, 1894, the life of His Grace was more or less uneventful, owing partly to an illness which made itself felt and seriously hampered him in active work. But his influence remained, and his career is a part of the history of Manitoba during those years. His strong stand upon the School Question made his name a familiar one throughout Canada, and up to his dying moments he never gave up hope and never yielded one iota in the position by which as a Catholic and the Archbishop of St. Boniface, he considered himself bound. By word and pen he pleaded vigourously for what he considered justice to the minority and to those under his charge. The following summary of his life and character by the Winnipeg *Nor'-Wester* may be here given as of historic and personal interest:

"By his death an ancient landmark of the early history of the North-West has disappeared, and a blank is created which time alone can fill. The career of Archbishop Taché is identical with the growth of this country. He came to it in its infancy, and after living well-nigh half a century with it, he is now called away by death to reap the great harvest of his missionary labours. His salient virtues were fortitude, in bearing up against all adversities; prudence, in knowing how to act; justice, in administering to all measure for measure; and temperance, which was with him strongest of all. For the sake of the Indians and Half-breeds he advocated strict temperance, for he saw that temperance with the missionaries was an essential element of success, and from his earliest years he inculcated it in his living as well as in all those under his charge. He was orthodox in the extreme, being ever ready to follow out Rome's dictates to the very letter. He is gone! Death has called him away, but his name will live forever in the great North-West. The words of the Psalmist are to him most appro-

priate—'The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in His way. Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.' To-day the bells of St. Boniface are tolling their funeral knell for him who lived 'neath their sounds for half a century. To-day the Indian, the Half-breed, the white man of every creed and race are mourning the loss of a great and good missionary. To-day the bells of St. Boniface ring out in sorrow and sadness, for the loved Prelate who endeared himself to all is gone, gone forever. During life, by his simplicity, his kindly genial way, he became the friend of the rich and the father of the poor."

The Most Rev. Louis Philippe Adelard Langevin, Second Archbishop of St. Boniface, was born at St. Isidore, Quebec, on August 23rd, 1855, and was educated at the Sulpician College, Montreal, where he was afterwards Professor of Classics. He studied theology at the Grand Seminary, Quebec, and was for a time Private Secretary to the late Archbishop Fabre. While at the Seminary he was ordained deacon. Then he went to St. Mary's (Jesuit) College, where he was for a time Master of Studies. In 1881 he entered the Order of Oblates, and was ordained priest in the following year. Thereafter for three years he served as a missionary in connection with the Oblate Church of St. Pierre, Montreal. Appointed to the Chair of Theology in the University of Ottawa, he proceeded to that city in 1885, and for eight years discharged the duties assigned to him, being also Director of the Grand Seminary and Sub-Dean of the Faculty of Theology. Invited to Manitoba in 1893 by the late Archbishop Taché, he there became Superintendent of all the Oblate missions of the North-West. He was appointed in 1894 to the pastorate of St. Mary's Church, Winnipeg, and in January, 1895, was elected to succeed Monseigneur Taché as second Archbishop of St. Boniface, his consecration taking place on the 19th of March following. The succeeding part taken by His Grace in the Manitoba school question is a portion of Canadian history, and proved him to be an active and aggressive ecclesiastic of marked ability and force. His name naturally became a familiar one during the general elections of 1896, and helped to revive the old and stormy controversies connected with Church intervention in public affairs.

The Catholic Church in British Columbia. Roman Catholic missionaries were early at work on Vancouver Island. Before the Oregon Territory was divided in 1846, Father Demers was, prior to his consecration as Bishop, a missionary amongst the Indians in the southern portions of the country. Returning to the south of the Columbia River, he was consecrated Bishop on November 30th, 1847, his Episcopal residence being at Victoria, and the Diocese comprising what is now British Columbia. It included also Russian America, or Alaska. He did not arrive at Victoria, however, until August 29th, 1852, when he reached the village after having crossed the straits from Puget Sound, accompanied by Father Louis Lootens, in an Indian canoe. Father Lootens subsequently left for California, and was afterwards made Bishop of Idaho. Bishop Lootens returned to Victoria in 1875, where he resided in retirement for many years.

Father J. B. Bolduc, of Quebec, had meanwhile accompanied in March, 1843, the party despatched by the Hudson's Bay Company to erect Fort Camosun, or Victoria. He came on a missionary tour, but found the Indians so excited by the arrival of the expedition that little or nothing could be done with them from a religious point of view. He, however, baptized a large number. According to Bancroft, the American historian, Mass was celebrated on Sunday in a chapel formed of a boat's awning as canopy, branches of fir-trees enclosing the sides. The chief of the Sonchies, *Tsilaltach*, and ten of his warriors, escorted Father Bolduc back on the 24th of March to Lopez Island. They reached Whidbey Island on the 25th, and there were welcomed by over a thousand Indians, who erected a church twenty-five feet by twenty-eight. Mr. Alexander Begg, in his "History of British Columbia," gives further particulars in this connection. From 1849 to the beginning of 1852 it seems that a French Oblate, Father H. Lemfrit, of Olympia, resided chiefly at Fort Victoria. During that time, according to documents kept in the Bishop's palace, he baptized upwards of three thousand Indians. While Fort Vancouver was the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, the majority of the employés being French-Canadian Catholics, a chapel was provided for them which

occupied a prominent position in the Fort. The smaller congregation of Episcopalians, etc., held their religious meeting in the Company's dining room.

In 1852, the only Catholic settlers on Vancouver Island were a certain number of French-Canadians employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1858, the first Catholic School for young ladies was established—Bishop Demers having obtained the services of four Sisters of St. Ann from the "Mother House" at Lachine, near Montreal. St. Louis College was instituted the same year; also a small building designed by Father Michaud, C.S.V., and built on Humboldt Street. It served as the Cathedral for a time until it became inadequate for the accommodation of the congregation. It was then removed to St. Ann's Convent, where it is placed as an Annex, and forms a most suitable and commodious chapel. Its interior is described as a masterpiece of skill and symmetry. A temporary edifice was built, one hundred feet by forty, to serve as a Cathedral until the completion of the present structure. An Hospital, under the care of the Sisters of St. Ann has also been built, and is appreciated by non-Catholics as well as by Catholics. Nine Sisters are in constant attendance. This congregation is well provided with societies. The Sodality (sisterhood) of the Blessed Virgin, for young ladies, was organized in 1875. In 1888, the Association of the Perpetual Rosary was established. There is also an Altar Society, whose duty is to look after the ornamentation of the church and furnishings of the sanctuary, a "Young Men's Institute" for social amusements, and a "Young Ladies' Institute" for the same object.

Besides St. Andrew's Cathedral, in Victoria, dedicated in 1858, there is St. Louis' Church and College, dedicated in 1864; at Cowichan, St. Ann's Church, dedicated in 1858; at Nanaimo, St. Peter's Church, first dedicated in 1864, second dedication of a new church, 1878; at Saanich, Assumption Church, dedicated in 1869; at Esquimault, St. Joseph's Church, first dedicated, 1849, second dedication, 1879; at Penalgut, Holy Rosary Church, 1881; at Comox, Purification Church, 1878; at Hesquiat, Sacred Heart Church, 1875; at Clayoquot, St. John the Baptist Church, 1880; at Namukumus, St. Leo Church, 1879. St. Ann's Convent, Victoria, already referred to, was established in 1858, on the arrival of four Sisters of St. Ann, June 5th. School was opened by them September 1st. The Convent has since been greatly enlarged, and in 1889 was made the "Mother House and Novitiate" for the Pacific Coast. It has a staff of twenty Sisters, employed in attending to the boarding and day scholars. The attendance in 1893 was forty boarders and about three hundred day scholars, which latter number included attendance at the boys' school and kindergarten school. At Cowichan Orphan Asylum, October 10th, 1864, four Sisters are employed; at New Westminster Hospital, established June 20th, 1865, six; at St. Mary's Mission, Matsqui, established March 19th, 1876, nine; at Nanaimo Day School, established May 15th, 1877, three; at Kamloops Mission, established May, 1880, three; at Vancouver City, Sacred Heart, established August, 1888, four; at Kossirifsky, Yukon Territory, Jesuit missions, established May, 1888, eleven; at Keuper Island Industrial School, established March, 1891, three; at Kamloops Industrial School, established April 15th, 1893, three; at Boys' School, Victoria, two; at Kindergarten School, Victoria, one, assisted by a monitor.

When the Diocese was divided in 1863, the Mainland, together with Queen Charlotte and other islands, was erected into a separate Vicariate-Apostolic, under the jurisdiction of the Rev. Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, O.M.I., who was consecrated Bishop at Victoria, 9th October, 1864, with the Episcopal residence fixed at New Westminster. The Diocese of Vancouver Island remained under the jurisdiction of Bishop Demers. It was composed of the Island of Vancouver, with certain neighbouring islands, and included Alaska Territory. Shortly after his consecration, Bishop Demers visited Europe, where he received promises from several ecclesiastical students that, after their ordination to the priesthood, they would come and share his labours on the Pacific Coast. He again went to Europe in 1869 to assist at the Vatican Council. After his return from Rome, he continued to preside over his Diocese, until his death on July 28th, 1871.

The second Bishop of Vancouver Island was

the Right Rev. Charles Seghers. He had landed at Victoria in November, 1863. Shortly after his arrival, however, his health failed, and he suffered greatly from hemorrhage of the lungs. When Bishop Demers was lingering in his last illness, Father Seghers was so extremely weak that it was a matter of serious doubt which of the two, the aged Bishop or the youthful priest, would first depart this life. But immediately after the death of Bishop Demers, Father Seghers began to slowly recover. He was at first appointed administrator of the Diocese, and on the 29th of June, 1873, was consecrated Bishop. His first visit was to the south-eastern coast of Alaska, and he afterwards made a prospecting tour of the west coast of Vancouver Island, accompanied by Father Brabant, who later on was appointed resident missionary priest at Hesquiat. In 1875 Bishop Seghers commenced the building of St. Joseph's Hospital, and in 1879 was transferred as Archbishop to Portland, Oregon. The vacancy thus caused was filled by the appointment of the Rev. John B. Brondel, pastor at Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, who became the third Bishop of Vancouver Island. He was consecrated in December, 1879. During the ensuing year Bishop Brondel paid a pastoral visit to the various missions of his Diocese, and he founded a new one at Clayoquot. He then left for an extended tour to Europe, and shortly after his return was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Montana, U.S.A.

This appointment gave Bishop Seghers the opportunity, which he greatly desired, of returning to Victoria. This he did in 1885 by again becoming Bishop of Vancouver Island. He at once set about building an Episcopal Palace. He also visited the outlying missions, and established two new missions in Alaska—one at Juneau, the other at Sitka. On the 30th of May, 1886, he was invested with the "sacred pallium" (a consecrated vestment, composed of white wool, and embroidered with purple crosses, blessed by the Pope, and sent by him as a mark of honour). On July 13th following, he proceeded to Alaska, accompanied by Fathers Tosi and Robant. Whilst in Alaska he was murdered on November 28th. His remains were brought to Victoria, but arrived only in 1888, when they were interred in the crypt of the Cathedral. Bishop Seghers was greatly beloved by his congregation and much regretted. His large experience and genial disposition made him a favourite with all classes. The nature of his untimely death was never thoroughly explained or understood.

To succeed Bishop Seghers, the Rev. John Nicholas Lemmens, priest at Clayoquet, was chosen. He was consecrated fifth Bishop of Vancouver Island on August 5th, 1888. Bishop Lemmens was born June 3rd, 1850, at Schimmert, Holland. Since his arrival at Victoria he has been an active and zealous worker. In 1885, he was sent to the Clayoquot Mission, on the west coast, and was resident pastor there until his consecration in 1888. He placed a resident priest at Comox in 1889. By his zeal and administrative ability, Alaska and the interior of the Yukon country has been supplied with priests and sisters, and a magnificent new Cathedral been built under the architectural superintendence of John Teague, who, in 1894, was elected Mayor of Victoria. The erection of the Cathedral was commenced in 1890, and completed in 1892, at a cost of about $300,000. The edifice was built of brick, measures 150 feet by 85, and its spire to the vane totals 175 feet. The corner stone was blessed and laid by Bishop Lootens, as being the oldest ordained Catholic clergyman in the Province. The interior of the Cathedral is artistically decorated and finished. It was consecrated on October 30, 1892. Bishop Lemmens paid a visit to Rome in 1893, returning in May, 1894. He also visited his parents in Holland. On his return to Victoria, an enthusiastic reception was given him by his flock.

It has been noted that the Mainland was separated from the Diocese of Vancouver Island, in 1863, and placed under the jurisdiction of Father Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, who was born at Brillon, France, in 1822. He entered the Novitiate of the Oblate Fathers of Mary Immaculate, (O.M.I.), at Nancy, and was ordained to the priesthood at Marseilles, in 1849, with instructions to proceed to Oregon. After a six months' voyage, via Cape Horn, he arrived at Fort Vancouver, in 1850; thence he proceeded to the "Mother House" of Olympia, U.S., the cradle of the Oblate Missions on the west coast, and near where the town of Olympia now stands. In

1851, he was sent to establish St. Joseph's Mission amongst the Yakima Indians, but was recalled to Olympia in 1853, where he devoted the following five years to labouring amongst the Indians along Puget Sound. In 1858, he was chosen to succeed Father Ricard as Vicar of Missions. Soon afterwards he transferred the missionary administration from Olympia to Esquimault. There he set to work to reach the natives wherever possible. A mission was founded at Okanagan. St. Mary's River Mission, on the Lower Fraser, was established in 1850, and schools for the natives were begun in 1862. Whilst thus engaged he received appointment as the first Vicar-Apostolic of the Mainland of British Columbia, with the title of Bishop of Miletopolis *in partibus infidelium*. Bishop D'Herbomez had received Episcopal consecration at the hands of Bishop Demers, and removed to New Westminster. Soon afterwards the Oblate Fathers withdrew from Victoria where they had founded St. Louis College and afterwards built another college of the same name in New Westminster. The Young Ladies' Academy was also built under the direction of the Sisters of St. Ann; and at the invitation of the Bishop the Sisters of Providence founded an hospital, and only a month previous to his death the Sisters of the Good Shepherd founded a Home for Orphans, and a Home and Protectory for penitent women. After several years' illness, Bishop D'Herbomez died on June 3rd, 1890. He was succeeded by the Right Rev. Dr. Durieu, who was born on December 3rd, 1830, at St. Pal-de-Mons, France. He entered the Novitiate in 1847; was ordained priest in March, 1854; was sent to Olympia and laboured amongst the Yakima Indians; was called to Victoria and then sent to Okanagan; and in June, 1875, was appointed as Coadjutor to Bishop D'Herbomez, with the title of Bishop of Marcopolis, and Vicar-Apostolic of British Columbia, with right of succession.

He was consecrated at St. Mary's Mission, October 24th, 1875. On September 2nd, 1890, by a decree of his Holiness Pope Leo XIII., the Vicariate of British Columbia was erected into a Diocese, under the name of the Diocese of New Westminster; and by another decree of the same date, Bishop Durieu was transferred from his titular position to the Cathedral church of New Westminster. The churches and chapels of the Diocese number about eighty, and with other Roman Catholic buildings include a cathedral, a suburban church, a church for the Indians, a college for boys, an academy for girls, an hospital, an orphanage, a house of refuge, a library hall and club-room for meetings, a society for men, and an altar society for women. For the accommodation of the Catholic population on the Mainland, suitable churches, chapels and schools are provided by the Oblate Fathers, from Stuart's Lake on the north to Kootenay on the east, divided into the following parishes, amongst others, for the white population: Our Lady of the Rosary, Vanconver City; St. Louis, Kamloops; Mary Immaculate, St. Mary's Mission; St. Joseph's, William's Lake; Immaculate Conception, Okanagan; and the Sacred Heart, Port Guichon. The Industrial School for Indian boys and girls has an attendance of about 150. Two schools are situated at St. Mary's Mission, one at Kootenay, one at Kamloops, and one at William's Lake. In a late pastoral letter, Bishop Durieu claims "that no less than twelve thousand natives have been converted, and have attained a state of comparative civilization." He is assisted by fifty priests, clerical and lay brothers, who, with one exception, are all members of the missionary order of O. M. I. There are in the Diocese three religious communitees of women, viz: the Sisters of St. Ann, the Sisters of Providence, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd—having in all forty-five members. According to the Census of 1881 there were 10,043 Roman Catholics in British Columbia and by that of 1891 the number had risen to 20,843.

The Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Canada. The Bishops and Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada include many able and eminent men. Their record reaches back to the earliest administrative annals of the country and, like their contemporaries of English and European history, they had no inconsiderable share in moulding events of a secular as well as of an ecclesiastical nature. The following list is compiled from various sources and gives the Hierarchy from the days prior to, as well as subsequent to, the British occupation of Quebec:

Bishops of the Diocese of Quebec.

Name.	Appointment.
Francois de Laval de Montmorency, D.D.	Oct. 1, 1674
Jean Bte de la Croix-Chevrières de St. Vallier, D.D.	Jan. 25, 1688
Louis Francois Duplessis de Mornay	Dec. 26, 1727
Pierre Herman Dosquet, D.D.	Sept. 12, 1733
Francois Louis de Pourroy de L' Auberivière, D.D.	Aug. 16, 1739
Henri Marie Dubreuil de Pontbriand	Apr. 9, 1741
Jean Olivier Briand, D.D.	Mar. 16, 1766
Louis Phillippe Marianchean D' Esglis, D.D.	Nov. 29, 1784
Jean Francois Hubert, D.D.	June 12, 1788
Pierre Denaut, D.D.	Sept. 4, 1797
Joseph Octave Plessis, D.D.	Jan. 27, 1806
Bernard Claude Panet, D.D.	Dec. 12, 1825
Joseph Signay, D.D.	Feb. 16, 1833

Archbishops of Quebec.

Joseph Signay, D.D.	July 12, 1844
Pierre Flavien Turgeon, D.D.	Oct. 8, 1850
Charles Francois Baillargeon, D.D.	Aug. 28, 1867
Elzéar Alexandre Taschereau, D.D.	Mar. 19, 1871
Louis Nazaire Bégin, D.D.	April, 1898

Bishop of the Diocese of Halifax, N.S.

William Walsh, D.D.	May, 1845

Archbishops of Halifax.

William Walsh, D.D.	May 4, 1852
Thomas Louis Connolly, D.D.	April 5, 1859
Michael Hannan, D.D.	May 20, 1877
Cornelius O'Brien, D.D.	Jan. 21, 1883

Bishops of the Diocese of Montreal, P.Q.

Jean Jacques Lartigue, D.D.	Sept. 8, 1836
Ignace Bourget, D.D.	April 23, 1840
Edouard Charles Fabre, D.D.	Sept. 19, 1876

Archbishops of Montreal.

Edouard Charles Fabre, D.D.	July 28, 1886
Louis Paul Napoleon Bruchési, D.D.	June 25, 1897

Bishops of the Diocese of Ottawa, Ont.

Joseph Eugene Bruno Guigues, D.D.	July 30, 1848
Joseph Thomas Duhamel, D.D.	Oct. 28, 1874

Archbishop of Ottawa.

Joseph Thomas Duhamel, D.D.	July 29, 1886

Bishops of the Diocese of St. Boniface.

Joseph Norbert Provencher, D.D.	1847
Alexandre Antonin Taché, D.D.	June 7, 1853

Archbishops of St. Boniface, Man.

Alexandre Antonin Taché, D.D.	Sept. 22, 1871
Louis Philippe Adelard Langevin, D.D.	Mar. 19, 1895

Bishops of the Diocese of Toronto, Ont.

Michael Power, D.D.	May 8, 1842
Armand Francois Marie, Comte de Charbonnel	May 26, 1850
John Joseph Lynch, D.D.	Apr. 29, 1860

Archbishops of Toronto.

John Joseph Lynch, D.D.	Mar. 20, 1870
John Walsh, D.D.	Aug. 27, 1889

Bishops of the Diocese of Antigonish, N.S.

William Frazer, D.D.	Sept. 21, 1844
Colin Francois McKinnon, D.D.	Feb. 27, 1852
John Cameron, D.D.	July 17, 1877

Bishops of the Diocese of Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Bernard Angus McEachern, D.D.	Aug. 11, 1829
Benoit Donald McDonald, D.D.	Oct. 15, 1837
Peter McIntyre, D.D.	Aug. 15, 1860
James Charles McDonald, D.D.	August, 1890

Bishop of the Diocese of Chatham, N.B.

James Rogers, D.D.	Aug. 15, 1860

Bishops of the Diocese of Chicoutimi, P.Q.

Dominique Racine, D.D.	Aug. 4, 1878
Louis Nazaire Bégin, D.D.	Oct. 1, 1888
Michael Thomas Labrecque, D.D.	May 22, 1892

Bishops of the Diocese of Hamilton, Ont.

John Farrell, D.D.	May 11, 1856
Peter Francis Crinnon, D.D.	Apr. 19, 1874
James Joseph Carberry, D.D.	Apr. 3, 1884
Thomas Joseph Dowling, D.D.	Jan. 11, 1889

Bishops of the Diocese of Kingston, Ont.

Alexander Macdonell, D.D.	Feb. 14, 1826
Remegius Gaulin, D.D.	Jan. 15, 1840
Patrick Phelan, D.D.	May 8, 1857
Edward John Horan, D.D.	May 1, 1858
John O'Brien, D.D.	Apr. 18, 1875
James Vincent Cleary, D.D.	Apr. 7, 1881

Archbishop of Kingston.

James Vincent Cleary, D.D.	July 28, 1889

Bishops of the Diocese of London, Ont.

Pierre Adolphe Pinsonneault, D.D... May 18, 1856
John Walsh, D.D..... Nov. 10, 1867
Denis O'Connor, D.D..... Oct. 19, 1890

Bishop of the Diocese of Nicolet, P.Q.

Elphège Gravel, D.D..... Aug. 25, 1885

Bishops of the Diocese of Peterborough, Ont.

Jean Francois Jamot, D.D.....Sept. 21, 1882
Thomas Joseph Dowling, D.D..... May 1, 1887
Richard Alphonseus O'Connor, D.D. May, 1889

Bishops of the Diocese of Rimouski, P.Q.

Jean Pierre Francois Laforce Langevin, D.D..... May 1, 1867
Andre Albert Blais, D.D..... Feb. 6, 1891

Bishop of the Diocese of St. Albert, N.W.T.

Vital Justin Grandin, D.D.....Sept. 22, 1871

Bishops of the Diocese of St. Hyacinthe, P.Q.

Jean Charles Prince, D.D..... Nov. 3, 1852
Joseph Larocque, D.D..... Sept. 3, 1860
Charles Larocque, D.D..... ..... July 29, 1866
Louis Zéphirin Moreau, D.D..... Jan. 16, 1876
Maxime Decelles, D.D..... January, 1893

Bishops of the Diocese of St. John, N.B.

William Dollard, D.D... .....June 11, 1843
Thomas Louis Connolly, D.D.....Aug. 15, 1852
John Sweeny, D.D. .. ..Apr. 15, 1860

Bishops of the Diocese of Sherbrooke, P.Q.

Antoine Racine, D.D.....Oct. 18, 1874
Paul Larocque, D.D.....Nov. 30, 1893

Bishops of the Diocese of Three Rivers, P.Q.

Thomas Cooke, D.D... .....Oct. 18, 1852
Louis Francois Laflèche, D.D.....June 3, 1870

Bishops of the Diocese of Vancouver Island, B.C.

Modeste Demers, D.D.....Nov. 30, 1847
Charles Jean Seghers, D.D.....June 29, 1873
Jean Baptiste Brondel, D.D. .....Dec. 14, 1879
Charles Jean Seghers, D.D.....———, 1885
John Nicholas Lemmens, D.D.....Aug. 5, 1888

Bishops of the Diocese of New Westminster, B.C.

Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, O.M.I., Oct, 9, 1864
Paul Durieu, O.M.I., D.D..... Sept. 2, 1890

Bishop of the Diocese of Valleyfield, P.Q.

Joseph Médard Emard, D.D.....June 9, 1892

A Vicariate-Apostolic of Athabasca, N.W.T., was created in 1864 with the Right Rev. Dr. Henri Joseph Faraud at its head. In 1891, upon the latter's death, the Right Rev. Emile Jean Baptiste Marie Grouard, O.M.I., D.D., was consecrated to the position as Bishop of Ibora. The Right Rev. Isidore Clut, O.M.I., D.D., has acted as Coadjutor since 1867 with the title of Bishop of Arendel *in partibus infidelium*. The Vicariate-Apostolic of Pontiac, P.Q., was created on Sept. 22nd, 1882, with the Right Rev. Narcisse Zéphirin Lorrain, D.D,, Bishop of Cythere in charge. That of Saskatchewan, N.W.T., was created in 1891 with the Right Rev. Albert Pascal, O.M.I., D.D., titular Bishop of Mosynopolis in charge.

Mgr. Francois de Laval de Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, First Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, and the "Father of the Church" in Canada, was born at Laval, in Maine, France, on the 30th of April, 1622. He was ordained priest at Paris on the 23rd of September, 1645, and was made Archdeacon of Evreux in 1653. He was consecrated Bishop of Pétrèa *in partibus infidelium*, and appointed Vicar Apostolic of *Nouvelle France*, by Pope Alexander VII., on the 5th of July, 1658. He arrived at Quebec, for the first time, on the 16th June, 1659; and returned to France in 1662. On the 26th March, 1663, he founded the Seminary of Quebec, an action afterwards confirmed and approved by Louis XIV. in letters patent. After another absence abroad he returned to Canada, September 28th, 1663. He consecrated the Parochial Church of Quebec on the 11th of July, 1666. Bishop de Laval—as history names him—returned to France again in 1674, and was appointed Bishop of Quebec and a suffragan Bishop of the Holy See, by Clement X. on 1st October of the same year. At the same time the revenues of the Abbey of Meaubec, in the Diocese of Bourges, France, were given to the Bishopric of Quebec. After a career of prolonged controversy with King and Governors, and unremitting, arduous work, De Laval resigned his See in 1688. But he could not stay away from Quebec, and returned in 1692 and retired into the Seminary which he had founded and to which he had given all his property. There he died on May 6th, 1708, and near the principal

altar of the Cathedral of Quebec lie buried the remains of this great militant Prelate.

Mr. F. X. Garneau, in his "History of Canada," (Vol I., page 198) writes of him as follows: "To his high birth he owed much of the influence which he exercised in the civil as well as the ecclesiastical affairs of the Colony, making and unmaking its Governors at will. He had great talents and much activity, while his overbearing spirit brooked no opposition. His naturally obstinate character, hardened rather than subdued by religious zeal, caused constant dissensions between himself and the public functionaries with whom he had to deal; he also got into trouble with the heads of the local religious communities, and even with private individuals. He was firm in the belief that in whatever he did for the supposed weal of the Church, in any contingency, he could not err; and firm in this persuasion, he did some things, in a Colonial sphere of action, which would have been deemed exorbitant in Europe. After mounting the Episcopal throne, he set about disciplining his clergy as if they had been soldiers of a spiritual militia; just as the Jesuits were passively subject to the orders of their General. He sought even to make the civil power the creature of his will—causing the Sovereign Council to decree the revocability of the curacies, and to ordain that tithes should be paid to his Seminary. But some of his projects, as contrary in sound principle as they were to all established usage in France, had no ultimate success. He found invincible antagonists in successive Governors, all more or less jealous of the undue influence which he already possessed; and who, individually, were often kept in countenance by public sentiment, which veered fitfully for or against the people's two absolute masters, lay and spiritual." Dr. William Kingsford in his elaborate work upon the "History of Canada,"—Chapter 8, Volume I.—thus characterizes Bishop de Laval:

"His was one of those compound characters of which history furnishes many examples. His personal life was exemplary. He was labourious, painstaking and devoted to his duties. His austerities he carried to the extreme of self-mortification. In his private life, he lived simply and unostentatiously. But his mind was narrow and contracted. He was impatient of contradiction. He could see no proceeding but in the light it affected his pronounced views. Devoted to the Jesuits, all opinions, secular and religious, not in accord with their dogmas, with him were marked by error. It was his belief that the Church should obtain the first recognition and possess absolute power. It was the one dominant influence to which all authority should succumb; and as its highest dignitary, he claimed to be the depository of that power. Protestantism was an abomination to him. It was his policy to exclude all trace of it from the country. No prosperity, no national benefit in his eye would be acceptable if tainted by arising from the head or labour of the heretic. Had he had his way, not one would have been allowed to set his foot on Canadian soil."

The Most Rev. and Hon. Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, was the greatest of the early ecclesiastical rulers of Quebec after Francois de Laval. He was the first Canadian Bishop to visit Rome, and the first who has been appointed by the Crown to be a member of any Legislative Council. He was born at Montreal on the 3rd of March, 1762, and is stated to have been the son of a blacksmith. He was ordained a priest at Quebec on the 11th of March, 1786, and from time to time thereafter was employed as a Professor at the College of St. Raphael, and as Secretary to the Bishop of Quebec and Curate at the capital. On the 6th of September, 1797, he was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Denaut, and received the Royal approval through General Prescott. Owing to complications and troubles at Rome, however, the nomination was not confirmed until April 26th, 1800, when Pope Pius VII., as one of his first acts, appointed him Bishop of Canatte, *in partibus infidelium*, with the right of succession to the See of Quebec.

Mgr. Plessis was consecrated on the 25th of January, 1801, and employed himself during his coadjutorship in founding the College at Nicolet (for which he afterwards obtained a Royal charter) as well as primary schools at Quebec. He also discussed the Royal prerogative as to patronage and other matters with the Crown officers, and this controversy has an important place in the early history of Quebec. He succeeded Mor. seigneur Denaut on the 17th January, 1806. In him was found during most critical times a great Prelate who was both loyal to Great Britain and

to his Church. He had some differences with Governor Sir James Craig; but under his successor, Sir George Prevost, seems upon the whole to have triumphed in the contentions advanced. When Pius VII. was delivered from captivity and re-established the Order of the Jesuits, Mgr. Plessis wished to establish them at Quebec, and wrote to Russia to procure a number of the Order suited for the instruction of such Canadians as might wish to enter it. The design did not, however, succeed. He was called by the Crown to the Legislative Council in 1818; and in this honourable position proved himself a most loyal and patriotic legislator. In 1821, when the majority of the Legislative Council resolved not to concur in any Bill from the Lower House relative to the Civil List in which special items should be included, the Bishop dissented therefrom, and declared that the said resolution was premature, too general, and did not contain a precise specification of the objects comprised under the head of the Civil List. The indefatigable Prelate meditated the erection of all the British Colonies into one Ecclesiastical Province, of which Quebec should be the metropolis, and to advance this project he visited England and Rome in 1819. In consideration of the eminent services which he had rendered Great Britain during the French Revolution and in the War of 1812, he met with a most hearty reception from Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, and spent some time as a guest at his country seat. Although he could not obtain British consent to the appointment of an Archbishop at Quebec, he was given the title by the Pope. But he never used it. He was allowed ecclesiastical assistants at Kingston, Red River, and in the Maritime Provinces. These were styled suffragans to the Bishop of Quebec. In Nova Scotia the Pope placed a Vicar-Apostolic in the person of the great missionary, Monseigneur Edmund Burke.

Bishop Plessis returned to Quebec on the 16th of August, 1820, and was received with impressive demonstrations of respect and affection by its inhabitants. He was accompanied by the Abbé Lartigue, as Suffragan and Auxiliary for the District of Montreal, where Monseigneur Hubert had already tried to have an Episcopal See erected. The Bishop consecrated him in the ancient parochial church in 1821, and sustained him in ensuing difficulties with the Seminary. He died at the General Hospital at Quebec, on the 4th December, 1825, and was buried with all possible civil and religious honours—the troops of the garrison lining the route of the funeral procession, and Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General, following with his staff and the principal men of rank in the Province. His coffin was placed in the sanctuary of the Cathedral, under the spot where grand mass was usually celebrated, while his heart was deposited in the wall of one of the chapels of the Church of St. Roch, and a monument of marble erected over it. A marble tombstone was also erected on the 2nd December, 1833, in the sanctuary of the Cathedral above his tomb. The correspondence of this Prelate, which is most important, has been preserved.

The Church and the Invasion of 1775. The attitude taken by the Roman Catholic Church during the American Revolution, had much to do with the passive loyalty of the population in Quebec and the eventual repulse of the invaders by the British troops. It was impossible to expect or to receive much active loyalty so soon after the conquest, but that the people were in the main quiescent speaks volumes for the wisdom of the Government and the influence of the clergy. The following *Mandement* was issued by Bishop Briand on May 22nd, 1775, and is translated from Volume II. of the "Mandements, etc., des Eveques de Quebec":

"A body of subjects in revolt against their rightful Sovereign who is also ours, has just made an inroad into this Province, less in the hope of being able to continue it than with the idea of leading us into their revolt; or at least of withdrawing your opposition to their pernicious design. The singular favour and kindness with which we have been governed by His Most Gracious Majesty King George III., since by the fortune of war, we have been subject to his rule; the recent favours which he has just shown us in granting us the use of our own laws and the free exercise of our religion, and in allowing us to share in all the privileges and advantages of British subjects, should assuredly suffice to excite

your gratitude and your zeal to sustain the interests of the Crown of Great Britain. But still more powerful motives should speak to your hearts at the present moment. Your vows, your religion, impose on you a strong obligation to defend with all your power your country and your King. Then, my dear people, close your ears, and do not listen to these seditious persons, who seek to make you unhappy and to stifle in your hearts the sentiments of submission to your rightful superiors which education and religion have graven there. Be then, joyfully, all that which is commanded you by a beneficent Governor, who has no other thought than your interests and your happiness. It is not a question of carrying the war into the remote Provinces; you are simply asked to strike a blow to repulse the enemy, and to prevent the invasion with which the Province is menaced. The voices of religion and of your own interests become united in this and assure us of your zeal to defend our frontiers and our possessions."

The Church and the Crown in 1794. The following extract from the funeral oration pronounced by the Rev. Joseph Octave Plessis, (afterwards Bishop), upon Mgr. Jean Olivier Briand, the late Bishop of Quebec, in the Cathedral Church, on the 27th of June, 1794, indicates an interesting and historical measure of friendliness on the part of the French-Canadian Catholics towards their Protestant fellow-subjects and the British Crown. It is taken from *The Quebec Gazette* of 8th December, 1847, where it was republished as forming an important commentary upon the conquest or cession of little more than three decades before the date of its delivery:

"The disorders which prevailed in this Colony ascended to heaven, crying vengeance and provoking the wrath of the Almighty. God visited the country with the horrors of war, and, what was more felt by devout minds, as a more terrible infliction, the Church of Canada was widowed by the death and privation of its chief (Bishop de Pontbriand), who had governed it for nineteen years. It spread the severest grief among all Christian families. They all lamented their own unfortunate lot, and declared they could not live where the Kingdom of God was threatened with destruction. Our conquerors were looked upon with jealousy and suspicion, and inspired only apprehension. People could not persuade themselves that strangers to our soil, to our language, our laws and usages, and our worship, would ever be capable of restoring to Canada what it had lost by a change of masters. Generous nation! which has strongly demonstrated how unfounded were those prejudices; Industrious nation! which has contributed to the development of those sources of wealth which existed in the bosom of the country; Exemplary nation! which in times of trouble teaches to the world in what consists that liberty to which all men aspire and among whom so few know its just limits; Kind-hearted nation! which has received with so much humanity, the most faithful subjects most cruelly driven from that Kingdom to which we formerly belonged; Beneficent nation! which every day gives to Canada new proofs of liberality. No, No! you are not our enemies, nor of our properties which are protected by your laws, nor of our holy religion which you respect. Forgive then this early misconception of a people who had not before the honour of being acquainted with you; and if, after having learned the subversion of the Government and the destruction of the true worship in France; after having enjoyed for thirty-five years the mildness of your sway; there are some amongst us so blind or ill-intentioned, as to entertain the same suspicions and inspire the people with the criminal desire of returning to their former masters; do not impute to the whole people what is only the vice of a small number.

Far from yielding to these errors, Monseigneur Briand had hardly seen the British arms placed over the gates of our city, before he perceived that God had transferred to England the dominion of the country; that with the change of possessors our duties had changed their direction; that the ties which heretofore bound us to France were broken; and that our Capitulations and the Treaty of Cession of 1763 were so many engagements which bound us to Great Britain and to submit to her Sovereign; and perceived what none had comprehended, that religion itself might gain by the change of Government, etc. Mgr.

CANADIAN SCENERY VIEW NEAR TORONTO, ONTARIO.

Briand had for a maxim that there are no true Christians, sincere Catholics, but such as submit to their lawful Sovereign. He had heard from Jesus Christ that we must 'render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's'; from St. Paul, that every soul must submit to the established authorities; that those who resist the powers that be, resist God Himself, and by that resistance incur damnation; from the chief of the Apostles, that the King does not carry the sword in vain; that he must be honoured in obedience to God, *propter Deum*, both in his own person as in the persons of his officers and those to whom he confides his authority, *sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis*. Such, Christians, are, in this matter, the principles of our holy religion; principles which we cannot too earnestly inculcate, nor submit too frequently to your consideration, since they form part of that Gospel morality in conformity to which depends your salvation. Nevertheless, when we occasionally hold forth observations on this head, you murmur against us, you complain with bitterness and accuse us of interested and political motives, and believe that we exceed the duties of our ministry. Ah, my brethren, what injustice! Did you ever read that the first of the faithful so reproached the Apostles, or that they so reproached the Saviour of the world, when he expounded to them the same doctrine? Cease, then, to endeavour to induce us to silence; for notwithstanding your reproaches, we shall never cease to repeat, be faithful subjects or renounce the name of Christians.

On the invasion of 1775, our illustrious Prelate was acquainted with the scruples, or rather the illusion of a part of the people on that occasion. But he would have ceased to be worthy of his elevation if such a consideration would have induced him to vary in his principles or abstain from acting on them. Without apprehension of the consequence, he hastened to prescribe to all the Curés of his Diocese the conduct which they had to observe on this delicate occasion. All received his mandates with respect and communicated them to their flocks. The Prelate preached by example, shutting himself up in the besieged capital. God blessed this resolution; the people after some incertitude defended themselves with zeal and courage. At the end of several months a favourable wind dispelled the storm. The Assyrians in dismay retired in disorder; Bethulia was delivered, the Province preserved, and our temples resounded with the songs of victory and thanksgiving."

The Church and the War of 1812. During this important struggle much depended upon the attitude of the French Canadians. Had they favoured the Americans, even passively, the result of the struggle might have been far different—or at the least more difficult of attainment. As it was, the Church of the people of Quebec once more proved itself a power in the land and one which could be relied upon to stand by Great Britain and the maintenance of stable British institutions. The following *Mandement* instructing the public in loyal principles was issued by Bishop Plessis on Sept. 16th, 1807, and, some years before the war began instructed the Catholics of the Province in their duty to the State. It is translated from Volume III. of the "Mandements des Eveques de Quebec":

"We have never ceased, my very dear brothers, to inculcate in you on all occasions the principles of loyalty, respect and attachment with which you should be filled for our august Sovereign and his Government. We have repeated to you many times that those words of the chief of the Apostles, 'Fear God, honour the King' (2 Peter, ii. 17), were not only a counsel but a precept and an essential article of religious morals; that your fathers in the faith have ever followed no other doctrine; that, subject to hard and imperious masters, to pagan Emperors and to obstinate persecutors, they have not considered themselves freed from that obedience and fidelity which should attach the subjects to the Sovereign; that, taught by the Apostle of the Gentiles, they were subject to their civil superiors 'not only for wrath, but for God and for conscience' sake' (Rom. xiii. 5). We might add that, even in our own day, thousands of Catholics still groan under oppressive laws; that, hindered in the exercise of their religion, they are subject to privations and disabilities which religion alone could render supportable; that, defamed, calumniated, betrayed and 'hated for the name of Jesus Christ' (Matt. x. 22), they none the less scrupulously observe the precept

which their Divine Master has left to them, to 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' as they render 'to God the things that are God's' (Ibid. xxii. 21).

The thought of their suffering contrasting with the happiness which you enjoy, my very dear brothers, must render it infinitely precious to you. You have not for a Sovereign one of those hard and cruel masters of whom St. Peter speaks (2 Peter ii. 18), but a King who 'beareth the sword not in vain' (Rom. xiii. 4), since it is constantly drawn in your defence; a King who every day gives you fresh proof of his paternal affections; a King under whose protection each one of you can freely perform your religious duties; a King who allows you the happiness of peace, in the midst of the horrors of war which desolate Europe, and in which he has been engaged for the last fifteen years; a King who, in according to you a liberal constitution on the model of that of the United Kingdom, has found in his goodness and in that of his august Parliament the means of preserving to you your ancient property laws, and it would be difficult to find a similar advantage in any of the Colonies subject to Great Britain—this alone should suffice to awaken in you sentiments of the strongest gratitude. These are the reflections that present themselves to the mind and which we have not ceased to bring before our hearers alike in our public instructions and our private conversations. You have made these reflections yourselves, my dear brothers; you are filled with them; you have understood that your interests were not apart from those of Great Britain; you are convinced, as we are, that it is impossible to be a good Christian without being a loyal and faithful subject; that you would be unworthy the name of Catholics and Canadians if, forgetting the rules of your holy religion, and the example of your ancestors, you should show either disloyalty, or even indifference, when it is a question of doing your duty, as subjects devoted to the interests of your Sovereign and the defence of your country. So you have not waited until this Province should be menaced by an imminent invasion, or even until war was declared, to give proofs of your zeal and of your good will for the public service.

At the mere suspicion, at the first appearance of a rupture with the neighbouring States, you have shown what you ought to be, that is to say, ready to undertake and to sacrifice all, rather than expose yourselves to a change of government, and to lose the inestimable advantages which your present situation assures you. The King's representative has deemed it wise to issue an order to raise a fifth of the militia. This order has been received with all suitable respect by the commanding officers of each battalion. The laudable ardour with which they have put it into execution has been communicated from the staff officers to the subalterns, and from them to the entire companies. On every side is to be found zeal and ardour, on every side volunteers whose ardour has to be repressed in order not to exceed the number of men required. This first success, of which the Colony has not shown an example at any previous time, assures us beforehand that the same loyalty will be sustained when it becomes necessary to assemble picked militiamen in each parish for effective service, and that it will redouble if ever an inimical power forces you to arms. Blessed be, my dear brothers, the God of all comfort (2 Cor. i. 3) who has put in your hearts so good a disposition. Let us beseech Him to 'scatter the people that delight in war' (Ps. lxviii. 30), and to give them so high an idea of your courage that it will turn them from attacking you, or reduce them soon to ask for peace. But if it be the will of God that you undergo the scourge of war, at least live with so much piety, sobriety and justice (Tit. ii. 12) that you may preserve 'in your hearts and in your minds that peace of God which passeth all understanding,' and which we never cease to ask of Him for you. Now, while waiting till the result of events shall show the designs of God concerning this country, which will always be for His greatest glory, we believe it our duty to render to Him the most humble thanks for the good feeling which He has inspired in the subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty in this Province for the honour of their religion, the service of their King and the defence of their country."

A little later, when American missionaries began to stir up the people by all sorts of promises and vague eulogiums of republican liberty and so-called fraternity, the Bishop, on March

21st, 1810, issued the following Circular Letter to the Curés of his Diocese :

"This letter accompanies a Proclamation of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, tending to destroy the dangerous impressions which might have arisen in the minds of the subjects of the Province by the circulation of certain writings designed to create distrust, estrangement and contempt for the Executive Power of His Majesty. His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief has charged us to notify you of his positive intention that you yourselves should all publish this Proclamation to the people of your respective parishes, as he has a right to demand in virtue of the Provincial Statute of the 11th of August, 1803, which you may consult. The condescension with which the Governor-in-Chief wishes, in this Proclamation, to explain his conduct to the subjects of this Province, the paternal language in which he expresses it, the confidence which he manifests in you, the certainty which he has of your influence over the people, and the good use you will make of it; these are so many motives which should excite your ardour to second his views, solely directed towards the happiness of our country.

You will however only imperfectly fulfil his intentions, if you limit yourselves to the publication which he orders and which none of you can avoid. His Excellency expects further, that in your public instructions, as in your private conversations, you should not allow any occasion to escape in which you can give the people to understand that its future happiness rests on the affection, respect and confidence which it shows in the Government.

We do not add here that you are, yourselves, closely interested in maintaining the flock in the respect and submission which they owe to the Sovereign and to those who represent him, because we know that, independently of all interest, the clergy of this Diocese have always made high profession of those principles which are founded on the most solid of all bases, the thorough knowledge of the maxims of the holy religion which we preach to the people; which is essentially inimical to independence and to all rash reflection on the conduct of the persons whom God has established as our Governors. May all your parishioners engrave deeply in their minds and in their hearts those beautiful words of the chief of the Apostles which you will not fail to inculcate when necessary, 'Therefore submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by Him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well; for so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness.' 1. Peter ii., 13 et. seq."

The result of these and many similar efforts was the victory of Chateauguay and other splendid evidences of French-Canadian loyalty.

Early Claims and Position of the Church. The War of 1812 naturally helped to strengthen the position and consolidate the privileges of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. It would have been bad policy, as well as an unjust one, to refuse the fullest acknowledgment of guaranteed rights at a time when Great Britain and Canada were engaged in conflict with the neighbouring Republic. Hence it was that Bishop Plessis, whose loyalty was sincere and undoubted, obtained at this time a clear recognition of several claims which he had been pressing upon Imperial attention. In May, 1812, he presented to Governor-General Sir George Prevost a Report dealing with the past, present and future status of the clergy in Canada :

"Before the Conquest," he stated in this Memorial, "the Canadian Bishops governed their Dioceses in the same way as the Bishops of France ruled theirs; namely, in accordance with the canons of the Church and in conformity to Royal ordinances. They had a Cathedral chapter, composed of five dignitaries and twelve Canons—an ecclesiastical corps this, over which they exercised full Episcopal jurisdiction, as well as over the parish clergy, and the communities of *religieuses*. They presided in synod, erected parishes, nominated priests to parochial charges and revoked those nominations at discretion; made visitations of churches, monasteries, and other consecrated localities; they issued ordinances regarding discipline and correct morals which clergy and laity alike were bound to regard; they examined and audited the accounts of the moneys expended in building, repairing, and keeping up churches, etc.; they also regulated the levying and outlay of the moneys provided for such purposes; in fine, they had the absolute control of the whole ecclesiastical and religious establishments of the Colony—and nothing could be done in regard to the secular clergy, or to the material condition or resources of the parish churches or monasteries, without their order or by their approbation. Their supervision extended even to the schools. Since the Conquest, the British Government having refused to recognize Bishops for Canada coming from France, the Chapter, which was charged with the administra-

tion of the Diocese while the See was vacant, considered itself as placed in a position like that of Cathedral chapters in times anterior to the Concordats, when the Bishop was elected by the clergy of his Cathedral church, whose choice was usually confirmed by the Metropolitan or by the Pope, and recognized by the Sovereign. By a capitulary Act, A.D. 1764, M. Briand, a member of the Chapter, and one of the Vicars-General, was elected Bishop of Quebec. Despite the recommendations of Governor Murray, the British Ministry refused to formally approve of this election; but an intimation was given that no steps would be taken to call it in question. The Court of Rome having granted sanctioning bulls, M. Briand was Episcopally consecrated at Paris in 1766. Returning to Canada, he exercised his functions without let or hindrance, upon taking the oath of fealty to His Majesty. The Cathedral chapter, constantly reduced in number by deaths, and having no sufficient pecuniary maintenance, became gradually extinct. Its last capitulary assembly took place September 10, 1773; and the latest surviving Canon died in 1796. With the consent of Sir Guy Carleton, one Episcopal coadjutor had been nominated in 1772, who was to replace the Bishop in case he deceased or resigned.

Bishop Plessis, in continuation, observed that the Bishops (ever since the cession of the Colony to Great Britain by France) had constantly made, and himself still made, professions of the most scrupulous loyalty; and had sought, on every occasion, to inculcate submission to the Government in the minds both of clergy and laity. As it was well known that the Canadian Bishops never aimed at exercising any other than spiritual authority over the Catholics within their Diocese, this rightful jurisdiction had never been contested by the contemporary civil authorities, nor their Episcopal titles disputed till within a few recent years, during which a few jealous persons, covering hostile designs with the plausible pretext of a zeal for Royal interests and prerogatives, had started debates as to the legality of a canonical and inoffensive authority such as that just described. In 1806, a Crown lawyer had deposited in a Quebec Court a requisition calling in question the right of jurisdiction of any Catholic Prelate within a British dependency; and invoking against it the penal operation of certain English Parliamentary Statutes. The effect of this, had it been put into action, would have been the practical abolition of Roman Catholic Episcopacy in Canada.

The Bishop concluded by demanding that he and his successors should be formally recognized by the civil power as Catholic "Bishops of Quebec," with collateral jurisdiction in things spiritual over all the other Catholic populations in every part of British North America: until, at all events, an agreement were come to between the See of Rome and the King of Great Britain that additional Colonial Episcopates for governing other Catholic populations should be established. He stipulated that Episcopal rights should, in future, be as extensive as before; that no new Catholic parish should be created without Episcopal intervention; that the Bishop's right to nominate to vacant parochial charges and to supply missionary priests, should be maintained; that the proprietary right of the Bishop to the Episcopal palace should be confirmed, and that he should be authorized to enter upon possession of it at a future time. Finally, without demanding an assignment of revenue for himself, he intimated that it would be advantageous to the civil government if such were accorded; also, that it would be equally beneficial for all parties if he were allowed to take his seat at each of the Council boards, as the representative of the Catholic Church of Canada. These demands were the more favourably received on account of the loyal zeal M. Plessis constantly manifested and ever sought to communicate to the whole clerical body, and were eventually granted. In the year 1813, Sir George Prevost suggested that £1,000 a year should be paid to the Catholic Prelate; and the Protestant Bishop in vain asked that the jurisdiction and title of the Catholic Bishop should be suppressed—observing, with some logical force, that nothing could be more anomalous than to recognize two titulars for one Diocese. Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, to whom the remonstrance was addressed, put it aside with the simple but conclusive remark that the present was not a fitting time, when Canadian Catholics were fighting the battles of Britain, to agitate about such a matter.

Loyalty of the Church in 1837. During the Rebellion of 1837, as in the War of 1812, the

attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec was extremely loyal and eminently conservative. The See of Quebec was filled by Bishop Signay, who warmly approved the following important *Mandement* addressed by his Episcopal auxilliary, Bishop Lartigue of Montreal, to the clergy and people of that Diocese on October 24th, 1837:

"For a length of time back, dear brethren, we hear of nothing but agitation, and even of revolt, and this is in a country which has hitherto been distinguished by its loyalty, its spirit of peace, its love for the religion of its fathers. On every side we behold brothers rise up against their brothers, friends against their friends, citizens against their fellow-citizens; and discord from one extremity of this Diocese to the other seems to have burst asunder the bonds of charity which united the members of the same body, the children of the same Church, the children of Catholicity, which is a religion of unity. In circumstances of such moment, the only position that we can take, is, not merely to stand to an opinion (which nevertheless, as citizens, we and our worthy fellow-labourers in the holy ministry should have, equally with others, the right of emitting) but to act up to the obligation which the Apostle of the Gentiles imposes upon us by saying: Woe is unto me if I speak not the Gospel; for a necessity lieth upon me! *Necessitas cum mihi incumbit.* 1. Cor. ix. 16.

No, dear brethren, not one of you is ignorant of these truths: that the duties of the different members of society form as essentially a part of Christian morality as the duties of the different members of a family; that this Divine code of morality is a portion of the sacred deposit of Faith, which has been transmitted to us by the pure channel of Scripture and Tradition; and that we, as successors of the Apostles, are bound to transmit it to you with equal fidelity. There is moreover, nothing that can render us the object of suspicion. In our veins, as in yours, flows Canadian blood; we have given frequent proofs of the love we have for our dear and common country; and, as the Apostle, so can we take God to witness, how we long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ. Philip. i. v. 8. Besides, you know that we never received anything from the civil government—as we expect from it nothing but that justice which is due to every British subject. And we bear testimony to the truth, when we solemnly protest that, in speaking to you on the present occasion, we speak of ourselves, impelled by no exterior influence but solely actuated by motives of conscience. It is not, then, our intention to give an opinion, as a citizen, on this purely political question: Among the different branches of government, which is in the right, or which is in the wrong? This is one of those things which God has delivered to the consideration of men—*mundum tradidit disputationi eorum*—but the moral question, namely, what is the duty of a Catholic towards the civil power established and constituted in each State? This religious question falling within our jurisdiction and competency, it is undoubtedly the province of your Bishop to give you all necessary instruction on this subject, and your province is to listen to him. For, as the celebrated Lamennais says, 'Bishops being commissioned by the Holy Ghost to govern the Church of God under the direction of the Sovereign Pontiff, we protest that we believe that in everything which appertains to the spiritual administration of each Diocese, clergy and laity ought faithfully to obey the orders of the Bishop instituted by the Pope.'

This then, is what the sacred Scriptures teach you on the above question, 'Let every soul,' says St. Paul, Rom. xiii., 'be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation. The ruler is the minister of God to them for good. He beareth not the sword in vain. For he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil, wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath but also for conscience sake.'—Rom. c. i., v. 1, 2, 3. 'Be ye subject, therefore,' adds St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, 'to every human creature for God's sake; whether it be to the King, as excelling; or to the Governors as sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of the good. For so is the will of God. As free and not as

making liberty of malice, but as the servants of God, honour the King. Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thanks worthy, if for conscience towards God, a man endure sorrows, suffering wrongfully,'—1st Peter, c. ii, v. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

Such, dear brethren, are the oracles of the Holy Ghost, as we find them in the sacred volume; such the doctrines of Jesus Christ, as the Apostles Peter and Paul had learned it from the mouth of their Divine Master. But clear as these words may be in themselves, a Christian does not interpret the word of God by his own private judgment; he knows that it is a fundamental point of his faith that the sacred Scriptures, as St. Peter assures us,(2nd Ep. i. 20,) are not to be understood according to each one's private interpretation; and that it belongs to our mother the Catholic Church alone to expound them to us according to the decision of Jesus Christ in the Gospel; 'If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican'—St. Mat. xiii. 17. Now, his present Holiness, Gregory XVI., has expounded from his pontifical chair, these passages of Scripture. He has interpreted the passages which we have cited from the sacred volume, according to the doctrine of the holy Fathers, and the perpetual tradition of the Church, from its establishment down to the present day; he has dictated their true meaning to the Christian world, in his Encyclical letter, addressed in the beginning of his Pontificate to the Bishops in every part of the world. Not a solitary Bishop since that period has raised his voice against the doctrine of that letter, so that it has received at least the tacit consent of the great body of Pastors, and consequently, it must be looked upon as an authoritative decision in point of doctrine.

'As we have learned,' says the Holy Father, (it is not our voice that you are now going to hear, but that of the Vicar of Jesus Christ) 'as we have learned that writings disseminated among the people proclaim doctrines which shake the fidelity and submission due to Princes and cause the standard of revolt to be raised on all sides, it becomes necessary to use every precaution to prevent deluded multitudes from being drawn out of the line of duty. Let all bear in mind, according to the advice of the Apostle, that there is no power but from God; and therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation. Both human and divine laws rise up in condemnation of those who by schemes of sedition and revolt endeavour to shake allegiance to Princes, and hurl them from the throne. It was for this reason and in order to avoid sullying themselves with such a crime, that the first Christians, amidst the fury of persecution, remained faithful to the Emperors and sought, as it is certain they did, the interests of the Empire. Of this they gave abundant proofs, not only by faithfully executing every order that was not contrary to religion, but by shedding their blood on the field of battle. The Christian soldiers, says St. Augustine (Psalm 124, No. 7), served a heathen Empire; but when there was question of the cause of Jesus Christ, they acknowledged only Him who reigns in heaven. They distinguished the eternal from their temporal Lord; and yet for the sake of their eternal Lord, they were submissive to their temporal one. This it was that the invincible martyr, St. Mauritius, commander of the Theban Legion, had before his eyes, when, as St. Encherius relates, he answered the Emperor: "We are your soldiers, Prince, but we are at the same time the servants of God; and now, even the danger of losing our lives, with which we are threatened, does not induce us to revolt. We have our arms in our hands, and we resist not; because we prefer to suffer death rather than to inflict it." This fidelity of the Christians of old acquires new lustre, if we remark with Tertullian, that they were deficient neither in number nor in power, had they chosen to declare themselves enemies to the State.

These splendid examples of inviolable submission to Princes, which were the necessary consequences of the precepts of the Christian religion, condemn the error of those who, infatuated with the love of unbridled liberty, direct all their efforts against the rights of authority, "whilst upon the people they entail only slavery under the mask of liberty. Such was the tendency of the evil designs of the Waldenses, of the Begnards, of the Wyckliffites and others against whom the anathemas of the Apostolical See

have been so frequently directed; and they who walk in their footsteps have no other object in view but to boast with Luther that they are free from all control of persons and of things." "It is on your part an obligation of duty,' adds the same Pontiff, in his Brief of July, 1832, to the Bishops of Poland, 'it is on your part an obligation of duty to watch with the utmost care, lest evil-minded men, propagators of false doctrine, spread among your flocks the contagion of demoralizing theories. These men, with zeal for the public good in their mouths, impose upon the credulity of simple men, who blindly become their tools in disturbing the public peace and overthrowing the established order of things. For the good, and for the honour of the Disciples of Jesus Christ, it is fitting that their false doctrines should be exposed: the falseness of the principles must be shown by the immutable word of the Sacred Scriptures, and by the indisputable monuments of the Tradition of the Church.'

Such is the doctrine of the supreme Pastor of souls, of the venerable Pontiff now sitting on the eternal chair, in conjunction with the Documents of the Church in all ages and in all places. You must now feel, dear brethren, that we could not, without violating our duty, and endangering our personal salvation, neglect the direction of your consciences in circumstances so critical. For, as a Catholic cannot pretend to choose what point of faith he will admit, and what point he will reject; and as St. James says, (Ep. c. 2., v. 10) he, who offends in one point, is become guilty of all, the present question amounts to nothing less than this—whether you will choose to maintain or whether you will choose to abandon the laws of your religion. Should then, any one wish to engage you in a revolt against the established Government, under the pretext that you form a part of the sovereign people, suffer not yourselves to be seduced. The too famous National Convention of France, though obliged to admit the principle of the sovereignty of the people, because it was to this principle that it owed its existence, took good care to condemn popular insurrections by inserting in the Declaration of Rights which heads the Constitution of 1795, that the sovereignity resides, not in a part, not even in the majority of the people, but in the entire body of the citizens; adding that no individual, that no partial union of citizens can pretend to the sovereignty. But who will dare to say that in this country the totality of citizens desires the overthrow of the Government?

We conclude, dear brethren, by appealing to your noble and generous hearts. Did you ever seriously reflect on the horrors of a civil war? Did you ever represent to yourselves your towns and your hamlets deluged with blood, the innocent and the guilty carried off by the same tide of calamity and woe? Did you ever reflect on what experience teaches, that almost without exception, every popular revolution is a work of blood? Did you ever reflect that even the Philosopher of Geneva, the great upholder of the sovereignty of the people, says himself, that a revolution which costs only one drop of blood would be too dearly bought? We leave these important reflections to your feelings of humanity, and to your sentiments as Christians."

Signed by the Right Rev. Jean Jacques Lartigue, Bishop of Montreal, this Charge was ordered by him to be read and published at the parochial or principal mass of each church in the Diocese, on the first Sunday or Festival after its reception. This *Mandement* or pastoral letter had a wide influence. The Catholic clergy of Montreal put themselves in communication with those of Quebec and endeavoured to obtain the aid of the Executive Council in getting up a conjoint application to the Home authorities, for the prompt concession of such reforms as would satisfy a majority of the Canadian people, and thus appease the troubles of the time. Events, however, moved too rapidly to avert a measure of bloodshed. But although the Church could not altogether prevent the conflict it could hold back the mass of the people in the Province from sharing in it, and this great service to the Crown was certainly rendered.

The Most Rev. Ignace Bourget, D.D., Second Bishop of Montreal and Archbishop of Martianapolis, was born at Pointe Levis, P.Q., on 30th October, 1799, and was educated at Nicolet and the Seminary of Quebec. He was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Lartigue, whose Secretary he became soon after. In 1836 he was

appointed Vicar-General, and in March, 1837, was nominated Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal, with the title of Bishop of Telmessa. The care of the Diocese really devolved on him from his consecration, as for several years before his death in 1840, Bishop Lartigue had withdrawn from active work. When Mgr. Bourget assumed charge of the See, it comprised St. Hyacinthe and Ottawa, as well as Montreal. The young Bishop undertook its jurisdiction and the ensuing labours with characteristic energy. He sought the help of a number of Orders, including the Oblates, the Jesuits, the fraternities of St. Viator and the Holy Cross, and established from fifteen to twenty religious communities for charity, education, and in various other spheres of usefulness. His vigilance was incessant. Nothing escaped his notice. His pen and tongue were ever busy in the Church's services. The poor he did much to relieve. When fire devastated Montreal, when ship fever cast thousands of sufferers on the benevolence of strangers, Bishop Bourget appealed to the sympathies of his people, and never appealed in vain. He was proud of Canada, and lost no opportunity of stirring up the patriotic sentiments of his flock. He was equally devoted to the Holy See, which found in him a valiant, vigourous and continuous upholder. His writings would fill several volumes. Some of his *Mandements* have been greatly commended for grace of style, as well as for learning and force. In the unhappy controversies which divided opinion in Montreal during a portion of Mgr. Bourget's administration, the Bishop took a decided stand and maintained it without swerving. He had little sympathy for "the spirit of the age," which he denounced unsparingly, disdaining any compromise with what he considered entirely evil. The Holy See did not fail to mark its appreciation of Mgr. Bourget's services. In 1862 he was created a Roman Count and Assistant at the Pontifical throne. Though he made many journeys to Rome, his life was, by choice and habit, largely that of a recluse. In 1876 he resigned his See owing to age and infirmities, and partly, perhaps, on account of the difficulties arising from questions which at that time greatly disturbed the Church and its people in Montreal. He was raised to the rank of Archbishop, with Martianopolis as his distinctive title. He spent his closing years at Sault-au-Recollet, where he died on 8th June, 1885. The following editorial summary of his character and career appeared in *The Week* of June 25, 1885:

"Of the eulogies pronounced over the grave of Archbishop Bourget in Quebec, only a faint echo is heard in Ontario. That the late Archbishop was a remarkable man in his way, and that he long exerted great influence in Lower Canada is unquestionable. Of feeble frame and iron will he was able to perform, and did perform prodigies of labour. For months together he would take only one meal a day, sleeping very little, and spend nearly the whole of the time in praying and working. Using himself in this way does not appear to have shortened his life, for he lived to reach his 87th year. Under his Episcopal guidance the religious communities in the Diocese of Montreal underwent a steady development. The convents increased from ten to thirty-seven, and over forty new religious communities and institutions were established. The Bishop thought himself perpetually commissioned to reform or to transform everything—morals, politics, literature—and he undertook a censorship of manners, of the press, of literature, and the direction of politics. In carrying out this impossible task his zeal sometimes greatly over-ran his discretion. In public libraries frequented by Roman Catholics he would permit the use of no books the reading of which he chose to forbid. His anathema struck the *Institut-Canadien* with the blight of death. One refractory newspaper after another he found the means of bringing to an untimely end."

The Most Rev. Charles Francois Baillargeon, Archbishop of Quebec, was born on the 26th of April, 1798, at Isle Aux Grues, a place about thirty miles from Quebec. His father belonged to an ancient Canadian family, whose ancestor had come to this country about the year 1650. He was however, in humble circumstances, and his son was indebted for the first education he received to the local Curé. When considerably advanced in his elementary studies, the good Curé placed him in the little College of St. Pierre, where he remained for a year; and in 1814 he was transferred to the Seminary of Nicolet, where he passed a course of four years. During these years of study and preparation for the active duties of the calling towards which his desires had always been directed, he displayed great

aptitude for learning, and seems to have commanded the respect and admiration of his preceptors. In 1818 he received the tonsure and was also appointed Professor of Rhetoric at the Seminary of St. Roch, the duties of which position he discharged with great ability and assiduity, at the same time continuing to pursue his theological studies in order to qualify himself for the priesthood. On the 1st of June, 1822, M. Baillargeon, being then in his 25th year, was ordained priest by Bishop Plessis, and appointed by him Chaplain to the Church of St. Roch. The following

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year he resigned his Professorship at the Seminary, and continued at St. Roch until 1827, when he was appointed Curé of St. Francois de Sales, on the Island of Orleans. From this he was transferred the following year to L'Ange Gardien. In the year 1831 he was appointed to the Parish of Quebec, where he laboured for many years with great zeal, winning the confidence of the Hierarchy and the admiration of the people.

In 1850 the Bishops having resolved to send an agent to Rome to treat of certain ecclesiastical matters, selected M. Baillargeon for the mission, who left during the summer of that year for the Eternal City. He had not been more than three months in Rome when the then Archbishop died, and his coadjutor, Bishop Turgeon, succeeded to the Archiepiscopal See. Archbishop Turgeon was then in feeble health, and he at once applied to Rome for a Coadjutor, recommending the elevation of M. Baillargeon to the Episcopate and his appointment to that office. The latter is said to have been reluctant to assume such grave responsibilities, and it was only at the earnest solicitations of the Pope that he accepted the mitre. He was accordingly consecrated as Bishop of Tloa on the 23rd February, 1851. From that time until 1855 he laboured actively throughout the Diocese, assisting the Archbishop in its administration. When Archbishop Turgeon's health completely gave way in the year mentioned, Bishop Baillargeon became Administrator, and so continued for twelve years. The death of the Archbishop, in August, 1867, conferred upon the former the title as well as the duties of the Archbishopric. How well His Grace filled his important place can hardly be dealt with here, but the wide esteem in which he was held throughout the Church and the honours paid to his memory showed that he must have acquitted himself with force and ability.

He was a man of great learning, and even found relaxation from the fatigues of his Episcopal duties in the study of philosophical and scientific subjects. In 1816 he had pledged himself to revisit the Seminary of Nicolet in fifty years if God should spare his life so long, and accordingly on the 24th of May, 1866, he presented himself there and delivered an address to the students, exhorting them to cherish the desire for knowledge in which the most elevating and healthful relaxation could always be found. In 1846 he published a French translation of the New Testament, a revised edition of which, with additional notes, appeared in 1865. In 1862, Bishop Baillargeon made his second visit to Rome to assist at the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, and on that occasion was appointed Assistant at the Pontifical throne and made a Roman Count. His third and last visit was to attend the famous Vatican Council. He died on October

13th, 1870. His obsequies were of a most imposing character. Besides the high functionaries of Quebec, ecclesiastical and civil there were present at the funeral six Bishops and nearly two hundred priests. The military also took part in the procession. The services at the Cathedral were attended with all the dignity and grandeur of ceremonial which the solemn occasion demanded according to the custom of the Church.

Monseigneur Edouard Charles Fabre, D.D., Archbishop of Montreal, was born in the city of Montreal on February 28th, 1827. He came of a leading French Canadian family, his father at one time having been Mayor of Montreal. The future Archbishop received his preparatory education at the Seminary of St. Hyacinthe, where he had as class-mates the late Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface, and Bishop McIntyre, of Charlottetown. When sixteen years old he went to France and followed the course of Philosophy at the Seminary of Issy—amongst his class-mates being the future Cardinal Lavigerie, the eminent Archbishop of Algiers, and many others who afterwards gained high distinction in the Church. Having received the tonsure from Archbishop Affré of Paris he returned to Canada in 1846, and resided in the Bishopric of Montreal until 1850, when he was ordained to the priesthood by Mgr. Prince. He was then appointed to a charge at Sorel, and in 1852 was named Curé of Point Clair, near Montreal. In 1854 Bishop Bourget recalled him to Montreal and named him a Canon. He continued to be attached to the Bishopric until April 1st, 1873, when he was appointed Bishop of Gratianopolis and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Montreal, with the right of succession. He was consecrated at the Church of the Gesu on May 1st, 1873, by Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Taschereau, assisted by Bishop Pinsonneault, and Bishop Lafléche. On Bishop Bourget resigning, owing to ill-health, Mgr. Fabre became Bishop of Montreal on the 11th May, 1876. In 1886 he was raised to the dignity of an Archbishop. During the twenty-three years of his Episcopacy Monseigneur Fabre was a hard worker, personally visiting every parish in his immense Diocese and performing a part of the Episcopal ceremonies. He assisted at four Councils, and ordained hundreds of priests who are now scattered throughout the world. Amongst those whom he consecrated as Bishops are Archbishop O'Brien, of Halifax; Bishop Lorrain; Bishop Emard, of Valleyfield; Bishop Decelles, of St. Hyacinthe; Bishop Larocque, of Sherbrooke; and Archbishop Langevin, of St. Boniface. He was a warm friend of the various educational and religious orders, which he strongly encouraged throughout the Diocese. The Archbishop was distinguished by a breadth of view and a sweetness of disposition which endeared him to men of all classes and creeds, and his death in 1896 was mourned by all portions of the community. As an illustration of this popular opinion the following Address may be quoted. It was read by Mayor Desjardins of Montreal at a great gathering on May 1st, 1893, in St. Peter's Cathedral, held in honour of the 20th anniversary of the Archbishop's consecration, and is of more than personal interest:

"To-day twenty years ago, the holy oil was poured upon your sacerdotal brow, and to you was imparted the sacred character of the successors of the Apostles. Your science and your virtues, your indefatigable zeal for the salvation of souls, your tender solicitude for the spiritual welfare of young men, a particular interest manifested on all occasions for the moral as well as the material welfare of the working classes, had long since pointed you out for the Episcopal throne. Your election was deemed a happy event for all the Catholics of this Diocese. On this day, after having seen you at work during these twenty years of Episcopacy, we, the Catholics of Montreal, who have more specially benefitted by your work, say to Your Lordship with a heart full of gratitude that you have well justified all our hopes.

Yes, Monseigneur, to you whom Providence reserved, among other beautiful and noble missions, the task, as difficult as it was glorious, of carrying on the works commenced by a great Bishop, we can render this testimony that your illustrious predecessor would himself render you if it were given to him to see with mortal eyes this magnificent Cathedral, the plans of which he had conceived, and the foundations of which he had laid, and in which he asked that his tomb be placed—this temple which it is now given to you to see ready to be opened for the worship of God—this monument erected to His glory by the faith of the Catholics of this Archdiocese as manifesting their attachment to the See of St.

Peter. And how much more progress during these last twenty years, so well filled; educational establishments to answer the ever-increasing demands; asylums for the indigent; monastic institutions; the erection of numerous parishes rendered necessary by the constant increase of the population in your Archiepiscopal city, or destined to secure the conquests of colonization on our new lands open to cultivation; reform of ecclesiastical discipline in many matters; all works having received their consummation by the fortunate transformation of this Diocese into an Archiepiscopal See which raises our city to the

The Most Rev. Archbishop Fabre.

dignity of the metropolitan city of an important Ecclesiastical Province.

But, Monseigneur, this work accomplished in less than a quarter of a century could not be done without resistance and struggle. Your zeal was never moderated by the sorrows of resistance; and tempered by faith and an entire devotion to the interests of the Church, you have never ceased to work for their triumph. We are traversing a period when constituted authority seems to have become an object of special hostility and attack, and it is with profound regret that we are compelled to admit that it is no longer possible for us to say that Canada has escaped from this spirit of disorder. By a bitter attack on the acts of religious and civil authority some have undertaken for some time past to destroy its *prestige* and strength. By sarcasm, ridicule and the disseminating of a scandal caused by individual weakness, they have undertaken to sow defiance and contempt of the natural leaders of our society.

They have gone further, Monseigneur, and it is for that purpose that, with ranks closed around your person, the Catholic population of your city comes to assure you of its devotion, its respect and submission to you, its spiritual leader, and to denounce with you the unfortunate tendencies that it is sought to introduce into the minds of the people, and to affirm, as worthy of respect, what our fathers have always respected, and to defend always what they have taught us at the cost of so many sacrifices to love and preserve.

His Eminence, Elzear Alexandre Taschereau, Cardinal Priest and Archbishop of Quebec, was born in 1820 at St. Marie de la Beauce, P.Q. Of an old and prominent French-Canadian family, when a mere boy he distinguished himself at the Quebec Seminary and later at the Grand Seminary, where he studied theology. In 1836 he paid his first visit to Rome and in the following year received the tonsure, after which he returned to Quebec where he studied for the next six years. Although still under canonical age he was ordained priest in 1843 and shortly afterwards was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the Seminary—an important position which he held for twelve years. Earlier than this, in 1838, he had held the Professorship of Latin and Greek, and in 1841 was Professor of Rhetoric. In 1847 he endeared himself to the Irish Roman Catholics of the Province by his heroism in facing the malignant fever which had broken out among the emigrants at Grosse Isle, and which brought him to death's door. In 1851 Father Taschereau was appointed Professor of Theology in the Seminary and three years afterwards he again visited Rome where he studied for two years and received the degree of Doctor of Canon Law from the Roman Seminary. On his return to Quebec he was appointed Director of *Le Petit Seminaire*, a position which he filled till in 1859 he was elected Director of the Grand Seminary and appointed a Member of the Council of Public Instruction for Lower Canada. The next year he became Superior of the Seminary and Rector of Laval University.

Two years later, having again visited Rome in connection with the University, he was appointed Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Quebec, and in 1870 succeeded Mgr. Baillargeon as Archbishop of Quebec. He paid several other visits to Rome and in 1886 was created a Cardinal Priest with the title of Sainte Marie de la Victoire. He was the first Canadian to be so honoured, and Protestants and Roman Catholics were alike proud of their fellow-countryman in his receipt of an honour which was universally recognized as just and well merited. He was presented with an address of congratulation from the Legislative Assembly of Quebec Province and the Mayor and City Council of Quebec, and was afterwards féted in that city and in Montreal, Toronto and elsewhere. He received the insignia from the Pope's hands at Rome on March 17th, 1887. His Eminence in December, 1891, retired from the administration of his Diocese, and Mgr. L. N. Bégin, his Coadjutor, was appointed Administrator. One of his latest acts was to sign a petition with the other Archbishops and Bishops of his Church in Canada praying Parliament to disallow the Public Schools Act of Manitoba, and also to remedy certain grievances complained of by the Roman Catholics of the North-West Territory on account of the educational policy of that Province. He was the author of "Remarques sur le Mémoire de L'Evêque des Trois-Revières sur les difficultés Religieuises en Canada." Cardinal Taschereau died on April 12th, 1898, and was buried amid many signs of sorrow and with much pomp and ceremony.

The Most Rev. John Joseph Lynch, D.D., Archbishop of Toronto, was born near Clones, County Monaghan, Ireland, in 1816. From his earliest years he had been intended for the priesthood, and when sixteen years of age commenced his classical studies, and soon after entered a College of the Carmelite Brothers near Clondalkin. In 1835 he entered St. Vincent's College, Castleknock. Here he rose to the position of Superior long before the period at which such a dignity would ordinarily have been conferred upon him. In 1839 he was sent abroad to pursue his theological studies at the Mission of St. Lazare in Paris. In 1841 he took upon him the vows of the Order, and in 1843 was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Murray, of Dublin. He had a great longing for a missionary life, and in 1846 his wish was gratified, when he was sent to Texas, U.S.A., with Dr. Dain, Vicar-Apostolic of Texas. There he spent two or three years, travelling over almost the entire area of the State, where there were then altogether only four priests. Eventually he was attacked by a malignant fever, and on recovering departed for New Orleans, but his health had become so enfeebled that a more northerly climate was deemed necessary, and accordingly he removed to St. Louis, in Missouri, where, in 1848, he was appointed President of the Seminary of Ste. Marie de Berens. Under his administration, the number of students so increased that new buildings had to be erected. Owing, however, to its unhealthy situation it had to be abandoned, but not before Father Lynch fell seriously ill. After his recovery, he was sent as a Delegate from the United States Mission to the assembly of his Order at Paris, and in 1849 he was despatched on a special mission to Rome, where the Pope conferred on him the right to hear confession and give absolution in whatever place he might be.

In 1856, at the request of the Bishop of Buffalo, he founded and managed a house of his Order at Niagara, Ont., known as the Seminary of our Lady of the Angels, and under his care it flourished greatly. On the resignation of the Rt. Rev. Dr. de Charbonnel in 1859, Dr. Lynch, who for some months previous had been Bishop *in partibus infidelium* of the titular See of Echinas, was raised to the Bishopric of Toronto. In 1869-70 he was present at the Vatican Council, and in the latter year his See was elevated to an Archdiocese, and made the Metropolitan See of Ontario—the Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec having been divided. Bishop Lynch was appointed the first Archbishop, and he devoted himself earnestly to the affairs of his Diocese, took an active part in the establishment of schools and charitable institutions and was a staunch supporter of temperance. He took an active part in public affairs so far as he deemed it necessary in order to preserve the rights of his Church and conserve the privileges of the Roman Catholic Separate Schools in Ontario.

Archbishop Lynch died in 1888 from neglecting a cold which developed into a fatal attack of congestion of the lungs. He had established in his Archdiocese the Seminary of St. Mary and St. John, introduced the Redemptorist Fathers and the Order of the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood; and established the Carmelite Monastery at Niagara Falls, a House of the Good Shepherd in Toronto, a Home for working boys and another for young women.

The Most Rev. James Vincent Cleary, D.D., Archbishop of Kingston, was born in Dungarvan, Waterford, Ireland, September 18th, 1828. He was educated at his birth-place and then studied theology, first at Rome and afterwards at the Royal College, Maynooth, Ireland, where he highly distinguished himself. Ordained to the priesthood in 1851, he took a further course of study at the University of Salamanca, Spain, and in 1854 was appointed Professor of Dogmatic Theology and Scriptural Exegesis in St. John's College, Waterford. At the request of the Bishops of Ireland in 1862 he made a public thesis, or three days' open "welcome all opponents" defence of a series of printed propositions embracing all distinctive truths of the Christian revelation as understood by his Church, before the Irish Hierarchy, the Senate of the Roman Catholic University of Ireland and the learned representatives of all the colleges in the country. At its conclusion he was presented with the diploma of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Cleary was appointed President of St. John's College, Waterford, in 1873, and two years later was selected Consulting Theologian to his Bishop at the National Synod held in Maynooth College. He was called to the living of his native parish, Dungarvan, in 1876, and was still carrying on his work there when raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Kingston, Canada, in 1880. His consecration took place at Rome on the 21st November, 1880, H. E. Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, officiating. During the following spring the Bishop arrived in his Diocese, meeting with the most cordial reception from the highest dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church and from people of all creeds.

A new Ecclesiastical Province having been created, of which Kingston was to be the Metropolitan See, with the Bishops of Peterborough and Alexandria for Suffragans, Dr. Cleary was appointed to its charge on July 28, 1889, with the title of Archbishop of Kingston. From the time of his first appointment in Canada the Archbishop displayed great activity and earnestness in administering the affairs of his Diocese. He obtained the construction of numerous churches, schools, convents and other religious edifices, many of which are models of architectural excellence. One of the most important of his undertakings was the re-opening of Regiopolis College, Kingston, in 1896, for the purpose of supplying the Diocese with a native Canadian clergy, and for the education of Catholic boys for the liberal professions. He contributed $5,000 from his own private purse towards a scholarship fund for the institution, and during the period of his Episcopate gave no less a sum than $50,000 for religious purposes in his Diocese. He erected in 1894 a handsome monument over the remains of the 1,700 Irish emigrants who died of ship fever at Kingston in 1847 and 1848, and whose last resting place was previously unmarked. Archbishop Cleary had some stirring political experiences during his Canadian career, and the controversy with Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. R. Meredith in 1887 not only proved him to possess a skilful and effective pen but materially influenced the results of the Provincial Election. He died in 1898 leaving a high reputation as a most able Ecclesiastic of somewhat uncompromising convictions.

The Most Rev. John Walsh, D.D., Second Archbishop of Toronto, was born on the 24th of May, 1830, in Mooncoin, County Kilkenny, Ireland. He came of an old and respected local family. He was educated at St. John's College, Waterford, and took a brilliant course. After a year's study in theology he emigrated to Canada, being filled with the desire to engage in mission work. Completing his theological course in the Grand Seminary, Montreal, he was ordained to the priesthood on All Saints' Day, 1854. Ontario at that time was poorly settled and the young priest's duties consisted of going from one mission to another, and tending to the spiritual wants of the people. After a year thus spent, he was

appointed to the Brock mission on Lake Simcoe, where the work lay entirely amongst backwoodsmen and pioneer settlers. Shut out from city life and its comforts, he devoted his energy to this by no means easy task. Any spare moments he had, he spent in the company of his books; and as he himself has since remarked, much of his extensive reading was done by the "light of the log fire and the tallow candle." In 1857 he was given charge of St. Mary's Church, Toronto. Two years' later, Bishop Lynch removed him to St. Michael's in the same city. In 1860, the year of the Prince of Wales' visit to Canada, an incident occurred with which Father Walsh was prominently connected. He took a strong stand regarding the proposed Orange arch in Toronto and pointed out that this element of the reception was of such a nature that Catholics could not, in consistency with their principles, either participate in or approve of it. Father Walsh's position in the matter was one which the Duke of Newcastle upon the whole approved of, and which history will say was reasonable. The result was that Catholics as well as Orangemen were able to join in the hearty welcome which was given to the visiting Heir Apparent to the Throne. After two years at St Michael's, Father Walsh was appointed Vicar-General and sent back to St. Mary's. During the Provincial Council in Quebec in 1863, Dr. Walsh was theologian to the Bishop of Toronto. In the succeeding year, he visited Ireland and the Eternal City. In 1867, Dr. Pinsonneault, the then Bishop of Sandwich, being in failing health, he was succeeded in the Episcopacy by Father Walsh, and in 1869 the Episcopal See was changed from Sandwich to London.

Bishop Walsh began his administration in London by making himself thoroughly acquainted with the conditions and wants of his Diocese, and then having ascertained the nature and extent of his task he entered upon it with an unbounded zeal and enthusiasm. When he assumed charge there was a debt of $35,000 to be wiped out, and in three years this was all paid off. New parishes and missions were established, schools went up, presbyteries were built, hospitals, orphanages and poor-houses were erected. Nine years after he entered upon his task the Bishop was able to point to a quarter of a million dollars' worth of work which had been done for the benefit of the sick and poor and for the propagation of his Faith. The crowning portion of his work, however, was the building of the Cathedral in London, an edifice which is described as being excellent both in architectural utility and architectural beauty. Bishop Walsh went to Rome to attend the Pope's Jubilee in 1887, and two years later he succeeded Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto. During the years which have followed, Archbishop Walsh has made himself liked and respected by all creeds and sections in Toronto through a combination of tact and earnestness. He is still a close student and his pastoral letters are strong and able documents. In 1869, though prevented from attending the Vatican Council, he published a pastoral on "The Magisterial authority of the Church in matters of Faith, and the nature of General Councils and their importance and bearing in Catholic theology on Articles of Faith."

The Most Rev. Joseph Thomas Duhamel, D.D., Archbishop of Ottawa, was born at Contrecœur, P.Q., on November 6th, 1841. His parents, shortly after his birth, moved to Ottawa, and he was educated at St. Joseph's College in that city. He followed his theological studies at the same institution, and exhibited marked mental power. On the 21st of June, 1863, he was ordained a sub-deacon, on November 2nd a deacon, and on the 19th December entered the priesthood. His first appointment was to the vicarage of Buckingham, County of Ottawa. In November, 1864, he was sent to St. Eugene, in Prescott County, and after overcoming various difficulties succeeded in completing a church which had been left unfinished by his predecessor. It is beyond doubt one of the finest churches in the Diocese, and cost upwards of $25,000. Education, previously neglected in this parish, found in him an ardent friend and promoter, and at the present time (1898) there are many institutions in St. Eugene which owe their existence to him, and will long remain as memorials of his zeal. Father Duhamel accompanied the late Bishop Guigues to Rome at the time of the Œcumenical Council, but two weeks after his arrival there he received word of

the serious illness of his mother, and returned, but not in time to see her alive. Later, in October, 1873, he accompanied Bishop Guigues as a theologian to the Council of Bishops at Quebec, and is stated to have distinguished himself there.

After the death of the Bishop of Ottawa he was chosen his successor and was duly consecrated on October 28th, 1874. In May, 1886, he was raised to the dignity of Archbishop, and in May, 1887, was appointed Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Ottawa. Through his instrumentality, in 1882, the erection of the Vicariate-Apostolic of Pontiac was arranged and for the College of Ottawa he obtained the powers and privileges of a Catholic University. He has also had his Cathedral raised to the dignity of a minor basilica, and has established a Chapter in connection therewith as well as *Les Conférences Ecclesiastiques*, for the better management of the affairs of the Diocese. The Archbishop has at various times been appointed Assistant to the Pontifical Throne; Knight Grand Cross of the Holy Sepulchre; a Roman Count; and Chancellor of the University of Ottawa. He has been successful also in establishing a Convent of the Sisterhood of the Precious Blood.

The Most Rev. Thomas Louis Connolly, D.D., Archbishop of Halifax, was born at Cork, Ireland, in 1814. He was educated at Rome, whither he went in 1832, and where he became a member of the Capuchin Order. After eight years of study he left Rome for Lyons, and was duly ordained to the priesthood. His first ministry was in the City of Dublin, but in 1842 he accompanied the late Archbishop Walsh to Halifax, as Secretary, and in that city three years later was appointed Administrator of Catholic affairs and Vicar-General of the Diocese. In 1852 the Pope constituted him Bishop of St. John, New Brunswick, in succession to Bishop Dollard. In this capacity, and with great adminstrative powers, he thoroughly identified himself with the minutest details of his office and accomplished many important undertakings. He began the erection of the Cathedral and built the Orphan Asylum, to conduct which, through his influence, nuns were brought from abroad. In 1859 on the death of Archbishop Walsh, Pope Pius IX. appointed Dr. Connolly to succeed him as Archbishop of Halifax, where he at once devoted himself to the enlargement of his sphere of usefulness. It is not too much to say that a considerable part of the friendly feeling which now exists between the Protestant and Roman Catholic population of Nova Scotia is due to the efforts of Archbishop Connolly. He was especially distinguished for his liberality of view. His name is prominently identified with the Confederation policy, which he took an active part in promoting amidst circumstances of current difficulty and temporary unpopularity. He was a warm admirer of the Hon. Dr. (Sir Charles) Tupper, Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee and other Unionist leaders of the time, and threw himself into the movement heart and soul. In the great Vatican Council, which was called at Rome to deal with the question of Papal Infallibility, he freely expressed his opinion that it was a serious political mistake, but when the decision was finally arrived at he accepted the principle. Archbishop Connolly died suddenly of

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congestion of the brain at Halifax in 1876. He was a homely but natural orator and considered one of the best *extempore* speakers of his time in the Maritime Provinces. As an Ecclesiastic he holds a high and honourable place in the history of his Province.

The Most Rev. Cornelius O'Brien, D.D., F.R.S.C., Archbishop of Halifax, was born near New Glasgow, Prince Edward Island, of Irish parents, on May 4th, 1843, and received his early education under the tutorship of Robert Laird, an elder brother of the Honourable David Laird. Afterwards he attended school at Pubnico, principally to learn French, and then entered a mercantile establishment at Summerside. When nineteen years of age he realized what had long been his strongest desire by entering St. Dunstan's College at Charlottetown to study for the priesthood. Two years afterwards he became a student at the College of the Propaganda at Rome. There he carried off a gold medal for excellence, and graduated as Doctor of Divinity and of Philosophy. He was ordained in 1871 to the priesthood, and returned to Prince Edward Island, where for two years he acted as Professor in St. Dunstan's College.

From 1873 onwards for some seven years Dr. O'Brien worked as a parish priest. He accompanied the late Bishop McIntyre in 1880 to Rome as Secretary, and, in the year following, paid a second visit to the Eternal City with Archbishop Hannan. On the demise of the Archbishop Dr. O'Brien was appointed to succeed him as fourth Archbishop of Halifax, and his consecration took place accordingly on January 21, 1885. From the time of his appointment His Grace has shown remarkable activity and ability in the work of the Diocese. A large number of schools, churches and glebe-houses have been established through his instrumentality. During the first year of office he commenced the erection of St. Patrick's Church, Halifax, which has since been completed at a cost of $75,000.

Subsequently, he revived the St. Patrick's Home, a reformatory for Catholic boys, and also founded the Victoria Infirmary and Infants' Home. He purchased an Archiepiscopal residence; established several convents of nuns: and carried out certain costly and much needed repairs in St. Mary's Cathedral. Throughout the extensive Diocese similar signs of activity and improvement have been exhibited. It was announced in 1897 that the Archbishop was taking steps for the establishment of a Catholic University at Halifax, under the management of the Jesuits or the Benedictines. His Grace's literary efforts have kept pace with his other work. To many fugitive poems, essays and articles contributed from time to time to the periodical press, he has added works of lasting interest and merit. Of these the principal are: "Philosophy of the Bible Vindicated" (1876); "Mater Admirabilis" (1882); "After Weary Years", a novel; "Saint Agnes, Virgin and Martyr" (1887); "Aminta, a Modern Life Drama" (1890); and "Memoirs of Bishop Burke" (1894). Archbishop O'Brien was during the existence of the Imperial Federation League an office-bearer and is now (1898) a Vice-President for Nova Scotia of the British Empire League in Canada. He is well-known for the strength of his British views. The sermon at the State funeral of Sir John Thompson was preached by him in January, 1895, and in 1896 he was elected President of the Royal Society of Canada.

The Right Rev. John Cameron, D.D., Bishop of Antigonish, N.S., was born at St. Andrews, N.S., February 16th, 1827. After attending for some years the Normal School in his native place, he was sent to Rome, where he underwent a thorough course in Literature, Science and Theology, and was ordained on July 26, 1853. Returning to Nova Scotia in 1854, he was appointed a Professor in St. Francis Xavier's College, where he remained till 1863, with at the same time pastoral charge of the Parish of Antigonish. In 1863 he was appointed to the Parish of Arichat. In 1870 he was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of the Diocese, being consecrated at Rome by H. E. Cardinal Cullen. Seven years later, upon the resignation of his aged predecessor, Bishop McKinnon, he became Bishop of Arichat. On assuming the administration of the Diocese he found a heavy debt remaining to be paid, which had been contracted in building the Cathedral at Antigonish. At present, and for some time past, the Diocese

owes nothing. He has taken a deep interest in education, and since 1877 has collected many thousand dollars for St. Francis Xavier College, partly to improve the building and partly to form an endowment fund. Bishop Cameron's jurisdiction extends over 72 priests and about 73,000 lay Catholics, the great majority of whom are Highland Scotch and Acadian French. In May, 1885, he was sent as Papal Delegate to Three Rivers, P.Q., on the subject of the division of the Diocese there. In August, 1886, the seat of his Diocese was transferred to Antigonish, by which name it has since been known. The Bishop celebrated his golden jubilee at Antigonish in June, 1895, and was presented with a purse of $2,000 by the clergy, and with one of $1,700 from the laity. The following is an extract from the address read by Mr. J. A. Wall, Editor of *The Casket*, on behalf of the laity of the Diocese:

"The visitor to Antigonish for the first time invariably expresses surprise at the grandeur of the ecclesiastical buildings that crown the eminence on the south, and that seem to him so much out of proportion to the size and importance of the town. And for these, the external evidences of the well-being of religion in our midst, we know to how great an extent we are indebted to Your Lordship's zeal and ability of administration, and your generous self-sacrifice as well. You had a large share in completing and freeing from debt the magnificent edifice, begun by your zealous predecessor, in which we now stand. The noble structure upon our right, which we have seen rise part by part within the past few years, and which is still growing in size, will, so long as its walls remain, be a monument to Your Lordship's zeal in the cause of learning; while on our left is still another evidence of that zeal, a Convent for the Christian education of young women which this community owes to Your Lordship's unbounded personal generosity. A like institution in every town of importance in the Diocese where Catholics are sufficiently numerous to require one, still further attests your desire that that education of which the world makes so much, often without knowing why, shall be received by the young under the guidance of religion, as even the world itself is becoming convinced ought to be the case. Throughout the Diocese many fine churches have been built since Your Lordship's incumbency—temples worthy of the lofty purpose for which they were erected. These, My Lord, are, as we have said, external evidences of religious and intellectual progress. But massive walls and imposing structures in themselves are of little worth. These are but means to an end, and the end of these temples and halls of education is the spiritual and intellectual advancement of the people. That that end is being attained we have better evidences by far than brick and stone."

Statistical Position and Progress of the Church. In Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin's elaborate historical work upon the British Colonies, published in 1843, there is a sketch of the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec in 1836 which is of value: "The prevailing, or most numerical, creed in Lower Canada is the Roman Catholic faith, the clergy of which are educated in Canada, and have no connection with the Pope; they are not paid by Government, but have for their support the twenty-sixth part of all the grain raised on the lands of Catholics. Hay and potatoes are exempted from the charge, and if the Catholic turns Protestant, or sells his lands to a Protestant, the estate is no longer subject to this modern tithe. The Church is governed by a Romish Bishop (a Canadian born and educated), who receives, in addition to the rent of some lands of little value, the sum of £1,000 per annum from Great Britain, which is the only charge for the Catholic Church establishment. The income of the Curés, whose numbers are about 200, average £300 per annum, by which they are enabled to live respectably, and even hospitably. In aid of the Bishop or Primate, there are two coadjutors, or titular Bishops, and four Vicars-General. Several religious communities exist, viz.: the Hotel Dieu de Montreal, founded in 1664, and containing 37 *religieuses professes;* the Congregation de Notre Dame of Montreal (in 1650), with 81 *professes;* the General Hospital of Montreal (1753), with 29 *professes;* the Hôtel Dieu de Quebec (founded in 1637, "pour les pauvres Malades"), with 34 *religieuses professes;* the Ursulines de Quebec, with 56 *professes;* the General Hospital of Quebec (1693), with 50 *professes:* and the Ursulines des Trois Rivières (founded in 1677, "pour l'instruction et pour les pauvres Malades"), 34 *professes.* All these establishments have novices and postulants."

The population of Lower Canada, according to the Census of 1831 was 511,917, of whom 403,472

were Roman Catholics, 34,620 adherents of the Church of England and 15,069 of the Church of Scotland. In Upper Canada the population was given by the Returns of the House of Assembly in 1833 as being 295,087. Amongst the widely scattered people of the Upper Province the Roman Catholic Church carried on a most vigourous missionary work. Mr. Martin gives the following figures regarding its clergy, etc., during the year 1836:

District.	Name of Mission.	Population of Parish.	Value of Living.	Number of Persons Generally Attending.
Eastern	St. Raphael	5,630	£120	1,800
	St. Ninian	2,000	40	1,200
	St. Andrews	2,800	40	700
	St. Columbus	2,500	...	1,000
Ottawa	St. Luke's	1,400	60	300
	St. John Baptist	1,500		350
	St. James	3,200	60	1,200
	St. Phillip	2,000	20	300
Bathurst	St. Bridget	3,846	70	400
Johnstown	St. Francis	2,008	70	1,000
	St. Mark	1,820	40	340
Midland	St. Joseph	3,140	80	1,200
	St. Patrick	300	30	200
	St. Michael	1,200	50	300
	St. Jerome	450	40	180
Newcastle	St. Peter	3,560	45	1,500
	St. Mathias	500		150
Home	St. Paul	4,644	150	2,120
	St. Dunstan	532	30	783
	St. Bernard	800	25	254
	St. Louis	3,000	25	1,800
	St. Simeon	3,000	26	1,800
	St. Mathias	2,000	30	400
Gore	St. Mary	1,200	50	300
	St. Augustin	2,000		400
	St. Bartholomew	2,560		300
	St. Norbert	730		150
Niagara	St. Vincent	2,506	40	835
	St. Catharines	1,546	30	1,100
London	St. Lawrence	4,000	40	1,036
	St. Thomas	2,346		540
Western	L'Assomption	3,100	80	2,000
	St. John Baptist	1,720	40	400
	St. Peter	2,100	40	546
	St. Christopher	1,240	45	345
Total		76,878	1,416	27,229

A religious census taken in 1783 under the direction of the R.C. Bishop of Quebec stated the number of Canadian Catholics at 113,000 with 135 priests and 234 nuns. Four of the priests were stationed in Western Canada (now Ontario), but the number of Catholics under their care was not given. The total population of Western Canada at that date is estimated to have been about 10,000, and the Catholics probably numbered between three and four thousand. Dr. Thomas Rolph, in his "Statistical Account of Upper Canada," published in 1836, gives the Catholic population of the Province in 1834 as 52,428, out of a total population of 321,145. The clergy consisted of a Bishop, his Coadjutor and 20 priests; and there were 35 churches and three in course of erection. In 1842 the first official census by religions was taken, and the Catholic population of Upper Canada was reported as being 65,203 out of a total population of 487,053. In 1896 there were seven Ecclesiastical Provinces in the Dominion—Halifax, Kingston, Montreal, Ottawa, Quebec, St. Boniface and Toronto—and 24 Dioceses, one Prefecture-Apostolic and two Vicariates-Apostolic. The Roman Catholic population of Canada according to Provinces and at the respective census periods between 1851 and 1891 was as follows:

Province.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Nova Scotia	69,131	86,281	102,001	117,487	122,452
New Brunswick	.....	85,238	96,016	109,091	115,861
Ontario	167,695	258,151	274,162	320,839	358,300
Quebec	746,854	943,253	1,019,850	1,170,718	1,291,709
P.E. Island	27,147	35,832	40,442	47,115	47,837
	1,010,827	1,408,775	1,532,471	1,765,250	1,936,159

In Manitoba there were 12,246 Roman Catholics in 1881 and 29,571 in 1891. British Columbia had 10,043 in 1881, and 20,843 ten years later. The Territories—organized and unorganized—increased in this connection from 4,443 in 1881 to 14,344 in 1891. The total Roman Catholic population of the Dominion was therefore, in 1891, 2,000,917 as compared with 1,010,827 (omitting New Brunswick) in 1851. According to Sadleir's Catholic Directory (1896) there were some 2,622 priests in Canada at that date and 2,376 Roman Catholic churches and chapels.

Educational Questions and the Church. The position of the Roman Catholic Church concern-

ing Education and the relationship of School and State is an often discussed one in Canada. The following is a portion of the authorized translation of the Encyclical Letter from the Pope addressed to the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries "in the Federated States of Canada in Grace and Communion with the Holy See," on the 18th December, 1897, and signed by His Holiness, Leo XIII. It was called forth by the Manitoba School Question and was the more immediate result of Mgr. Merry Del Val's Report to the Vatican upon the matters at issue:

"As regards the education of the young, upon which rests the best hope of religious and civil society, the Apostolic See has never ceased to work zealously in concert with you and your predecessors. Thus, numerous institutions for the moral and scientific education of your children have been founded under the favour and protection of the Church. Amongst these the great University of Quebec, adorned and strengthened with all the dignity and rights which the Apostolic authority is accustomed to confer, assuredly occupies the place of honour, and stands as sufficient witness that the Apostolic See has no greater desire or care than the formation of a race of citizens as distinguished by its intellectual culture as it is rendered commendable by its virtues. Wherefore, it is with the greatest solicitude, as you yourselves can easily understand, that we have followed the misfortunes which have lately marked the history of Catholic education in Manitoba. For it is our wish and it is our duty to endeavour by every means in our power to bring it about that no harm befall the faith and religion of so many thousands of souls, the salvation of which has been especially entrusted to us, in a State which received the first rudiments of Christian teaching as well as of civilization from the Catholic Church. And since very many expect a pronouncement from us upon this question, and look to us to point out what course they should pursue, we determined not to come to any conclusion upon the matter until our Delegate-Apostolic had examined it upon the spot. Charged to make a careful survey of the situation and to report upon it to us, he has with fidelity and ability fulfilled the task we imposed upon him.

The question at issue is assuredly one of the highest and most serious importance. The decisions arrived at seven years ago on the School question by the Parliament of the Province of Manitoba must be remembered. The Act of Union of the Confederation had secured to Catholics the right to be educated in the public schools according to their consciences, and yet this right the Parliament of Manitoba abolished by a contrary law. This is a noxious law. For our children cannot go for instruction to schools which either ignore or of set purpose combat the Catholic religion, or in which its teachings are despised and its fundamental principles repudiated. Wherever the Church has allowed this to be done, it has only been with pain and through necessity, at the same time surrounding her children with many safeguards which, nevertheless, it has been too often recognized have been insufficient to cope successfully with the danger attending it. Similarly, it is necessary to avoid at all costs, as most dangerous, those schools in which all beliefs are welcomed and treated as equal, as if, in what regards God and Divine things, it makes no difference whether one believes rightly or wrongly, and takes up with truth or error. You know well, Venerable Brethren, that every school of this kind has been condemned by the Church, because nothing can be more harmful or better calculated to ruin the integrity of the faith and to turn aside the tender minds of the young from the way of truth.

There is another point upon which those will agree with us who differ from us in everything else; it is not by means of a purely scientific education and with vague and superficial notions of morality that Catholic children will leave school such as the country desires and expects. Other serious and important teachings must be given to them if they are to turn out good Christians and upright and honest citizens; it is necessary that they should be formed on those principles which, deeply engraven on their consciences, they ought to follow and obey, because they naturally spring from their faith and religion. Without religion there can be no moral education deserving the name, nor of any good, for the very nature and force of all duty comes from those special duties which bind man to God, who com-

mands, forbids and determines what is good and evil. And so, to be desirous that minds should be imbued with good and at the same time to leave them without religion is as senseless as to invite people to virtue after having taken away the foundations on which it rests. For the Catholic there is only one true religion; and, therefore, when it is a question of the teaching of morality or religion, he can neither accept nor recognize any which is not drawn from Catholic doctrine.

Justice and reason then demand that the school shall supply our scholars not only with a scientific system of instruction but also a body of moral teaching which, as we have said, is in harmony with the principles of their religion, without which, far from being of use, education can be nothing but harmful. From this comes the necessity of having Catholic masters and reading books and text books approved by the Bishops, of being free to regulate the school in a manner which shall be in full accord with the profession of the Catholic faith, as well as with all the duties which flow from it. Furthermore, it is the inherent right of a father's position to see in what institutions his children shall be educated, and what masters shall teach them moral precepts. When, therefore, Catholics demand, as it is their duty to demand and work, that the teaching given by school-masters shall be in harmony with the religion of their children, they are contending justly. And nothing could be more unjust than to compel them to choose an alternative, or to allow their children to grow up in ignorance, or to throw them amid an environment which constitutes a manifest danger for the supreme interests of their souls. These principles of judgment and action, which are based upon truth and justice, and which form the safeguards of public as well as private interests, it is unlawful to call in question or in any way to abandon. And so, when the new legislation came to strike Catholic education in the Province of Manitoba, it was your duty Venerable Brethren, publicly to protest against injustice and the blow that had been dealt; and the way in which you fulfilled this duty has furnished a striking proof of your individual vigilance and of your true Episcopal zeal. Although upon this point each one of you finds sufficient approbation in the witness of his own conscience, know nevertheless that we also join with it our assent and approval. For the things that you have sought and still seek to preserve and defend are most holy."

Commenting upon this important deliverance, an Episcopal Pastoral was issued at Toronto, in January, 1898, signed by Archbishop Walsh, Bishop Dowling of Hamilton, and Bishop Denis O'Connor of London. The following reference to the general question of education was made:

"The Catholic Church has the right to provide for, to direct and control, the education of its children; and this right is derived from the Divine commission committed to her in the words of Christ, 'Go ye therefore teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' (Matt. xxviii. 19-20.) Now this commission inculcates the duty of teaching all the doctrines of faith and all the principles of morality. Whatever regards the nature and attributes and moral government of God, as well as whatever concerns the conscience of man in his individual capacity as well as in his numerous social relations, all this is contained in the Divine commission. Now these subjects necessarily imply a direct or indirect connection with the various departments of human knowledge, and therefore the exercise of the Divine commission must embrace the direction and control of every system of education designed for the children of the Church, lest in any particular department of human knowledge they should be infected with errors or opinions at variance with their faith. So that the Divine commission given to the Church implies a positive duty to teach all Divine truth, and the correlative duty or right to prevent the teaching and oppose the propagation of every error opposed to God's revelation. This right of inspection and control of Catholic education belongs pre-eminently to the Episcopal body, under the guidance of the Holy See, according to the words of the Apostle: 'Take heed to yourselves and the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops to rule the Church of God which He hath purchased with his own blood.' (Acts xx. 28.) The Church then cannot abdicate her rights or abandon her duties in connection with the question of education, nor can she approve of any educational system that shuts her out from the school-house and excludes her influence, her protection and guidance. She may, in certain circumstances, be compelled to tolerate systems not in harmony with her ideals, but this she does to avoid worse evils and under the stress of necessity. This is

in brief the Catholic position on this important question of education."

Archbishop Lynch and the Church in Elections. On January 20th, 1876, the Archbishop of Toronto addressed an open letter to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada. It defined the attitude which His Grace thought the Church should bear towards the State in regard to election contests, and read as follows:

"I think this an opportune time to inform you and your Government that priests in our Archdiocese are strictly forbidden to make the altar or pulpit of their churches the tribune of political harangues for or against any party or candidate for election, or to threaten any spiritual disability for voting with either party. Priests may, of course, instruct their people on the conscientious obligation of voting for the candidate whom they judge will best promote the interests of the country; of taking no bribes; and of conducting themselves at the elections in a loyal and peaceful manner; but they are not to say to the people from the altar that they are to vote for this candidate and reject the other. It would be very imprudent in a priest whose congregation is composed of Liberals and Conservatives to become a warm partizan of either political party. It would neutralize his influence for good in too many instances; and a priest requires all he possesses to forward the interests of his whole congregation.

It is true that a priest, in his ordination, does not renounce his rights of citizenship, nor does he receive authority to impose on his congregation his own particular views of politics. The Catholic Church asks no especial favour from any party. Her existence is independent of both. She asks only that her people be put under no unjust restraint or ban. It is true that the old legislation of England made the Catholic religion a bar to political and almost social existence; and though wiser councils now prevail in Courts and Parliaments, yet some of the Protestant populace, and an occasional statesman in his individual capacity, so long educated in the traditions of the past, retain a deep-rooted prejudice and suspicion, not easily conquered, that the Catholic religion should yet be a bar to preferment, and that the Catholic Church is inimical to free institutions and unfavourable to State rights. This is still the production of the old Pagan cry, 'The Christians to the beasts,' or the old Jewish accusation, 'We have found this man perverting our nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar.' The Catholic Church asks only liberty to do good, and to be untrammelled by unjust laws in the exercise of her Divine rights. I might here remark that when, in a free country, religious and sacred rights are brought into the arena of politics, then the Catholics have to follow them to the polls and contend there for their rights, as in the case of education. We believe that parents have a perfect right to educate their children as they please. 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he becomes old he will not depart from it.'

Hence, when the Catholics of Lower Canada conceded the rights of separate education to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, the Catholic minority of Upper Canada claimed the same right, but had to contend for this right at the elections, and thus religious questions are dragged out of their sphere. The Catholic does not permit his religion to hinder the progress of the country, or the peaceful exercise of a different religion in his neighbours. When his religious principles are safe, the Catholic, under the impression that party government is a lesser evil, gives his support to that which he thinks will perform its duties for the greater good of the country, and the happiness of the people."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier on Church and State. The present Prime Minister of Canada, in a somewhat celebrated address before Le Club Canadien of Quebec, on June 26th, 1877—republished in the volume of his Speeches edited by Ulric Barthe—defined very clearly the views of a certain school of thought in the Province of Quebec regarding the relations of Church and State. The speech has more than a passing interest, and deals, in fact, with some of the most important phases of Roman Catholic history and power in Canada. To what extent the attitude assumed in the following eloquent extract may have been praised or criticized, it is not necessary to describe here. It is given as of historical interest and value:

"But while reproaching us with being friends of liberty our adversaries further reproach us with an inconsistency which would be serious if the charge were well-founded; with denying to the Church the freedom to which it is entitled. They reproach us with seeking to silence the administrative body of the Church and to prevent it from teaching the people their duties as citizens and electors. They reproach us with wanting to hinder the clergy from meddling in politics and to relegate them to the sacristy. In the name of the Liberal party and of Liberal principles, I repel this assertion. I maintain that there is not one Canadian Liberal who wants to prevent the clergy from taking part in political affairs, if they wish to do so. In the name of what principle should the friends of liberty seek to deny to the priest the right to take part in political affairs? In the name of what principle should the friends of liberty seek to deny to the priest the right to have and express political opinions, the right to approve or disapprove public men and their acts, and to instruct the people in what he believes to be their duty? In the name of what principle should he not have the right to say that, if I am elected, religion will be endangered, when I have the right to say that if my adversary is elected, the State will be endangered? Why should the priest not have the right to say that, if I am elected, religion will be inevitably destroyed, when I have the right to say that, if my adversary is elected, the State will go into bankruptcy? No, let the priest speak and preach as he thinks best, such is his right, and no Canadian Liberal will dispute that right.

Our constitution invites all citizens to take part in the direction of the affairs of the State; it makes no exception of any person. Each one has the right not only to express his opinion, but to influence, if he can, by the expression of his opinion, the opinion of his fellow-citizens. This right exists for all, and there can be no reason why the priest should be deprived of it. I am here to speak my whole mind, and I may add that I am far from finding opportune the intervention of the clergy in the domain of politics, as it has been exercised for some years. I believe on the contrary that, from the standpoint of the respect due to his character, the priest has everything to lose by meddling in the ordinary questions of politics; still his *right* to do so is indisputable, and, if he thinks proper to use it, our duty, as Liberals, is to guarantee it to him against all denial. This right, however, is not unlimited. We have no absolute rights amongst us. The rights of each man, in our state of society, end precisely at the point where they encroach upon the rights of others. The right of interference in politics finishes at the spot where it encroaches on the elector's independence.

The constitution of the country rests on the freely expressed wish of each elector. It intends that each elector shall cast his vote freely and willingly as he deems best. If the greatest number of the electors of a country are actually of an opinion and then, owing to the influence exercised upon them by one or more men or owing to words they have heard or writings they have read, their opinion changes, there is nothing in the circumstance which is not perfectly legitimate. Although the opinion they express is different from the one they would have expressed without such intervention, still it is the one they desire to express conscientiously, and the constitution meets with its entire application. If, however, nothwithstanding all reasoning, the opinion of the electors remains the same, but that, by intimidation or fraud, they are forced to vote differently, the opinion which they express is not their opinion, and the constitution is violated. As I have already said the constitution intends that each one's opinion shall be freely expressed as he understands it at the moment of expression, and the collective reunion of the individual opinions, freely expressed, forms the government of the country. The law watches with so jealous an eye the free expression of the elector's opinion as it really is, that if in a constituency the opinion expressed by a single one of the electors is not his real opinion, but an opinion forced from him by fear, fraud or corruption, the election must be annulled.

It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate to alter the elector's opinion by argument and all other means of persuasion, but never by intimidation. As a matter of fact persuasion changes the elector's conviction: intimidation does not. When, by persuasion, you have changed the

elector's conviction, the opinion he expresses is his own opinion: but when, by terror, you force him to vote, the opinion he expresses is your opinion. Remove the cause of his fear and he will then express another opinion, which is his own. Now it will be understood, if the opinion expressed by the majority of the electors is not their real opinion, but an opinion snatched from them by fraud, by threats, or by corruption, the constitution is violated and you have not the government of the majority, but the government of a minority. Well, if such a state of things continues and is repeated; if, after each election, the will expressed is not the real will of the country, once more you do violence to the constitution, responsible government is no longer anything but an empty name and, sooner or later, here as elsewhere, the pressure will culminate in explosion, violence and ruin.

But people are not wanting who say that the clergy have a right to dictate to the people what are its duties. I simply answer that we are here under the government of the Queen of England, under the authority of a constitution which was granted to us as an act of justice, and that, if the exercise of the rights which you claim is to have for effect the impeding of the constitution and our exposure to all the consequences of such an act, then the clergy themselves would not want it. I am not one of those who parade themselves as friends and champions of the clergy. However, I say this, like the most of my young fellow-countrymen, I have been reared among priests. I flatter myself that I have among them some sincere friends and to them at least, I can and do say: see, if there is under the sun a country where the Catholic Church is freer or more privileged than it is here. Why, then, should you, by claiming rights incompatible with our state of society, expose this country to agitations of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences?"

The Roman Catholic Church and the Press. The attitude of the Church towards the press and secular literature in general, has long been a widely discussed theme. It is a position, however, which the strongest opponent or critic of Roman Catholicism must admit to be logical, whatever he may think of its propriety or desirability. To one of that faith, the dictum of the Church is final and authoritative upon all questions affecting faith and morals, as well in connection with his newspaper and its policy, as in any other department of his everyday life. Conflicts have more than once taken place in Canada between the Hierarchy and individual newspapers, or the publishers and writers of specific books, pamphlets, etc., and appeal has been made to Rome from the decision of the Bishops upon several occasions. But the decision of the Holy Office or the Congregation of the Index at Rome appears to be final in Canada with all loyal Catholics.

The Guibord Case. An illustration of this fact is found in the celebrated Guibord Case, the story of which may be briefly given. The *Annuaire* of the *Institut Canadien* for 1868 fell under the censure of the Congregation of the Index. By this decision, Roman Catholics were forbidden to be members of the Institute so long as it maintained what were condemned as pernicious doctrines, and were instructed neither to publish, read, nor possess the *Annuaire*. Bishop Bourget, in a pastoral letter dated at Rome in August, 1869, gave warning that if any person still persisted in keeping in his possession the condemned book, or continued his connection with the Institute, he would be deprived of the sacraments, even at the moment of death. The Institute staggered under this blow, and by a formal resolution declared its unconditional submission to the decree of the Congregation of the Index; but at the same time denied the accuracy of the statements upon which the condemnation had been based. It declared that the objects of the organization were purely literary and scientific; that there was no doctrinal teaching within its walls; and that it carefully excluded the teaching of pernicious doctrines therein.

Joseph Guibord, a printer by trade, a Roman Catholic by baptism and education, was a member of the Institute at the time when it was condemned at Rome, and when the Bishop of Montreal gave the warning above quoted. Some years before his death, Guibord, being dangerously ill, was refused the Communion because he declined to relinquish his connection with the Institute. When the man died,

his Curé would not give him ecclesiastical burial, and decided that the deceased could only be buried in that part of the cemetery set apart for persons who are not within the pale of the Church at the time of their death. The widow offered to accept burial in the consecrated part of the cemetery without religious services; and the rejection of the offer led to a long series of legal proceedings, which ended in a judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council granting the right of burial without service. But the Bishop at once cut off the grave of Guibord from the consecrated portion of the cemetery in the following words: "We have truly declared, in virtue of the Divine power which we exercise in the name of the pastors, that the place in which the body of this rebel child of the Church has been deposited is in fact separated from the rest of the consecrated cemetery, to become henceforth nothing but a profane place."

Mr. L. O. David's Pamphlet. Another and later illustration of this influence and policy may be found in the fate of the pamphlet written by Mr. L. O. David, Q.C., of Montreal, entitled, "The Canadian Clergy: Their Mission and their Work," which was published in 1896, only to have a short and stormy career. Many papers attacked it vehemently. Several pamphlets were written by the clergy in reply to it. Bishop Blais, of Rimouski, denounced it to his people. Archbishop Bégin, of Quebec, in putting *L'Electeur* under the ban, gave as one of its sins that it "reproduced with gladness, and without any rectification, the pages of a pamphlet in which is openly taught, first, the right of aggression and armed revolt of the subject against legitimately constituted authority, which he may judge tyrannical in its action —a doctrine reproved by the Church; and, secondly, that a Catholic may, and ought sometimes, in a matter of politico-religious legislation, to take no notice of the directions of the Bishops, but rather to follow the advice of a legist and professional politician—which is manifestly contrary to the teaching of Leo XIII." Then the Sacred Congregation of the Index at Rome condemned the work. And finally, in January, 1897, by order of and over the signature of Archbishop Bégin, a letter was read in all the pulpits in the Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec, including the Dioceses of Three Rivers, Nicolet, Quebec, Rimouski and Chicoutimi, in the course of which occurred the following:

"When this pamphlet, which has now been condemned, appeared, there arose a just indignation in all truly Catholic souls. Under the cover of patriotism and religion were agglomerated erroneous principles, appeals to prejudices and passions, abusive interpretations of documents, travesty of historical facts, perfidious insinuations and grave irreverence towards the authority and persons of the Bishops. Each and every faithful is held under pain of great disobedience to the Holy See to destroy this book immediately or remit it to his confessor, who will do so. To refuse to submit would be a grave error, and absolution, therefore, is reserved to the Bishop. Let it not be forgotten that no one in the Church has mission or authority to judge, condemn or approve in any authentic manner of doctrines or writings besides the Bishops in their own Dioceses, and the Holy Pontiff (judging by himself or by his Congregations of the Index or of the Holy Office) for the whole Church. It is an abuse to look for the authority of certain persons to cover errors or dangerous writings. It is by your Bishops and the priests who are united with them that you are to receive the teachings and directions of the Holy See. Let all have sufficient Christian sense to banish from their houses every man and writing which would teach them, in the name of any dignitary whatever, not to respect and not to listen to the Bishops which the Pope himself has given you to govern you. The laws of the government of the Church do not change like Parliamentary Governments to the popular whim, passions, or caprices, and to-day, as ever, to be with the Pope you must not be in opposition to the Bishops as long as they are in communication with him." (Translation in Toronto *Globe*, January 23rd, 1897.)

When the final condemnation came from Rome, Mr. David withdrew his *brochure* from sale, and announced his submission to the judgment.

The Canada Revue Case. This was a still more important case though it did not excite as wide attention as either the Guibord or David cases. *Le Canada Revue* was a weekly paper devoted to literature, politics and social economy. It took advantage of the fall of a priest in 1892 in one of the most fashionable churches, to make a general and unjust attack upon the morality of the clergy which caused a great sensation. The Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Provinces of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa, having met at Quebec

to consider the matter, issued a circular on September 29, 1892, regretting the fall of this priest, but defending the character of the clergy as a body, protesting against the violent speeches and writings and want of discipline shown, and threatening to condemn any journal which continued in this course. *Le Canada Revue*, and to some extent also the *Echo des Deux Montagnes*, continued to maintain the existence of grave faults among the clergy and to demand reforms. Archbishop Fabre, of Montreal, therefore, on November 11, 1892, issued a circular pointing out the warnings already given, and concluding with this formal condemnation: "We therefore condemn by virtue of our authority two publications printed in our Diocese, namely, *Le Canada Revue* and the *Echo des Deux Montagnes*, and we prohibit until further order all the faithful, under penalty of refusal of the sacraments, to print, to place or keep on deposit, to sell, distribute, read, receive or keep in their possession these two dangerous and pernicious sheets, to co-operate or to encourage them whatever." The *Echo* promptly changed its name to *La Liberte*, while *Le Canada Revue* continued under the same name, but according to the apparently well-informed correspondent in Montreal of the Toronto *Globe*—December 31st, 1896—both were ruined in the course of a few years.

Le Canada Revue brought an action for $50,000 damages against the Archbishop, alleging among other things that the circular was published without sufficient knowledge or verification; that the condemnation contained therein was unjust and arbitrary and contrary to canon and civil law and to the rules of the Church, and constituted an excess and abuse of power. The defendant stated that in addressing the circular to the clergy of his Diocese he acted within the legitimate scope and limit of his functions as Archbishop; that it was a privileged communication; that his duty was to protect his flock against the reading of books and publications which, in his judgment, contain doctrines or have tendencies opposed to the teaching and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church; and that in this matter his jurisdiction is exclusive and independent of civil tribunals. The action was dismissed by Judge Doherty in the Superior Court, and was then taken to the Court of Appeal. Acting Chief Justice (now Sir Melbourne) Tait maintained that the Bishop incurs no civil responsibility when he condemns writings contrary to the dogmas or discipline of the Church or to morals, and that the defendant was not obliged, in order to escape civil responsibility, to justify the merits of the condemnation on which he had pronounced. He therefore confirmed the judgment, dismissing the action. Judge Taschereau held that the Archbishop was not proved to have acted maliciously or in bad faith or without sufficient cause or justification, and also confirmed the judgment of the Court below, but in the course of an elaborate opinion on the judgment held that ecclesiastical condemnations and denunciations are subject to civil law, and added: "The pretension of the Church that it has not to submit itself to the laws of the State has ceased for a long time. The State no longer recognizes the tribunals of the Church in civil matters, and our code of procedure does not even mention them." He asserted that the Court had power to try the case.

Judge Archibald, in dissenting from the judgment of the Court, squarely upheld the doctrine of the supremacy of the State over the Church, and concluded: "First, that publication of fair reports of the immorality of priests not being against the civil law and not being forbidden by any canon law that governed the Gallican Church, or that has been proved to have been assented to by the Catholics of Lower Canada, cannot be made a sin or a cause for deprivation of sacraments by mere order of the Bishop; second, that a Bishop cannot, under any canon law in force in the Province of Quebec, forbid the faithful to publish or to help in the publication of a journal under pain of deprivation of the sacraments." He added that the publication of newspapers is a matter which concerns the civil power; that if they break the law of the land they may be punished after trial, but not forbidden to continue publication; and that if the publishers commit offences against the laws of the Church they may be punished by such punishments as the Church has a right to inflict, but that the Church has not a wider right than the State. He therefore would have allowed damages to the extent of $10,000, the amount of the capital

stock of the Company destroyed. "It must be admitted," remarked *La Verite*, the organ of the Ultramontanes, "that the opinions of two of the Judges constitute a deplorable triumph for the ultra Liberal doctrines of the supremacy of the State over the Church." The judgment of the Court was against *Le Canada Revue*, which, however, was granted leave to appeal to the Privy Council. But it was unable to raise the necessary funds within the time allotted, and therefore the judgment stood.

These three cases will give a general view of the practical power of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec over the papers and literature of its own people and the following extract from a reply by Archbishop Bruchési on October 6th, 1897, to an Address presented by the members of the Montreal press of all creeds and languages will indicate still further its present position. After an eloquent reference to the national possibilities and beneficence of moral newspapers with high ideals, and irrespective of religious affiliations, His Grace proceeded:

"As for you gentlemen who belong to the great family, how deeply I am touched to see you gathered around the chief pastor, whom it has pleased God to give to this Diocese. How delighted I am to hear you use the only language permissible for the disciples of Jesus Christ, language of respect and filial submission to those who participate in the authority of the Apostles. Your words have done me good; have fortified and inspired in my soul the best possible hopes. Yes, indeed, you are right to express and to repeat, that in the present organization of society the press plays a predominant rolé. At the present time everybody reads. We wish to have the news of each day; we wish to know the opinion of the press on the passing events and on the men of the day. Therefore, apart from the few really superior and independent minds, everyone shares the views of his newspaper, not only in politics, but in many matters of religious and moral import. This fact is as impossible to deny as to destroy, and the consequence is that the people will remain honest, good and religious, or will slowly become dishonest, wicked and impious, just as the journalist himself respects or abuses justice and the morals and dogmas of the Church. If, therefore, you wish to set to work, gentlemen, with a constant care to put in practice the programme to which you give eloquent expression to-night; if you wish to show yourselves always perfectly submissive as you take the solemn engagements to your Bishops in all that concerns religious, moral and ecclesiastical discipline, what a radiant aurora would rise upon our country. Yes, if always firm in their desire to be submissive sons to the Church, the Catholic journalists were to banish from their columns the reports which furnish temptation, especially to the young; if they banished from their appreciations of the drama that which violates the holy laws of Christian morals; if they banished the judgments, the appreciations and the doctrines which are in contradiction with the principles of sound philosophy; if, in the controversies and discussions upon the questions given over to the free discussion of men, they made it a rule to never give place to injury, to bitterness or to personalities; if above all, in all that regards the honour and interest of religion and its ministers, they made it a point to inspire themselves from the pure sources of the Gospel and the teachings of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the Bishops; then there would dawn upon our dear country an era of happiness, peace and prosperity. Because the nations faithful to God and to His laws, the nations faithful to Christ and His Gospel, faithful to the Church, to her dogmas and morals: history teaches us that these nations are infallibly blessed and favoured in their material development. I hope, therefore, gentlemen, that the declaration contained in your Address will hereafter be the rule of your life and the inspiration of each one of your articles. My sympathy, as you all know, is with you. May it please God to encourage you to come to me in all confidence and liberty, as often as my aid, my advice and my information may be of service to you in your daily, and, sometimes difficult labour. Be assured, gentlemen, that in the circumstance, where my ministry will make it a duty for me to indicate to you the road to follow, or, at times, perhaps, to abandon, I will go to you with the utmost confidence, certain to find in Catholic journalists an entire submission, and, I might add, if it is not saying too much, an affectionate deference."

Apostolic Delegates to the Dominion. There have been three visits to Canada since Confederation of special Papal delegates, and upon each occasion important affairs connected with the Church and its interests required settlement. In 1877-8 the Right Rev. George Conroy, D.D., Bishop of Armagh (born 1832), was sent out to arrange questions which appeared to be at issue between the Gallican and Ultramontane sections of the Church in Quebec, and to deal with certain educational matters. Mgr. Conroy spent some time in the country and seems to have performed

his work very thoroughly. The settlement of the questions which had troubled Laval, and the establishment of that University in Montreal, were largely achieved through his skilful intervention. From Canada he went to the States to prepare a report upon the state of the Church there, but on his way back to Rome died at St. John's, Newfoundland, on August 4, 1878.

Mgr. Smuelders, a Belgian ecclesiastic, was appointed Apostolic Delegate to Canada by Pope Leo XIII. in 1888, to report upon matters affecting University education in Quebec—chiefly in connection with Laval—and also to investigate certain Diocesan difficulties which had occurred. The result of his mission has never been made public. In March, 1897, the Pope sent Mgr. Raffaele Merry Del Val—son of the Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican, and born in England in 1862—as Apostolic Delegate, to aid in settling the Manitoba School question so far as it concerned and affected the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. His personality won wide popularity; his mission evoked much public interest. Public receptions and entertainments were given His Excellency in Montreal, Quebec, Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg; conferences were held by him with the Episcopacy of the Dominion; interviews were had with all the political leaders. Several important public utterances were made, and the agitation against the suggested settlement stayed, whilst a thorough investigation of the whole subject was entered into. Mgr. Merry Del Val left for Rome in July, met Sir Wilfrid Laurier in London, and in January, 1898, the Papal decision in the matter was announced.

The Most Rev. Louis Nazaire Bégin, D.D., Archbishop of Quebec, was born in 1840 and educated at the Lévis Model School, at the College of St. Michael de Bellechasse, at the Minor Seminary of Quebec and at Laval University. In 1863 the young student was selected for a Chair in the proposed Faculty of the Laval University, and was therefore sent to the Eternal City to continue and complete his theological training. There he followed the course of the Gregorian University of the Roman College, including dogmatic and moral theology, Sacred Scriptures, history of the Church, Canonic law, sacred oratory and the Hebraic language. He received all the minor and major orders in Rome, and was ordained to the priesthood in the Major Basilica, on June 10th, 1865, by H. E. Cardinal Patrizi. In the following year he obtained the degree of Doctor in Theology. Having gained permission to remain some time longer in Rome for the purpose of making a special study of ecclesiastical history and oriental languages—the Hebrew, the Chaldean, the Syriac, and the Arabic—Dr. Bégin gave a good portion of the years 1866-67 to this work. After the close of this period, he went to Innsbruck in the Austrian Tyrol. Meanwhile, during the summer holidays of the preceding years, he had visited Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, Prussia, Belgium, and chiefly France. The summer of 1867, however, had been spent in studying the German language. In September of that year he started for Palestine, in order to get thoroughly acquainted, as he had long desired, with certain Biblical and historical facts. He spent more than five months in this tour, passing through Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, Turkey; the Islands of Tenedos, Lesbos, Rhodes and Cyprus; Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, Phœnicia, Palestine, Egypt and Sicily. Returning to Innsbruck he continued his studies at the Catholic University under the celebrated Professors Wenig, Jungmann, Hurter, Kobler and Nilles.

Upon his return to Quebec in 1868, Dr. Bégin was appointed Professor of Dogmatic Theology and Ecclesiastical History in Laval, and entered upon his duties forthwith. Here he taught from 1868 until 1884. During the winter months, for some years, he gave numerous public lectures at the University on controversial and interesting questions in Church history. These lectures were published in book form, with the title: "A Primauté et l' Infaillibilité des Souverains Pontifes." In 1874 he published a second work, entitled, "La Sainte Ecriture et la Régle de Foi," which was translated into English and printed in London. In the same year an eulogy of St. Thomas Aquinas was published. In 1875 he published another work entitled, "Le Culte Catholique." In 1884, he accompanied to Rome the Archbishop of Quebec, who was going there to sustain the claims of Laval University, and

support the division of the Diocese of Three Rivers, before the Holy See. On his return, he was chosen by the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction to fill the Principalship of Laval Normal School, and was appointed thereto by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, Jan. 22nd, 1885. In 1886 Dr. Bégin published a small "Aide-Mémoire," or "Chronologie de l' Histoire du Canada," designed, as indicated by its name, to assist the memory of pupils and facilitate their preparations for examinations on the history of Canada. Dr. Bégin remained at the Normal School up to October 1st, 1888, when he was appointed to the Bishopric of Chicoutimi. He was consecrated in the Basilica, Quebec, by H. E. Cardinal Taschereau. During his stay at Chicoutimi, Mgr. Bégin caused the new Cathedral to be completed, the Seminary to be enlarged, while a fitting habitation was obtained for the head of the Diocese. On Dec. 22nd, 1891, he was appointed Coadjutor to Cardinal Taschereau, with the title of Archbishop of Cyrene, and left Chicoutimi for Quebec. From December 3rd, 1894, he also held the administration of the Archdiocese of Quebec, which the Cardinal had committed to him. His Grace is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a member of the Academy of the Arcades of Rome. In April, 1898, he succeeded Cardinal Taschereau as Archbishop of Quebec.

The Most Rev. Louis Paul Napoleon Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal, was born in that City on October 20th, 1855, and was educated at the Montreal (St. Sulpice) College. He pursued his theological studies still further at Paris and Rome, and was ordained a priest at the latter place in 1878. He was accorded the degree of D.D. at Rome, and on his return to Canada was appointed to a Chair in Laval University. He was for a time Vicar of St. Bridget's Church and then of St. Joseph's Church in Montreal. In 1887 he was appointed a Canon of the Cathedral, and in the same year Professor of Christian Apologetics at Laval University. During 1893 Canon Bruchési was entrusted with the task of preparing the Educational exhibits of his native Province for the World's Fair, Chicago, and he was subsequently for some years Chairman of the Catholic School Board of Montreal. Among his published writings is a "Conference on Charity" (1882). He was appointed to succeed the late Mgr. Fabre, as Archbishop of Montreal, on June 25th, 1897, and his Consecration on August 8th following, by Archbishop Bégin, was made the occasion of not only a most solemn ceremonial but of a general and public welcome to his important position and functions.

Wealth of the Roman Catholic Church. It is impossible to give entirely adequate figures of the property and capital controlled by the Church in Canada as an united organization. That the amount is large needs no proof further than the vast sums expended upon the maintenance of charitable, educational and ecclesiastical institutions. According to *Sadlier's Catholic Directory*—a competent authority—the Church in Canada controls and maintains 146 Academies for Young Ladies, 35 Houses for Aged Poor, 122 Colleges and Academies for Boys, 4 Deaf Mute Institutes, 79 Hospitals, 14 Industrial Reform Schools, 84 Infant, Lunatic and Orphan Asylums, 14 Seminaries for Secular Clergy, 8 Seminaries for Religious Orders, 3,864 Parochial Schools, and several Universities. The maintenance of all these institutions, the building of hundreds of magnificent churches, and the erection of costly Cathedrals in the larger cities, have required large sums of money. The origin of some of the wealth thus utilized is known, and the following memorandum or summary is taken from the "Extrait des Titres de Concessions de Terres Octroyees en fiefs," published in Christie's History of Lower Canada, Vol. VI :

1st. A concession was made in the year 1674, to Francois de Laval, first Bishop of Quebec, of five leagues in front by five in depth, on the River St. Lawrence, about forty-two leagues above Montreal. This concession was not acknowledged by the British Government to be valid for some years, and until the Seminary of Quebec, to which half of the concession had been made over, disposed of the same to Mr. Papineau, Senior, of Montreal, who was then permitted to perform fealty and homage as the purchaser thereof.

2nd. Certain French emigrant priests who came into the Province during the time of the French

Revolution, were allowed to possess themselves under the title of the "Seminary of Montreal," of the estates that were originally granted under the French Government to the Society of St. Sulpice at Paris. These estates consisted of:

I. The Seigneury of the Lake of the Two Mountains, comprehending a tract of country three leagues and a half in front, on the River St. Lawrence, by eight in depth.

II. The Seigneury of the Island of Montreal, of very great value.

III. The Seigneury of St. Sulpice, comprehending two leagues in front, on the River St. Lawrence, by six in depth.

A part of this property was estimated by Sir James Marriot, in a report to the King, dated 1773, to be worth six thousand pounds sterling a year. It was afterwards stated by M. Roux, a French emigrant priest, and who had the chief management of the property, to produce only three thousand seven hundred pounds a year, on an average of five years. It is, however, an undoubted fact that the value of property of this nature is now many times greater than it was at the periods above mentioned. According to a statement made by the Hon. Herman Witsius Ryland the following was the extent of the lands owned by the Sulpicians and the Quebec Seminary in 1811:

Lands held by the St. Sulpicians of Paris.

Island of Montreal	125,706 acres.
St. Sulpice and Lake of the Two Mountains	104,755 "
	230,461 "

Seminary of Quebec,

Coté de Beaupré	503,824 acres.
Isle Jesus, near Montreal, Isle au Coudres, etc., etc	47,888 "
	551,712 "

Mr. Robert Christie in his "History of Lower Canada," (Vol. VI. 1855), gives the following memorandum—transmitted to the Imperial Government by Lieut.-Governor Sir R. S. Milnes in the year 1800—of the total quantity of land granted in Canada previous to the cession, with the proportion thereof accorded to the Roman Catholic Church in the Province of Quebec:

	Acres.	
Total amount of grants		7,985,470
Quebec Ursulines	164,615	
Three Rivers (Ursulines)	38,000	
Recollets	945	
Bishop and Seminary of Quebec	693,324	
Jesuits	891,845	
St. Sulpicians	250,191	
General Hospital, Quebec	73	
General Hospital, Montreal	404	
Hôtel Dieu, Quebec	14,112	
Soeurs Grises	42,336	
To the Church		2,096,754
To the Laity		5,888,716
Total		7,985,470

It was estimated in 1854 by Bishop Strachan of Toronto, that the endowments, tithes and other dues of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec amounted at that time to a capital value of twenty millions of dollars. Aside from this and similar suppositions however, some information is available from the tax exemption lists of the larger cities, although, as is well known, values are often under-estimated in such documents. In 1893, according to the Report of the Comptrollers and Auditors of Montreal, the value of Roman Catholic churches in that city exempt from taxation was $2,770,800; of Catholic Benevolent Societies and their property $8,706,050; and of Parsonages $168,900; or a total of $11,645,750. In Toronto the value of lands held by the Church in 1897 was given at $203,426, and of buildings at $604,600. These figures are of use as supplying some basis for a reliable estimate—they do not in themselves pretend to offer complete information.

Religious Orders and Communities in Canada. There are in the Dominion an immense number of Roman Catholic Orders and Communities—some missionary, some charitable, some educational, some for the sick in mind and some for the sick in body. Only the briefest reference can be made to the principal ones here.

(1.) The Company of St. Sulpice (Sulpicians) was founded at Paris in 1642 by M. l'Abbé Jean Jac-

ques Olier for the instruction of those about to enter the Church, and was established in Montreal on July 29th, 1657. Large grants of land, now very valuable, were given the institution. It had in 1896, 73 priests and controlled three Seminaries in Montreal with some 630 students.

(2.) The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools was founded at Rheims in 1681, approved in 1725, and established in Montreal in 1837. It has now some 30 establishments, 400 Brothers and 16,000 students in the Province of Quebec. The object of the Order is the Christian education of youth.

(3.) The Oblate Fathers (O.M.I.) or Fathers of Immaculate Mary, was an Order founded in 1816 at Aix, in Provence, approved by the Pope in 1826, and first established at St. Hillaire, P.Q., in 1841. Its main function is a missionary one and its head-quarters in Canada are at Montreal. In 1896 it had 94 Priests, 61 Scholastics and 55 Lay Brothers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with 119 Priests in the North-West.

(4.) The Society of Jesus (S.J.) or the Jesuits, was founded in 1535 by St. Ignatius de Loyola, and is stated in the Montreal *Annuaire du Clergé Canadien* to be now spread over 23 countries and to have 13,781 members. In Canada it possesses 14 establishments with 36 stations and a number of Missions. According to *Sadlier's Catholic Directory*, the Canadian Order in 1896 included 109 Fathers, 97 Scholastics, 22 Novices and 74 Brothers. It has two Colleges, and in Ontario has missions at Chelmsford, Sudbury, Port Arthur, Fort William East and Sault Ste. Marie, with Indian missions on Manitoulin Island, at Garden River and Fort William. Several Jesuit missionaries travel continually along the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron and the Georgian Bay, attending to the Ojibiway tribes. They have a dozen chapels on the Indian Reserves, and 17 other chapels in the region between Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie.

(5.) The Institute of Provincial Clerks or Catechists of St. Viateur (C.S.V.) was founded at Vourles, France, in 1828, approved in 1839, called to Canada by Bishop Bourget in 1847, and has in the Dominion 32 Priests in office, 180 other members and 5,076 students.

(6.) The Congregation of St. Croix (C.S.C.) was founded in 1820 in Mans, France, and established itself in Montreal at the request of Bishop Bourget in 1847. It has 160 members in Canada and 2,465 students.

(7.) The Community of the Priests of St. Basil (C.S.B.) was founded in 1822 by Mgr. Daviau, Archbishop of Vienna, and was established in Toronto by Bishop de Charbonnel in 1852. There it directs St. Michael's College and includes 37 Fathers in its membership.

(8.) The Brothers of the Charity of St. Vincent de Paul was founded at Gand, Belgium, in 1809, in Paris in 1833, and was established at Montreal in 1865. Approved by the Pope in 1845, its object is charity and kindness to the poor or sick. The Report of the Canadian Superior Council in 1893 showed 4,304 active members, the receipt of $54,814, and the relief of 3,071 families.

(9.) The Institute of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart was founded at Lyons, France, in 1821, and was established in 1872 at Arthabaskaville in Canada. It has 94 Priests, 65 Novices, and 2,389 students in the Dominion. Its objects are mainly educational.

(10.) The Institute of the Little Brothers of Mary, or Frères Maristes, was founded in France in 1817, and has establishments in the Canadian Dioceses of St. Hyacinthe, Montreal and Quebec—with 110 Priests, 27 Novices and 2,070 students.

(11.) The Institute of the Brothers of St. Gabriel was founded in 1705 and established in Canada in September, 1888. It has now 31 Priests and 850 students in the Dominion.

(12.) The Order of Francisan Fathers was founded by St. Francois d'Assisi in 1209, and under the name of Recollets sent the first R.C. missionaries to Quebec. The Order was suppressed after the conquest, but in 1890 was canonically re-established by the Pope. In 1896 there were 9 Fathers of the Order in Montreal, two Novices and 11 Lay Brothers.

There are a dozen minor Orders in the Dominion with some 200 Priests, 87 Lay Brothers and 95 Novices. The Religious Communities of Women are almost equally numerous and active in Canada. Amongst the principal ones are the Hôtel Dieu of the Precious Blood, founded at Quebec in 1639,

and having in 1896 54 Nuns, 19 Lay Nuns and 7 Novices; the Convents of the Ursulines, first founded at Quebec in 1639, and now possessed of several establishments, with 71 Nuns, 11 Novices and 588 students; the Congregation de Notre Dame, first founded at Montreal in 1657, and now including 112 establishments, 1,092 Nuns, 91 Novices, 29 Postulants and 24,394 students; the Hôtel Dieu of Montreal (1689), with 243 Nuns, 63 Novices and 11 Postulants; the General Hospital at Quebec (1693) with 44 Nuns and 18 Lay Sisters in charge; the Community of the Sisters of Charity and identical societies, such as the Grey Sisters in Montreal, St. Hyacinthe, Ottawa, etc., with 49 establishments, 534 Nuns, 97 Novices, 28 Postulants and 51 auxiliary sisters; the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Canada, 1842), with 256 Nuns and 20 Novices; the Sisters of Charity of Providence, founded at Montreal in 1843, by Bishop Bourget, and now comprising 60 establishments with 801 Nuns, 63 Novices and 75 Postulants; the Sisters of the Sacred Names of Jesus and Mary, founded at Longueuil in 1843—706 Nuns, 37 Novices, 29 Postulants, 45 establishments and 12,277 students; the Nuns of Our Lady of Charity (Canada, 1844), with 290 members; the Sisters of Ste. Croix (Canada, 1847), with 227 Nuns, 47 Novices, 21 Postulants, 25 establishments and 6,179 students; the Nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin (Loretto Abbey), first brought to Toronto in 1847, and now comprising 193 Nuns and 30 Novices; the Sisters of Mercy, founded at Montreal in 1848 by Bishop Bourget and now including 158 Nuns and 11 Novices; the Convent of the Sisters of Charity, first founded at Quebec by Archbishop Turgeon and now comprising 33 establishments, 328 Nuns, 23 Novices, 57 Postulants and 165 auxiliary Sisters; the Congregation of Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, founded at Quebec in 1850 by Archbishop Turgeon, and counting in 1896 20 establishments, 242 Nuns, 38 Novices and 18 Postulants; the Sisters of Ste. Anne, founded at Vaudreuil in 1850, under Mgr. Bourget, and now embracing 558 Nuns, 31 Novices, 43 Postulants and 48 establishments; the Sisters of the Congregation of St. Joseph, established in Toronto by Bishop de Charbonnel in 1851—with 212 Nuns; the Sisters of St. Joseph at Hamilton (1851), 209 Nuns, 18 Novices, and 6 Postulants; the Sisters of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin, founded at St. Grégoire, P.Q., in 1853, and now counting 26 establishments, 197 Nuns, 17 Novices and 20 Postulants; and twenty other smaller communities with 48 establishments and 1,119 Nuns. These figures summed up show that over 30,000 male students were being educated in 1896 by the Roman Catholic Religious Orders in Canada and 44,000 female students by the various Sisterhoods, while they also reveal the active presence of 7,534 Nuns in the Dominion, with 466 establishments, and the training of from 600 to 1,000 women for the religious life.

Works of Reference on the Church in Canada. Amongst the many Canadian works in French or English which may be consulted upon the history of the Church in the Dominion are the following: The Jesuit Relations; Garneau's History of Canada; Kingsford's History of Canada; Miles' History of Lower Canada; Christie's History of Canada; *Mandements*, etc., of the Bishops and Archbishops of Quebec; *Mandements* of the Bishops and Archbishops of Montreal; the columns of the Montreal *True Witness*; the pages of the Toronto *Irish Canadian* and *Catholic Register*; Jubilee Volume of the Arch-diocese of Toronto; Archbishop O'Brien's Life of Bishop Burke; Dr. Withrow's History of Canada; the Canadian Archives; Chevalier Macdonell's "Remniscences of Bishop Macdonell"; J. A. Macdonell's "Sketches of the County of Glengarry"; Mgr. Tetu's "Les Eveques de Quebec"; "Essays on the Church in Canada" by D. A. O'Sullivan, Q.C., LL.D.; M. l'Abbé Gosselin's "Histoire de L'Eglise du Canada"; Life of Mgr. Plessis by M. l'Abbé Ferland; History of the County of Peterborough (Hunter, Rose & Co.); Dr. Canniff's History of Upper Canada; "Repertoire General du Clergé Canadien," by M. l'Abbé Tanguay, Life of Bishop Whelan (Kingston, 1862); "Historical Sketch of the Diocese of London," by the Rev. J. M. Coffey; The *Catholic Record*, of London, Ont.; Life of Archbishop Lynch by H. C. McKeown; Dent's Canadian Portrait Gallery; Morgan's "Celebrated Canadians" and "Canadian Men and Women of the Time"; "The Catholic Church in the Ni-

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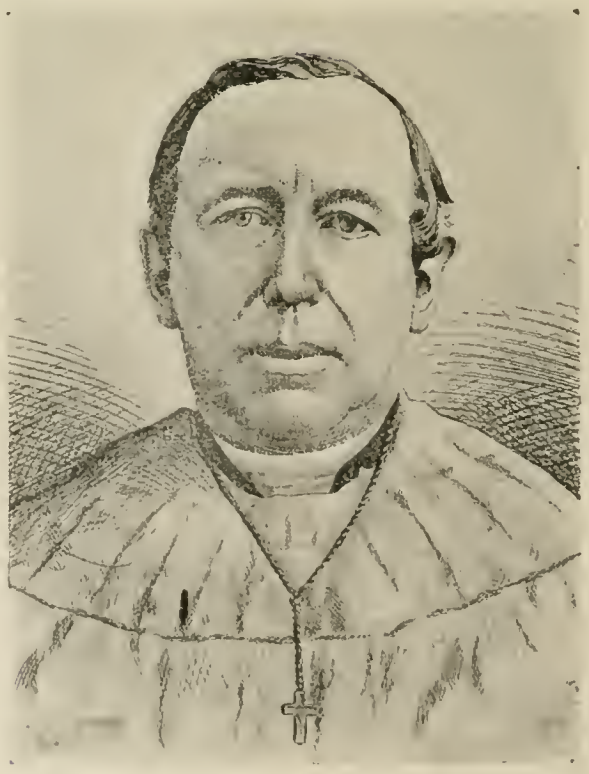
The first four Ecclesiastical Councils of Quebec were held before the organization of the Toronto Province. Three others have taken place since the ecclesiastical separation of Upper Canada from Manitoba. Since the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa haveheld no Provincial Council. Montreal has held one, but its Decrees have not yet (1898) been returned by Rome. The substance of the first four Decrees may be found in an appendix to the first Council of Toronto. The several Provincial Councils of Quebec have enacted Decrees concerning the duties of Bishops and priests having care of souls; the administration of the sacraments, preaching and catechising, and the personal sanctification of clerics; the administration of ecclesiastical goods; the many dangers to which the faith and morals of the people may be exposed; the duty for priests of teaching the obligations imposed by the Decalogue on the electors, their candidates, the members elect, and at the same time that of urging their civil rights only when their sacerdotal office will not suffer any wrong thereby. In regard to certain points of discipline, viz., the ecclesiastical habit and the means of temporal support for pastors, the rules governing Upper and Lower Canada were made somewhat different, not as to the spirit and substance, but as to certain details.



The Most Rev. Archbishop Hannan

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